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"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND THE HEALING ART.

I. WHY NOT BE A CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST?

IT seems reasonable to say that, if Christian Science is even in small part what is claimed for it, its merits should command investigation; that if it has prophylactic or therapeutic force of even slight efficiency, afflicted men and women should know that fact; and certainly if it heralds, in any measure, the "glad tidings" Jesus published to the world, the weary children of men everywhere should know that fact.

In words as simple as my purpose is sincere, without theological veiling or shadow of mysticism, I venture to make some suggestions by way of encouraging honest, dispassionate investigation of a subject that has profoundly impressed my own highest sense of truth. I do not invite controversy, partizan discussions, or denominational wrangling, but simply an honest, patient seeking after truth, with the utmost freedom of thought and expression, and yet with the fullest recognition of the right of others to think. I do not assail any man's thought of God, but declare my own. I do not disclose the foibles, if there be any, in another's religious belief, but emphasize the good there is in my own, believing that in this way and this way only the highest concept of life will be presented for the free choice of all who seek the truth, the ultimate and infinite good. I shall discuss very briefly Christian Science in a twofold aspect: first, as a curative agent, and, second, as a religion to be lived and practised.

Mental Therapeutics.

If Christian Science be tried by its works—its cures, if tested by the same rules applied to the use of any material remedy—you will find that it meets all the requirements exacted in the use of drugs; so that, if your highest concept of life is physical supremacy—bodily health and the tangible results of health—then there is every reason for your accepting what may be termed the medicinal virtues of Christian Science, as a preserver of health and as a destroyer of disease, that you can assign for reliance upon material remedies.

I am sure that my reader is aware of the fact that the use of material medicine from the beginning has been, and now is, purely a matter of experiment—with dumb animals when opportunity offered, and with men when necessity required. It is quite safe to say that there is not a physician living who can tell you why any given drug has a given effect; and no writer upon material medicine, from the Greeks to our own time, has attempted to solve the mystery of the results of medicine—to state the reason why, etc. Really, information of the *why* in medicine is not attainable; the aggregate medical learning of the world cannot tell you why quinine or arsenic or strychnine, in a given quantity, acts as a tonic, or why opium will deaden sensibility. All the doctors know respecting the active properties of the remedies they give is what they have learned by experiment.

The whole practise of the administration of drugs is based solely upon observation of actual tests, and is wholly dependent upon the theory that a remedy effective in a large majority of cases, involving similar conditions, is a safe remedy to administer in that class of cases. That is, if upon trial—actual test—perhaps covering thousands of cases of a named disease, the cases being similar in early manifestations, condition of pulse, respiration, digestion, secretions, etc., it is found that a given drug produces a favorable result in sixty, seventy, or eighty per cent. of the cases tested, then by the consensus of medical men the world over it becomes a rule—a law of material medicine—that the given drug is a safe one to prescribe in all cases coming within the scope of the experiment made; and the result of such test is absolutely the limit of the physicians' knowledge upon the question of the choice of medicine to be used.

It is understood, of course, that I am not complaining of the *modus* employed by the doctors in reaching their ultimate standard of judgment. In fact, it might be freely conceded that none better could be suggested—that it is the climax of human reason upon a subject that human reason cannot compass; and I refer to it, not to criticize or lessen its force, but simply to invite all satisfied with it to try by the same test the medicinal virtues, or the healing power, of Christian Science.

Christian Science has been practised in this country for about a third of a century—in a limited way for several years, but for the last two decades quite extensively; so that now its practitioners are numbered by thousands and its patients by hundreds of thousands. In the time I have mentioned, in the United States alone, at a low estimate one million people, including both sexes and all ages, in every variety of condition and climate, have been treated by Christian Science and cured of all manner of diseases, named and unnamed, substantially covering the whole range of mortal affliction. There were some failures, it is true; but the percentage of these was many times smaller than the percentage of failures by material medicine in any age of the world.

Now, add to this statement of cases cured the fact that a considerable percentage of the cures thus effected by Christian Science were of people confessedly beyond the reach of material remedies, and you have an experimental test of mental therapeutics, divine healing, in every way as satisfactory and conclusive as is afforded of the curative quality of any drug or material remedy by the history of medicine.

Now, if you may determine the virtues of medicine by experiment—if, by human observation and experience, you may ascertain the efficacy of a given remedy by a percentage of cures effected—then is it not clear beyond controversy that this same test will measure with equal accuracy the medicinal virtues of Christian Science? And, in common fairness and by the logic of the axiom that "things equal to the same thing are equal to each other," are you not driven to include the tens of thousands of closely observed tests of the medicinal merit of mental medicine, in what men are pleased to call their common sense, in forming your judgment of Christian Science?

The time has long since passed when any one can say that Christian Science does not have its victories over disease; that it does not restore health; that it does not reclaim the drunkard; that it does not heal wounds of bone and flesh; that it does not give vision to the eye and hearing to the ear; that it does not "minister to a mind diseased." In almost every city, village, and hamlet of our country examples of these cures exist and may be easily known to all intelligent men, and of course to my readers.

The practise of Christian Science, judged by the senses, has not been an unbroken success; there have been some failures; not all the treatments have resulted in perfect cure; there have been some fatalities: but these have been comparatively few, as will appear by a comparison that I think is wholly within bounds—that the deaths occurring under Christian Science treatment in thirty years, in the States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, are not in the aggregate equal to the recorded deaths under medical treatment for any one day in the last two years in the two cities of Chicago and New York.

If this is true, is there any possible reason why an intelligent man having faith in the practise of material medicine, by reason of experimental tests, should scorn to be influenced by similar tests of Christian Science healing? And is it a satisfactory explanation for not doing so for such a one to say that to his mind mental healing is unreasonable because beyond his comprehension, when it is evident that the same person would be unutterably confused in an effort to determine why a pellet or powder or lotion had wrought a cure in any case? Surely, it is the extreme of inconsistency for any man to pride himself upon his wisdom in accepting as a basis of action the result of experiment in the medicine of man, if he rejects like tests respecting the medicine of God.

From what I have said it must appear to the common understanding that Christian Science, as a medicinal agent, is established by all the tests applied to material medicine and fortified by the relentless logic of *success*.

Christian Science a Religion.

I address myself to all thinking people who regard Mind as master of matter; who recognize an infinite Intelligence as *All* Cause—the Principle that created and governs all things; the supreme Good whom men call God, revealed in the Scriptures as the object of our love, worship, and adoration, and of whom Jesus Christ said, "God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." I thus address myself because the recognition of the supremacy of Spirit, Mind, God, is the basis, the inspiration, the soul of Christian Science.

It follows that, in our thought, Christian Science is a religion pure and simple; the religion of the Bible without prefix or suffix; the gentle, beautiful, hopeful religion of love that Jesus preached and taught and practised. If God is Spirit, infinite in goodness, mercy, truth, and love, then it is not difficult to understand (in fact we cannot avoid the conclusion) that He is the only God, the only Spirit, the only Good, Truth, and Love, the first and only Cause, the Principle of all that is. If God is *all,* then, of course, He is everywhere present; always with us; "a circle, the center of which is everywhere and the circumference nowhere." With this concept of God, we can easily understand how He is in absolute reality "our Strength and our Redeemer," in Whom literally "we live and move and have our being." And we may easily know also that man—God's man—is not a mold of clay, a fashion of matter, but is spiritual: the image and likeness of Spirit, the reflection of God, and hence abides in health, truth, eternal life.

The Christian world has for centuries asserted the belief that a knowledge of God is the beginning of wisdom. Certainly God intended that man should know Him; the Scriptures were given that man might know Him, and thus have eternal life; and eternal life includes eternal health, hope, harmony.

We can never reach a knowledge of God through human understanding; human philosophy cannot compass Him. God is Spirit, and by spiritual understanding alone may be apprehended. We make the knowledge of God difficult by vain attempts to describe Him. The only mystery of godliness is born of the incessant struggle of the finite to measure the Infinite. If, in absolute verity, we did accept God as Spirit, Mind, Principle, instead of attempting to fashion Him with form and parts, with passions and pride, with limitations of beginning and end, then we might easily know Him and thus have life as limitless as His.

The striking distinction between the conclusions of the human senses and of Christian Science respecting God, is the difference between an atom and the universe—between the finite and the Infinite. The former reduces God to the semblance of man; the latter elevates man to the image and likeness of God. The primal principle of Christian Science is the Infinity of God. This basic principle of our religion no one in the old churches, I am sure, will presume to question; for, in all generations back to the very morning of religious thought, men have been taught the infinite power and mercy and goodness of God; and these annul the claims, over man, of evil, sickness, or sin, which would countervail the majesty of Infinite Good.

Every Christian organization in the world teaches the power and willingness of God to heal the sick; hence, Christian Scientists are not peculiar in this. The difference between Christian Scientists and the people of the old churches is one of trust—faith. Christian Scientists rely upon their belief in God's healing power; they practise their belief; in the love of God and men, they lay their hands on the sick and the sick recover; and thus Christian Scientists prove their belief by the test Jesus gave and the only test by which Christian belief can be measured.

Christian Scientists are simply trying to live the life and do the works that Jesus lived and did. His mission was not only to preach the gospel but to heal the sick. This was the prophecy of Isaiah concerning him, a prophecy that Jesus declared fulfilled by his presence on the earth. The declaration of Jesus to his disciples, "The works that I do ye shall do also," was made to the people of this day as certainly as it was to the apostles and the people among whom they wrought; and Christian Scientists have demonstrated that they were included in this declaration of the Master by accomplishing many of the marvelous works that Jesus did.

It must not be understood that Christian Scientists heal or pretend to heal the sick by virtue of any power of their own, but only by virtue of the power of God. They do ungrudgingly all that Jesus gave them to do, and rely unfalteringly upon all the promises he made. They believe, too, in the inexorable law: "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again;" that you cannot enthrone human reason without in the same measure dethroning God; that if you give shadow for substance, you will receive the bitterness of hollow seeming for abiding reality.

With the Holy Scriptures as their guide to eternal life, and the great Master as their Teacher and Exemplar, Christian Scientists hold, with much force of reason, that theirs is the religion that Jesus established, taught, and practised.

The pathway of Christian Science has not been smooth and carpeted with flowers; thorns and crosses have everywhere beset it, as long ago they stung and held in crucifixion the sweet Herald of "peace on earth." Christian Science meets to-day, and for thirty years has met, the ecclesiastical antagonism that every new phase of religion or new thought of God has been compelled to encounter; but sooner or later, in God's own good time, the cloud will break and, crowned and glorified, the truth will be seen, like a star, "dwelling apart" in its own glory—always its own.

We do not complain in bitterness of the opposition that Christian Science has met. It has been simply the assertion of inherited beliefs that has for centuries antagonized every new thought of God. Our fathers endured this before us, and their fathers before them; yet the world has constantly grown brighter and freer and better. It is our duty to add to the good that came to us from the generations gone, and to it all our children will add still other good, born of the greater light of their own day; until, by and by—free from superstition and superior to fear—"the *mystery* of godliness" will be lost in the sweet simplicity of perfect *love.*

Intellectual integrity is not easily attained. We must, though ever so reluctantly, concede the fact that, while it is comparatively easy to appear honest with our neighbors, it is extremely difficult to know that we are honest with ourselves. In some to-morrow we will recognize the incomparable deception practised by men upon themselves in the vain effort to find a logic of saying more potent than the logic of doing.

Christian Science is not a religion of beliefs, but of works; not of theories, but of demonstrations. There is nothing concerning which people so persistently deceive themselves as about their religious beliefs. It is so much easier to say than to do; and then one cannot know what he *believes,* in the sense in which Jesus used that word, except by what he *does.* Belief is more than intellectual conviction; it includes the elements of trust, faith, reliance: hence the repeated assurance of Jesus, "by their works ye shall know them."

What a man says he believes is not infrequently the very antipodes of what he really believes; for instance, if a man says he believes that "in God we live and move and have our being," and then resorts to a druggist, doctor, or climate for life and health, you will know at once that he has mistaken his belief. Jesus came recognizing God as the healer of all our diseases—as our life, strength, and redeemer; and, knowing this, by the power of God he healed the sick, bound up the broken-hearted, gave hope for despair, song for anguish, life for death; and these were the works of the Master, the beautiful works by which Jesus the Christ demonstrated his own divinity and the power of God to heal the sick.

In the resplendent glow of this dawning century, rich in the accumulated good of all the past and richer far in the promise of good with which its high noon will bless the world, may we not, in the grace of lofty Christian manhood, make our grateful acknowledgments to Mrs. Eddy for the wonderful contribution that she has made to the joy, song, and redemption of the world?

WILLIAM G. EWING.

Chicago, Ill.

II. WHAT THE NEW THOUGHT STANDS FOR.

WITHIN the last twenty-five years two great movements, thoroughly idealistic in their tendencies, have taken root in our own country and are now spreading to the uttermost parts of the earth. One is known under the name of Christian Science, and was founded by Mary Baker Glover Eddy; the other, which is now popularly known as the New Thought Movement, had as its first great apostle P. P. Quimby, of Portland, Me., and later Julius A. Dresser, of Boston, and Dr. W. F. Evans. Mr. Dresser taught and practised mental healing, and wrote but little. Dr. Evans wrote a number of books, the most important being "Primitive Mind Cure" and "Esoteric Christianity."

It is not within the scope of this article to trace the history of these two great movements, but rather to show certain points wherein they agree or disagree. Fundamentally, there are certain beliefs held by them in common. The New Thought devotee as well as the Christian Scientist holds to the thought of the *oneness* of life—that all life is one life; that all knowledge is one—and that God is omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent. Starting with this fundamental idea of life, it might be thought by some that the two bodies would reach virtually the same conclusions; but that there is a radical difference will be clearly shown in the following paragraphs.

Let it be understood, first of all, that the writer does not attempt to discuss this subject in an antagonistic way, or from any desire to find fault with Christian Science. He recognizes the fact that there must be great vitality in a religious system that has wrought such wonderful changes in the minds of thousands of people in so short a time, and is more than willing to give due credit to its founder for the truly marvelous work she has accomplished. There is no desire to be unjust, but merely to make a plain statement of the facts of the case. The writer has no thought of making any attack on Mrs. Eddy or her followers, and concerning the points wherein he seems to criticize will deal with certain phases of their belief rather than with the work of any individual; for he is in general accord with their affirmative religion, or philosophy, but in direct opposition to their philosophy of *denial,* which he believes to be unchristian. He grants without question the good they have accomplished in healing the sick and in bringing greater happiness and peace into the lives of others. He believes, however, that this has been accomplished, not through any denial of matter, or of sin, sickness, and death, but through the presentation of the affirmative side of their religion—the oneness of life and the omnipotence of God.

This article is written to make clear the distinction between the New Thought Movement and Christian Science, as the question is so often asked, In what does the real difference consist? The first great point of divergence appears when Christian Science affirms the whole material universe to be an illusion of what it terms "mortal mind," and that through the denial of matter one realizes one's spiritual origin. This is identical with the position held by many of the Hindu people, both of the past and the present time—that Mâyâ (matter) is an illusion of mind. Of course, in this denial of matter the physical form of man is also denied away.

The New Thought believer, on the other hand, looks upon the visible universe as an expression of the power of God. He perceives that there must be an outer as well as an inner; that there must be effects as well as causes; that all the great material universe is the visible word of God—God's word becoming manifest in material form; that the body of man, to some degree, represents man's spiritual and mental life; that by the influx of man's spiritual consciousness the mind is renewed, and the body strengthened and made whole. In this conception of the outer world, the New Thought believer claims to be in thorough accord with what the great Nazarene taught; because, while he said the flesh was of no profit in comparison with the spirit, yet he drew his greatest lessons from external Nature. He said: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow." He pointed out how God has clothed the flowers with a beauty and perfection that man's highest art cannot equal. He affirmed that God cared even for the grass of the field; and King David said: "Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."

Christian Science denies away sin, sickness, and death. The New Thought claims that all three have an existence, but an existence that is overcome, not through any process of denial, but through the introduction of true thought into the mind of man; that to deny them away is to attribute the qualities of an *entity* to the very thing that is denied; that, in order to deny anything away, it must first be pictured in the mind; and that, instead of putting it away, the mental picture is thus perpetuated. Jesus recognized both sin and disease when he said: "Go, and sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee." There is nothing in his teachings to show that he ever denied away either sin or disease, but much to prove that he recognized both as conditions that should be overcome by good.

Another point of difference between Christian Science and the New Thought Movement is the question of individual freedom—the God-given right to think and act for one's self. Christian Science says, Read the Bible, and then take "Science and Health" as its interpreter. Leave all other sources of knowledge alone, it commands, because all else is the product of "mortal mind." The New Thought stands with the Apostle Paul, when he said: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good." Paul does not concede the right to any one *else* to do the thinking or the proving, believing that each mind must deal individually with the problems of life and thus work out its own salvation.

Still another point of disagreement arises in the founding of church organizations. Christian Science, with its thoroughly organized following, has founded church after church. New Thought people think that we have churches enough; that we do not need religions made up of creeds and "beliefs" as urgently as we need a religion based upon the true worship of God—in spirit and in truth. The real temple of God is in the human soul; the New Thought Movement, therefore, does not stand for any ecclesiastical or theological propaganda. It would bring to the minds of the people a knowledge of the laws that regulate and control life everywhere; it would show that through perfect conformity to the inner laws of life come perfect health and happiness, and that it is possible to manifest God's kingdom here and now.

When we come to the healing of disease, a radical difference is found in that the Christian Science practitioner denies away disease and then affirms the oneness of life and of health, declaring that we are to draw our vitality from the one great Source; while the New Thought practitioner stands fairly and squarely on the *affirmative* side of life. No such thing as *denial* enters the mind of the New Thought healer when he treats his patient. He recognizes all wrong mental conditions —malice, hatred, envy, jealousy, pride, sensuality, and kindred emotions—as indications of a lack of development, and perceives that with the introduction of affirmative thought no direct denial is needed: that the affirmation carries all necessary denial within itself.

When the feeling of love enters the life, the false feeling of hate must go out; when the thought of law and order enters the mind, unlawfulness and disorder can have no place. The New Thought healer affirms that all life is one; that in God "we live and move and have our being;" that He has given to us all things—health, strength, and happiness. Every thought given by the healer is one of strength, of health, of beauty and loving-kindness; no disagreeable or unwholesome thought goes forth to the patient, as would naturally be the case if the mind of the healer were engaged in denying away mistakes that he hopes to overcome. We believe that our thoughts make us what we are; that it is indispensably necessary to keep the mind filled with clean, wholesome thought—and in so doing there is no room for contradictory ideas.

To recapitulate: Christian Science and the New Thought agree that all life is one; that all intelligence is one; that God is the All in all.

And they disagree on the following points: Christian Science says that the visible world is "mortal mind;" the New Thought declares the visible universe to be an expression of God's handiwork. Christian Science asserts that sin, sickness, and death have no existence; the New Thought affirms that they *have* an existence, but that their existence is only limited and their destruction comes through right thinking and hence right living. Christian Science stands for a great religious sectarian organization; it stands for slavery of the individual to an institution—at least at present. The New Thought stands for a knowledge of spiritual truth among all people and perfect freedom of the individual, in both thought and action, to live out the life that God intended him to live. Christian Science stands for a woman and a book; the New Thought Movement stands for God manifesting through the soul of man, for the eternal laws of creation, and for the absolute freedom of the individual to work out his own salvation. Christian Science stands for a treatment of disease that includes both a negative and an affirmative philosophy; the New Thought in its treatment of disease rests on the omnipotence of God as the one and only healing power of the universe, and is therefore thoroughly and solely affirmative.

Having pointed out the distinctions that exist between the two movements as the writer sees them, let us briefly outline the New Thought and what it stands for, even though it may be necessary to repeat a few statements already made in order to give a clear, comprehensive view of the movement. We do not believe that the New Thought had its origin in the mind of any one particular person or number of persons, but that it is as old as the soul itself. It is God's truth seeking to become manifest in the individual life. We believe, however, that Jesus Christ showed forth the great yet simple truths of life in as clear and as comprehensive a manner as they have ever been given to the world. Yet we do not believe that he was the only great prophet of God, but that all peoples have had their prophets—that Buddha, Krishna, Mohammed, Zoroaster, and Confucius were prophets of God, and brought life and understanding to the people.

The New Thought teaches the universality of religion; that God's Spirit is more or less active in the minds of all people, and that each individual receives according to his desires and needs; that there is a natural evolutionary process in the life of man, and little by little he is unfolding to latent powers and possibilities; that the ideal man already exists, but the ideal is still seeking perfect expression; that man grows as naturally as does the plant or the tree, and that there is law and order from beginning to end; that law is universal, and it is through knowledge of universal law that man brings his life into oneness with the universal Life—into a condition of harmony wherein he expresses both health and happiness.

There are different stages of religious development, as there are different stages of physical, mental, and spiritual growth. On one plane of religion, man lives a purely sensuous life; on another, the mind becomes enamored of creeds and rituals formulated by the human mind; on a third, man worships God in spirit and in truth. I believe there is no religion in the world devoid of truth—that the truth it contains is that which holds it together; that all mankind is working for a single end; that, although we have differences in the present, they exist rather in form than in spirit, and will gradually melt away. We would rejoice with all people when they rejoice. In whatever way any body of people, calling themselves Christian Scientists or by any other name, bring greater happiness and a higher and truer knowledge of life to others, instead of finding fault, let us gladly indorse that which they have accomplished. We know that whatever good is wrought is of the Spirit of God—in both thought and work.

In defining the principles professed by the New Thought followers, we are free to admit that they do not always adhere to their highest ideals; but exception should not be taken to the law, but rather to the failure to live up to its requirements. The New Thought teaches that we should live from the center of life outward; that we should recognize the power of God working within us to will and to do. There should be such an outflow of faith and love and hope from the soul into the mind of man that his thought would really become transfigured, his body transformed, and God's kingdom expressed "on earth as it is in heaven." We believe that any reform that shall ever come into the world will not be through a work that deals solely with the external life, but will have its inception in the heart —in the soul and life—of man; that there is no problem in life that cannot be solved through a knowledge of the law of God—as it is written in the heart of man—and obedience thereto. The New Thought stands for a vital Christianity that goes to the very heart of things; that pays no attention to the letter or the form, but creates both letter and form for itself in perfect accord with the inner word.

We have, therefore, no desire to build up any sectarian organization or to tear down any that now exists. We would say, with Paul, that "the unknown God whom ye ignorantly worship, him we declare unto you." God—who is in all, through all, and above all—worketh within you to will and to do. Having no sectarian organization, yet offering the right hand of fellowship to members of all religious denominations; having no belief in creed or dogma, yet recognizing the full rights of all who desire and feel the need of both: the New

Thought Movement has not come to destroy, but to fulfil. It has not come to tear down, but to build up; yet that building will not be made by the hands of man, but will abide in the hearts of the people—wherein their minds will become strengthened and their bodies be made whole.

While the movement is an aggressive one, it would antagonize no body of people. It is aggressive for the fundamental position it takes, being affirmative from beginning to end. It affirms the omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence of God—with all that these words imply. It stands for a gospel of peace and good-will to all men. It is optimistic throughout. It declares that it is easier for man to be well and happy than to be the reverse. It is easier to go *with* the law than to put one's self in opposition to it. Losing the idea of itself as a sectarian religion, it finds itself in reality a Universal Religion.

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III. ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARD THINGS NOT SEEN.

IN dealing with the phrase, "attitude of the Church," it is well to make sure at the outset that it is taken in the same sense by the reader as by the writer. It is in its broadest signification that I shall use the word *Church*—the mass of Christians, organized and unorganized, wherever found, whatever called. As thus defined it has no way of declaring itself, and so the phrase for my purpose stands for the attitude of its members, clerical and lay. Sheep follow the shepherd. Many laymen echo their minister. Therefore, it is with the position of the clergy toward metaphysical research that my remarks will have most to do. That their general bearing is as truth's trustees hostile to interference with a trust, as stewards of divine mysteries accountable for stewardship, as officers of a church militant contending for faith once for all delivered to the saints, with neither eye nor ear for anything else—this is well known. That it ought to be as truth's seekers also, ready to receive the additional revelations which Christ promised through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, open-minded enough to investigate fresh phenomena, even though their environment be as humble and unprepossessing as that of the first Revealer and his fisher-folk, this is the proposition that I have set myself to maintain.

My choice of this theme is due to the curious contrast between profession and practise presented by the Church in regard to one of the most interesting movements of the nineteenth century. It accepts the New Testament miracles of healing, which rest on ancient testimony of witnesses whose cross-examination has not come down with their story, and rejects the tales of mental healing which are supported by modern evidence in the mouths of living witnesses who are able to stand the most rigid questioning. For two thousand years it has been professing faith in the teachings of Christ as to the efficacy of mental operations in the cure of bodily ills, but its practise has been to put faith in doctors and drugs. Multitudes of our fellow-citizens are at this moment performing cures under a literal interpretation of Christ's language, and the Church refuses to investigate their works and reads them out of its holy courts as sinners. Is it consistent to reject as incredible testimony of the nineteenth century while accepting that of the first?

To discredit mental healing is indeed to be expected from those of the clergy who think that they need to use Christ's miracles of healing as proofs of his divinity. To admit that a mere man can by an operation of his mind so influence the mind of another as to cure that other's bodily disease would in their judgment destroy the force of their argument. They assume that assertion of the divinity of Christ implies denial of any divinity in man. In order, therefore, that they may continue to use the miracles of healing to prove the former, they will not even look into occurrences that on their logic might be an argument for the latter. They easily get rid of the inconvenient fact that the New Testament is filled with accounts of men doing those things by the assertion that those men were specially empowered by Christ, and the power died with them. Fiat miracles are now in as much dis-esteem among theologians as fiat money among financiers; and the modern school holds that Christ worked his miracles in accordance with, rather than in defiance of, law. But new and old alike agree in maintaining that the power, however exercised, did not survive the early Christians. When confronted by the last reported saying of Christ, that among the signs which should follow them that believe was that of healing the sick without the aid of drugs, the old school claim that Christ only referred to the believers of that age; and the new say the passage is a forgery. When asked for reasons why the power should have been limited in time and person, and to explain what Christ meant when on a prior occasion he implied its existence in men who did not follow him, they can think of no better answer than the suggestion that the questioner is a reviler whose lack of faith renders any reply needless, or a simpleton whose credulity makes it useless.

Let it not be thought that it is my intention in this paper to put forth any plea in favor of Spiritual Science. I am merely calling attention to the desirability of consistency in metaphysical research. My reading of history, my intercourse with my fellow-men, and my communion with myself have forced upon me the chastening conviction that it is we who profess and call ourselves Christians, we ourselves, who are the most unblushing violators of the Christian law of liberty of thought and action as formulated by St. Paul in the fourteenth chapter of Romans. It is a familiar principle that, in making a generalization, one may not ignore a single fact in his collection of data. I have heard parsons in my own branch of the Catholic Church point to its marvelous growth during the nineteenth century as evidence that Almighty God is behind its progress. So be it. But when I find that in the last two decades of the same century the believers in Spiritual Science, professing to heal in His name, have so increased as to outnumber the Episcopalians two to one, and hear the same divines denounce them as unchristian, then, as a man who wishes to be both candid and logical, I ask myself, What is the value of that kind of reasoning? If parson argues the favor of God in his own case, why deny it to his neighbor? Hence it is that I appeal for fair treatment of persons with whom we may not always agree, and for open-mindedness as to facts that may overturn some of our pet theologies. Above all, in affairs of such vital importance let not the officers of our churches emulate the indifference of the Roman deputy, before whom St. Paul was haled for troubling the people about spiritual matters, and of whom this statement has come down, "Gallio cared for none of these things."

St. Paul's division of all things into those that are seen and those that are not seen is peculiarly apt for my purpose, because the line is so drawn that the objects of a church and of a metaphysical society are found on the same side. He tells us that those that are seen are temporal and those that are not seen are eternal. It would seem to follow that matter is the result of mental causation. No building however imposing, no painting however beautiful, can come into visible form without having first existed in the mind of its human creator. Does it not fairly flow that the universe must have been in Eternal Mind prior to its material manifestation? But, says some scientist, do you accept evolution; and if so, how can you postulate the preëxistence in an unseen Mind of seen things that are constantly changing? My answer may be given in the felicitous words of David: "Thine eyes did see my substance yet being imperfect, and in Thy book were all my members written, which day by day were fashioned when as yet there was none of them." Did not that ancient poet have at least a glimmering of mental causation and material evolution?

The Church and metaphysical associations being found on the same side of St. Paul's line, we are next to inquire as to any subdivision that may separate them. Is religion merely a branch of metaphysics? Is there a soul as well as a mind? The Church claims that there is. It may well be that science will some day teach us that the human soul is an evolution from the human mind, as the latter from the body. Perhaps the popular criticism of the intensely selfish man, that he is like a corporation in not having any soul, may turn out after all to be a scientific, rather than a rhetorical, use of language. Is not the hypothesis of a gradual development of soul in the individual maintainable? May it not account for certain inward experiences and outward phenomena? Self-control, self-denial, the dwelling of the mind on spiritual things, the constant exercise of particular incipient mental muscles and organs, so to speak, may develop a soul in one man; whereas self-indulgence, the direction of the mind upon material delights, the use of a different set of mentalities and neglect of the former, may stifle a soul-germ in another man. Be this as it may, let us assume the existence of soul, and we then have a line of demarcation between the Church and such societies. The former has to do with the unseen things pertaining to the soul; the latter with those of the mind. This may not be a scientific division, but its convenience will excuse any inaccuracy.

What should be the attitude of the Church toward revelation, or discovery if you will, in each domain?

The most striking feature of the position of ecclesiastics toward revelation in religion is their assumption of a strange major premise. They take it for granted that all the faith was once delivered to the saints two thousand years ago. They therefore deduce a duty to contend for it in the spirit of the closing words of St. John's rhapsody; that if any man shall add unto the things of that book God shall add unto him terrible plagues, and if any man shall take away from the words of that book God shall take away his part out of the book of life. It is not at all unlikely that this anathema was at first merely a marginal note by some fiery annotator of an Athanasian turn of mind, and in some way crept into the text. But, even if it were really written by the beloved disciple, it is limited by him to that one book. The theologians, however, added unto the book of Revelation other writings, worked out from all a complete system of theology without any hiatus, and applied the curse to their own product. They have thereby made theology rigid rather than pliant, a cast-iron bed for all ages to rest upon, a set of armor in which the Church must always fight the Philistines, whether it fits a particular generation or not. They hold that theology is an exact science, and they ignore Christ's own statement as to partial, and his promise as to future, revelation.

What is the cause of this frame of mind, which prevents progress in theology, and which has lost for the clergy their one-time proud position as leaders of the world's thought? Let us seek it.

A distinguished Episcopal bishop, in a current paper on "The Decay of the Pulpit," gives us a clue. He admits the decay and ascribes it to forgetfulness on the part of the clergy that they are messengers sent to bear news—to tell a message from God to man revealed by Christ. We may accept his definition of ministers as messengers without subscribing to all of his conclusions. Has a messenger any authority to construe his message? Must he not content himself with telling it, and let it speak for itself? A minister to a foreign court imparts the instructions of his home government, but he may not obscure or pervert them with constructions of his own. Inability on his part to understand them gives him no warrant to bind others by his interpretation. Christ sent out his disciples as witnesses of what they had seen and heard. St. Peter in explicit words tells the purpose of the first ordination of a Christian minister —"to be a witness with us of His resurrection." There you have the function. He is to be a truth-teller to them that come after. No power as truth-interpreter was ever given to him. It must be conceded that the telling of a thing does to some extent involve its interpretation. It is difficult to draw the line. It was once successfully done in that matchless combination of statement of facts with the minimum of interpretation, the Apostles' Creed, which I am glad to know is the only test of belief imposed upon laymen of the Episcopal Church. In the Westminster Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles, the Athanasian Creed, and similar deliverances, and in their treatises, the theologians have drawn the line as if they had supreme authority over their message to construe it as they would. They have forgotten their function as truth-tellers in their desire to be truth-interpreters. So they have come sincerely to believe that the revelation once delivered was full and final, and that they are its exclusive trustees. Hence there can be no progress in theology, the first century has a mortgage on the nineteenth, and they must keep their eyes in the back of their heads. No wonder that they stumble! The Protestant clergy have never been a whit behind their Roman Catholic brethren in upholding this prerogative. The only difference between them is, that the latter assert the infallibility of a Pope elected by themselves, and the former insist on the infallibility of a book selected by themselves. The dissensions between theologians may trouble the rest of the world and result in the rejection of revelation altogether, but it does not worry them. Does not each of them know that he holds the truth, and that every one who differs from him is in the wrong?

This mania for interpretation broke out in the Church among the very first ministers after those who had seen the Lord. The men who had been with Christ were inartificial, uneducated. They used simple words to convey simple ideas. They were witnesses pure and simple. St. Paul was a product of the schools, delighting in complexity. To his calling as missionary he added that of theologian. He was indeed the first theologian, and has much to answer for. He propounded many things that simple-minded St. Peter complains were "hard to be understood." He found the religion of Christ a plain story of fact and clear teaching as to conduct, which the humblest folk could understand. He left it a subtle body of theology, which the profoundest minds have been debating ever since. Wherever he was the missionary, burning to tell his message, he did it with such power that even now men are moved by the written page. Wherever he was the theologian, he was so acute, so full of refinements, antithesis, play upon words, forced similes—in short, so confusing—that we do not wonder that a young man during one of his long preachments was overcome with sleep, fell out of a window, and was taken up for dead. There is a deal of humor in the Bible if we will not shut our eyes to it, and there was probably a quiet smile on St. Luke's face while penning that tale. No doubt on their journeyings he had often rallied the preacher on the unusual results of his discourse that night. Such disquisitions may have sent Eutychus to sleep, but they also sent the Christian Church along a path of debate, never ending, often acrimonious, sometimes a path of blood.

St. Paul, great as he was, and entitled to our reverence as one inspired, was not infallible. His own writings convict him of error. His claims of inspiration for some of his utterances have been disproved by time. But his successors, instead of avoiding, have repeated his mistakes, substituted subtlety for simplicity, theology for religion, truth-interpreting for truth-telling. Is it too much to say that so long as they continue to put the refinements of St. Paul upon the same level of authority as the sayings of the Master, just so long will they have cause to mourn that their influence decreases in proportion as general discernment increases?

We are next to consider the attitude of the Church toward the unseen things in the realm of metaphysics. Surely here, whatever may be the rights of the theologians in their own domain, they should demean themselves as co-seekers after truth. Surely they have no divine prerogative here. Would it not be well for them in these matters at least to discard that frame of mind which predisposes them to measure every new theory by theological standards? That is the rock on which they have always been wrecked. In the warfare ever waged between science and theology, the latter is always worsted. The latest case is Evolution, once bitterly opposed by the clerics as against the Bible, and now being slowly accepted as in harmony with it and even dimly taught by it.

A new subject has loomed up of late, in regard to which they must take a position—Spiritual Science. I use this term rather than *Christian* Science, because the latter has come to be popularly known as the badge of a particular cult, and because the former is more comprehensive. I am not unmindful that, if it is a correct term, it does not fall under the head which we have reached. But it is not my intention to go into the broader and more important question, whether the new Spiritual Science is not really the old religion taught by Christ stripped of theological encrustation. I shall limit my few remaining remarks to one of its practical applications—healing disease. As that is sometimes called mental therapeutics, we may properly discuss it at this stage of our inquiry.

Time and again distinguished divines dismiss the subject with the flippant quip that it is unchristian and unscientific. Did it never occur to them that in so doing they may lay themselves open to the same charge? Let us see. Within the last twenty years cures in mental therapeutics have been performed to such an extent that they overthrow denial and challenge explanation. The evidence in their favor as facts is much stronger than that of the miracles of healing in the New Testament. One cannot talk with any person without hearing of a relative or friend or acquaintance who has been cured or benefited by mental treatment. The theory of coincidence breaks down. Said a woman of reflective turn of mind in my hearing not long ago, "How many coincidences must there be to disprove the theory?" Countless afflicted ones, like the woman in the Bible, who had spent her substance on physicians and grew no better but rather worse, have gone to mental healers and returned cured. When the theologians charge the healer with being a sinner, the answer comes like that of the blind man to the Pharisees: whether she be a sinner I know not; one thing I know—whereas I was ill, now I am well. When the questioners, refusing the evidence, repeat their queries over and over again, and the healed ventures to suggest that perhaps the healer has become possessed of some knowledge of divine law which they would do well to study, the scornful reply is made as of old, Thyself was born in sin—dost thou teach us? And they cast him out.

Is not this conduct of Christian ministers passing strange? Have they not taken to heart the story of the disciples forbidding an outsider from casting out devils in Christ's name, because, as they reported to him with eager zeal, "he followeth not us"? Have they forgotten how, instead of commending for fidelity, he rebuked his followers for bigotry? Have they never noticed that he did so in words that distinctly imply the power of others than himself and his disciples to work cures?

It will emphasize my point to state a legal opinion of a friend of mine given a few years ago to a mental healer upon the question whether the latter came under the public health law. An indictment, said he, for practising mental healing without a doctor's license would not hold; there is no law against thinking, nor any that requires a physician to be called in to attend a sick person, except in the case of children; adults cannot be compelled to employ doctors or swallow drugs; the fate that sooner or later overtakes every doctor—a patient dying on his hands—may befall you, but you need not fear an indictment as much as a doctor; he can be prosecuted for negligence in prescribing the wrong drug, and the books are full of cases against physicians for malpractice; no Grand Jury can lawfully indict you for thinking or praying; if, however, one should do so, no petit jury could convict you without subverting the principles of the Christian religion as set forth in the very book on which they had been sworn a true verdict to give; if the doctors or ministers are fanatical enough to pursue you, I should defend you by subpœnaing leading clergymen as expert witnesses, and out of their own mouths force the opinion that the Bible, on which they also had been sworn, teaches that healing of the body can be done by mental operations.

The lawyer was right. The theologian who affirms cures in the first century and denies them in the nineteenth is guilty of flagrant inconsistency.

It must be conceded that little is known about the laws governing the operation of mental forces, or thought-waves, to use a recent term. That is a reason, not for denial but for investigation. Our learned doctors, medical and clerical, would do better if they would condescend to study mental cures, instead of being quick to decry simple folk who suppose that Christ did say and did mean that those who believed on him should have power to heal the sick. Whether he cured by fiat or by law is not made very clear in the Bible. There are two passages, however, which trouble the clergy greatly. You never hear any sermons on them. The theologians would rejoice if the verses were not there, for they prove that Christ's power was limited. St. Mark says: "And he could there do no mighty work, save that he laid hands on a few sick folk and healed them." St. Matthew tells us that this was because of the unbelief of the people in that region. If the thought-forces of the second person of the Trinity were powerless in the hostile atmosphere of unbelieving Jews, it is not strange that those of the humble healer of to-day are hampered by an environment of unbelieving Christians.

O foolish theologians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth before whose eyes facts are set? Have ye suffered so many things in vain? He that ministereth to you the Spirit and worketh miracles of healing among you —doeth he it by the aid of your theologies, or by the having of faith in principles taught by Christ and discarded by you? It is prevalent speech among laymen that your subtleties and refinements, your perversions and pretensions, have done more harm to your Master's cause than all the open antagonism of skeptic and agnostic. "I thank thee, O Father," said He, "that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." Can you not see, O ye spiritual leaders, that, if our religion is true, the Church has everything to gain and nothing to fear from the efforts of those who are seeking to cast out sickness in His name, even though they follow not us?

Perhaps they once were followers of the Church and left its ranks because they thought, however mistakenly, that it was not following Christ. Perhaps they did not find that it ministered to their spiritual needs. Mayhap they felt that some of its gardeners were spending too much time in the cultivation of the tree of Institutionalism, to the neglect of the tree of Life.

Cease your practise of lighting religious candles and putting them under theological bushels; hold to your errand of truth-telling; give up your claim of truth-interpreter; take the rôle of truth-seeker. Then may you be able to actualize, in a returning influence over men, the mighty mental and spiritual forces wrapped up in that inspired deliverance of St. Paul—"God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, of love, and of a sound mind."

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IV. CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT STEP.

THE modern, rational conception of Christianity, it has been truly said, had its birth about a century ago. It was born of a great, strong, new impulse. It was a fresh awakening, both ethically and religiously, and has had a powerful influence surely in the Christian Church. On its negative side it was a moral as well as an intellectual revulsion from the dogmatic theology of the time. On its affirmative side, it is now widely acknowledged, it was a truer conception in many respects of Christ's teaching. It is contended, however, that this grand and beneficent impulse has now spent its force and done its special work. Still another assertion is added, quite naturally perhaps—that no new impulse takes the place of the old one.

There is only one question closely involved in the foregoing statement that we are concerned now to consider: Has liberal Christianity ceased to be a *forward* movement; does it take any new, progressive step, or throw itself into any great cause of the present time?

One of our well-known Unitarian clergymen not long ago asked the question: "What is to be our next step forward?" Surely there is abundant need always for such onward steps in morals and religion—as in science and civilization. It is a familiar saying that revival, renewal, is the course of Nature. New movements, ethical, religious, social, are in order in our time as in every age of the world. The evolutionary progress of mankind is made, and has ever been made, by these repeatedly rising tides—these great waves of advance, religious and spiritual as well as political and literary. We have been in the habit of instancing, as such, Protestantism, and even Christianity itself; but there have been many minor ones. Can it be that there are no such overflowings of the great pulsing, bounding spiritual Life in our day and generation?

There are as a matter of fact some very active, and possibly not inconsequential, new movements going forward to-day. Let us briefly consider two of them.

The first, we will notice, is what we call the New Social Movement, which is arising throughout the world among the foremost Christian nations. This movement has its "message," supposed to be indeed "good news," "glad tidings," to men of to-day—the new Social Gospel. It is not, however, really new; in a larger sense it is old. Its essential element is in Christianity itself, taught and emphasized eighteen centuries ago by Jesus Christ. But the world was then only in very small measure ready for it. It was in fact born "out of due season," and though not destroyed, and having not been dead at any time since, it could be truly said of it, all through these centuries, "it sleepeth." In our time it has come to life, to rebirth, and, let us hope, is now "born in due season," and, if it be a good tree, surely it will grow and bear fruit and its "leaves be for the healing of the nations."

Certainly we may believe that there was never before in the world's history such an awakening, such an unfolding of what we fitly call the "Social Consciousness," which is now ready to welcome the "Social Gospel" declared of old, "Peace on earth and good-will to men," and put to-day into the formula, "Each for all and all for each." This Social Movement is surely a vital one, and its gospel a living word. May it prove a real awakening, full of life and power—be indeed an upward-rising, onward-moving wave of human reformation!

It is not alone in its nature an industrial, or a narrowly social, or mainly an ethical, evolutionary advance. It is all of these, and yet more; it has the spiritual (religious) element freshly and strongly kindled into life and activity. It means human redemption morally and spiritually, as well as deliverance from the present degrading poverty and monstrous injustice in the world. It is, therefore, truly Christian, in nature and spirit as in origin. It has been articulating itself in recent years philosophically as "solidarity of the race;" religiously as "freedom, religion, fellowship;" Christianly as "human brotherhood," and socialistically with intensity as "liberty, equality, fraternity." It is being voiced by many single tongues, which are fast increasing in number. Not long ago Professor Herron championed it in a scholarly and forceful way. It is abroad in the earth, stirring consciences, engaging thinkers, moving hearts, and actually beginning to be a prevailing spirit among some classes of men.

Here is a fresh social awakening—a movement toward social reconstruction. The time in a measure is ripe for it, and the need surely is a pressing one. What would it mean? The brotherhood of men, not simply acknowledged in theory but really attempted in practise; cessation of deadly strife; abolition of war; an end to antagonism between man and man, class and class, nation and nation; a true fraternity, mutual coöperation, and brotherly relations established among mankind. Aye, what would that mean? The very heart and core of such a revolution, the mighty impulse giving it life and power, could *only* be religious, moral, spiritual—yea, *Christian* in the true sense of the word—and surely fit to inspire and engage intensely the Church of Christ. Is the "Liberal" faith, or any branch of the Church now existing, astir, aflame, or likely to be, with the spirit of this grand forward step of humanity? Or is it only possible that another and a new Church of Christ, of God, of man, can be equal to the demands of so great a task and worthy the honor and glory of insuring its consummation?

There is another contemporary new movement of no mean proportions, making its way with great activity, which claims the attention of the Christian Church to-day. This movement also has its "message" of "good news," of "glad tidings," which is well characterized by the name: "The Gospel of Healing."* This is really and emphatically a religious revival, whatever else it may be. It is at heart distinctively spiritual and springs from a fresh development, a fresh awakening, of the "spiritual consciousness" of men. And here, again, we must hasten to say, this "Gospel of Healing" is not really new. It is old—old as Christianity itself surely, and may rightly claim indeed to be definitely Christian, in its origin as in its essential nature. It has simply sprung into new life, come to rebirth, in this movement of our time.

It will be well, doubtless, to ask here if the claim is valid that Christ gave to the world what we call the "Gospel of Healing." It certainly does seem that if Christ enjoined anything upon his disciples it was to do the "works," so called—the healing. If there was anything more prominent than another in his own ministry it surely was the "works," the healing, which he performed in privacy, in public places, and on almost all occasions during his active public life. It can be truly said from the testimony of the New Testament records that where he preached once, exhorted the people on one occasion, he healed many cases of disease. And it is safe to say that in his instructions to his disciples he laid the emphasis on the "works" rather than on the word; he put the ministry of healing before the ministry of preaching. He charged the disciples, as he taught them, as he commissioned and sent them forth, to "heal the sick." He insisted upon the healing as the more essential thing, apparently.

What explanation has been given, or can be given, of this unquestionable fact? Nothing really worthy of notice has been offered in disposal of it. It seems to have been taken for granted, without any reason and without scriptural authority, that the command of Jesus to do the "works," heal the sick, was meant for his immediate disciples, and was intended for no others or other time. If that were true in regard to healing the same must be true in regard to preaching, and Christian pulpits and Christian preachers as such have no sanction or authority to-day for their existence. It surely appears that the command was equally valid, equally explicit, to his followers for all time both to preach the gospel of truth and to do the works of healing. Is there the slightest intimation by any New Testament writer that the command to heal was at any time revoked? Nay; in no way. We must conclude, without some evidence to the contrary, that the gospel of healing was intended by Christ as a part, a very essential part, of Christianity. The accounts of the healing blotted out of the gospel records, a blank would result indeed.

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* It appears under various forms, well known popularly as "Faith Cure," "Prayer Cure," "Divine Healing," "Christian Science," etc.; but these are evidently only different phases of one and the same thing essentially.

The important inference must necessarily be made that Jesus had good and sufficient reasons for such great stress placed by him upon the "works," for such prominence given them in his own ministry and that of his disciples, as to have made them part and parcel of Christianity, which was for every age and for all mankind. We must see that very great importance was attached by him to the "works," shown very emphatically by his own extensive doing of them, and by the pressing charge to his followers to do the like.

Why were the "works," naturally we may ask, of so great moment? We answer, obviously there was a good, a value, in those works far transcending that of mere bodily cure. Is it not possible that there are some great truths, certain basic laws and principles, disclosed, illustrated, and enforced thereby, of deep and far-reaching import? We believe so. We are beginning to understand them. A glimpse at least has been caught in these latter days of their large significance. Those who have essayed in our day to do the works Jesus enjoined, to put in practise the method of cure by spiritual means, could not fail to have impressed upon their minds something of their real meaning, of their spiritual import, of their deep revealings.

First of all, they make manifest in a convincing manner the "supremacy of spirit," which surely should find appreciation by a Christian church in these days of materialistic tendencies. They help men to a higher and clearer conception of the infinite Power. They are, in a word, a revelation of God, the Father. Jesus considered them thus, we must think. Indeed, he said so again and again. Jesus evidently meant the healing, used it, and meant it to be used ever after him, to help men to see that the Almighty Father is very near to them, working ever to heal them even of their physical maladies, the pain and disease of their bodies, as well as to heal them by His same gracious power of ills of mind, heart, and soul. Jesus emphasized the works, can we not believe, as tangible evidence that the infinite God, and He alone, is the real Healer; that he is ever ready and lovingly desirous to cure the bodily infirmities of his children? The existence of God as a reality is thus impressed upon the mind, his immanence upon the consciousness; and his goodness and love are manifested by this all-life-giving and restorative power. The subjects of the healing, when they experience it, feel all this to be true—as if He were indeed "touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

Again, the healing afforded to men a new estimate of *man*, a revelation of him—of his greatness and power. The old theological view of him held by our ancestors is happily gone. The later valuation of him preached by Channing and others is nearer the gospel representation. The dignity and intrinsic nobleness of human nature were emphasized—yea, the essential goodness and even divineness of humanity were asserted.

But Jesus took a yet deeper sounding of the real, essential man, can we not see? It is disclosed in his announcement to men: "The kingdom of heaven is within you." In his command, "Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven," it is shown. He proclaimed it in "All things are possible to him who believeth." It is declared again in his assurance: "The works that I do ye shall do also, and greater works than these shall ye do." To one who experienced healing at the hands of Jesus all this seemed enforced and illustrated thereby without doubt. It is the same over again to-day to the patient healed by spiritual means. It is made a living truth to him that men are "made in God's image and likeness;" that they are his children, offspring indeed, sons and daughters of his, partakers of his essence, sharers in his power, and joined to him in oneness. So that to assert the divine, yea more, the *deific* nature of man—that is, as to his highest, deepest, most essential nature—ceases to appear extravagant or strange to-day.

Thus it is that the God-nature, the inherent powers and possibilities of man, so open up in the light and by the application of the Healing Gospel as to give a new revelation of him. There are other grand truths revealed by Christ's gospel of healing of equal fundamental worth, but which even to mention here there is not space.

It may be asked, if Jesus gave this Gospel of Healing, and it is of such great importance and leads to such invaluable results, such revealings of truths, why has it been so little appreciated, so long neglected or ignored? The Apostolic Church accepted it and valued it as an essential part of the New Dispensation; the early Christians continued long in the same faith and practise. But gradually, as the centuries wore on, it was mostly left behind, till at length the Church—Protestant Christians, at any rate—became almost wholly strangers to it. They could say, in the old phrase: "We have not so much as heard whether there be any" ministry of healing. It "was in the world," but the "world knew it not." Man was but poorly prepared then to receive, value, and use it.

How has it fared with the gospel Truth that Jesus taught and gave to be *preached?* What has been preached as it? For centuries hardly more than a mere travesty of it had place in Christendom. Only indeed in recent years has anything like a reasonable, ethical, spiritual grasp and appreciation of it dawned upon Christians. Is it any wonder, however? How could men then, mostly on the level of the senses, gross appetites and passions, comprehend the truth, beauty, and spirituality of Christ's interpretation of religion? It could only be a "leaven," and work leavening, in the lump of humanity. But what was thus through Jesus "lifted up" could "draw men unto" it; and it draws them now as never before. The time is ripe, and men are ready now perhaps for its large appreciation. Therefore it is that we find possible, yea, actual to-day, this Spiritual Movement. Be it true that something like a new time is dawning on the world! There are "signs of the times" that surely seem propitious. There is such an awakening of the spiritual consciousness of men in these latter days as to make this new-old Gospel of Healing possible of reception and large fruition in Christendom.

Faith, high and true, large and strong enough, has been so evolved in man that the spiritual healing of him, even so thoroughly as to include his body, is a possibility. To such faith, which is the spiritual state, the power of laying hold of the spiritual, the consciousness of the reality and power of spirit—to such faith, indeed, "all things are possible." The sick, the suffering, the weak and sinful are realizing this possibility. The great Teacher is taken at his word, and it is found true: "If ye have faith, the works that I do ye shall do also." It is these conditions that make possible this large and rapidly-growing, and may be permanent, Movement of our day. Time alone will prove what great, general value it has, and what is to be its eventual outcome.*

To conclude, will so-called Liberal Christianity, or will the

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* Dr. R. Heber Newton says of it: "Another of the most revolutionizing conceptions of the latter part of our closing century is the movement known under various names—as Faith Cure, Christian Science, Mental Healing, and what not. Within thirty years it has developed to the amazing proportions which it has now assumed in this country. The Movement is still rapidly growing. Allow for all possible nonsense and folly, for any amount of crudeness in the thought of its expounders, for all sorts of exaggerations—and still the broad, deep fact remains that what men in times past have here and there dimly divined to be true, without discovering the application of the truth, has come to be widely recognized and practically applied with astounding results: results that are only the beginning of the issues of this New Thought. He would be a bold prophet who, looking a half century ahead, would dare to say how far Medical Science will be changed by this New Thought; how far man's nature will be altered by it; how far the ills of human life will be modified and ameliorated through it."

Christian Church as a whole, take up and to itself these (or any other) new movements, fresh advances, progressive steps —moral, social, or spiritual—and thus lead the Christian world on, as in the earlier days, in emancipation from error, wrong, evil?

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THE SPIRITUAL IN LITERATURE.

IT is not intended in this article to write of the many volumes, pamphlets, magazine articles, and journals written by avowed Spiritualists in the direct interest of Spiritualism, of which there is a constantly increasing stream pouring from the press of this and other countries. Of these, the Spiritualistic papers and magazines keep their readers fully informed. But in behalf of the many interested in the subject who have not time to search through the vast field of literature, it is only designed to call attention to some of the standard books in public or other libraries that to a greater or less degree touch upon, treat of, or indirectly teach spiritual truths or bear upon occult science. We find such works in fiction, poetry, biography, essays, and general literature.

Among noted French writers who have been and are believers in the higher truths of Spiritualism, we may name Balzac, George Sand, Victor Hugo, Dumas, Amiel, and Flammarion; among English authors, Bulwer Lytton and his son, Tennyson, Wordsworth, William Blake, J. H. Shorthouse, Mrs. Browning, Mrs. Oliphant, Charlotte Bronté, Marie Corelli, Du Maurier, Edwin Arnold, Dante, Gabriel Rossetti; among Americans, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps-Ward, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Whittier, Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edward Bellamy, and Marion Crawford. There are others, but these names come now to mind most prominently.

Honoré de Balzac, the novelist, whose centenary anniversary has recently been celebrated, who is now given first place in French literature, and whose works have been adequately translated into English by an American woman, Katherine Prescott Wormely, understood thoroughly the spiritual nature, strivings, and destiny of man; and many of his works, like "The Country Doctor," show evidence of his philosophic spiritual studies. But in his three books that should be read in a series—"Louis Lambert," "The Magic Skin," and "Seraphita"—his thought is most fully developed; and all interested in the spiritual life should read at least these three. George Sand's "Consuela" and its sequel, "The Countess of Rudolstadt," are permeated with spiritual thought and descriptions of its phenomena. Victor Hugo, who openly avowed his belief in Spiritualism, gives special prominence to the reasonableness of this belief in his "Toilers of The Sea," and more than hints at it in "Les Miserables." Dumas shows how his "Count of Monte Christo" was kept sane in his long imprisonment by spiritual ministrations and teachings—through automatic writing and other phases. Henri Frederic Amiel did not profess to believe in Spiritualism; yet his uplifting book, the "Journal Intimé," so ably translated by Mrs. Humphry Ward, is impregnated throughout with spiritual faith and aspiration—though he would probably have been shocked had any one thought of him as a believer in Spiritualism. Camille Flammarion, the astronomer, was at one time an automatic writer, and his "Stories of Infinity" and "Urania" deal wholly with the problems of spiritual existence from the standpoint of scientific knowledge. Guy de Maupassant's "Horla," and perhaps some other stories, treats of occult subjects.

Among English authors, perhaps Bulwer Lytton, who made a careful study of psychic phenomena, has made most use of them in his stories. One of his earlier works, "Pilgrims on the Rhine," embodies in a little story the germ that Du Maurier later worked out in his charming story of "Peter Ibbetson," and his dream life. Bulwer's fascinating "Strange Story" gives a thrilling interest to the possibilities of hypnotism and the trance state. The mysteriously powerful "Zanoni" works his will through spiritual forces. Bulwer's son, the author of "Lucile," was also a strong believer in Spiritualism, as is clearly stated in Mrs. Browning's "Letters" to various friends. Bulwer's "The Coming Race" is founded on the possibility of telepathy and other to-be-developed psychic powers. Mrs. Margaret Oliphant—whose interest in such matters is plainly shown in her biography of her relative, Lawrence Oliphant—among her many stories has several dealing with the possibilities of spirit-life: such as her exquisite "Little Pilgrim," the longing sadness of "Old Lady Mary," when out of the body, because she could not influence any one to help her right the wrongs she had done to others in the flesh. "The Portrait" and "The Open Door" are also thoroughly psychical stories.

Many of Dickens's stories, especially the Christmas tales, are in full accord with spiritual truths; while there are few of his novels that do not indirectly give evidence of Dickens's belief in psychic influences. George Du Maurier's best known works are mainly based on the possibilities open to humanity through the spiritual powers that are the heritage of man, though now so dimly perceived. Not only is this true of his "Trilby," but more particularly of his delightful "Peter Ibbetson" and "The Martian," in which automatic writing plays so great a part. The popularity of Marie Corelli comes from the "intimations of immortality" she has urged upon the world of story-readers in such works as "The Romance of Two Worlds," "Ardath," "The Mighty Atom," "The Soul of Lilith," etc. A high type of spiritual thought is inwrought in all the writings of J. H. Shorthouse, especially in his most masterly work, "John Inglesant, Gentleman," as well as in "The Little Schoolmaster Mark," "Sir Percival," "Countess Eve," and "Teacher of the Violin." Even the fantastic, mystery-weaving mind of Robert Louis Stevenson finds some spiritual lessons in life, such as are shown in "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" and "The Master of Ballentræ." Mrs. Catherine Crow's "Ghosts and Family Legends," and some recent essays of the critic, Andrew Lang, with the "Sympneumata" of Lawrence Oliphant, deal with psychical phenomena of the day; while the works of the mystic poet-artist, William Blake, are of somewhat like tenor as the writings of Swedenborg and Jacob Boehme.

Among the writers on occult or spiritual topics in this country, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps-Ward, the daughter and granddaughter of rigidly orthodox theological college professors, and the wife of a clergyman, easily takes the lead, though denying any personal proclivities in favor of Spiritualism. Yet her fascinating series of stories of the hereafter—"The Gates Ajar," "Beyond the Gates," and "The Gates Between"—with the spiritual ideas conveyed in many of her later novels, sketches, and essays, as well as in her poems, have been the means of inducing many from within the orthodox fold to take courage to wander into broader and more elevated religious pasturage, whence they could gain sure glimpses of the Elysian fields lying beyond the gates called "Death" on this side, though known as the gates of Life on the other. Harriet Beecher Stowe, while confessing that her "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which did such awakening work for freedom, was written under direct inspiration, did not appeal so strongly in her beautiful stories in behalf of Spiritualism, pure and simple, as did Mrs. Phelps-Ward. Her "Old Town Folks"—in which she gives under the guise of fiction many psychical experiences of her own, and more particularly those of Professor Calvin Stowe, her clergyman husband—comes the nearest to a confession of her faith; while other books, like "The Minister's Wooing" and "Agnes of Sorrento," indicate the trend of her convictions.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter," "House of the Seven Gables," "The Marble Faun," and "Mosses from an Old Manse," are all permeated with spiritual thought, belief, and ideals; though he probably would have been shocked, had he lived to read it, at the open confession of Spiritualist experiences which his gifted son Julian has given to the world. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, during his later years, was much given to investigation of psychical mysteries, to which his medical studies and experiments lent an added interest. His latest and not least charming work, "Over the Tea-cups," gives many intimations as to the conclusions to which these studies had brought him in respect to belief in the continuity of existence beyond the earthly plane. "Elsie Venner," "The Guardian Angel," and "A Mortal Antipathy" show the varying phases of his pursuit of the mysteries of the human soul. Some of Dr. Weir Mitchell's books show as well the skilled physician's interest in psychical questions, though I do not now recall the special works in which he adverts to them. Edward

Bellamy, whose "Looking Backward" stirred thousands of hearts with hopeful visions of a "good time coming" through its so-called Utopian theories founded on ideas born of study of the spiritual nature of man, has written other works that evidence his practical if not avowed belief in Spiritualism—such as "Miss Laddington's Sister" and his shorter sketches, "The Blind Man's World" and "To Whom it Shall Come," and more emphatically still in his last noble contribution to ethics, "Equality."

F. Marion Crawford, though brought up in Italy and with Italian affiliations, is nevertheless an American, and can be claimed as an American writer. Quite a number of his works show that he has made a special study of the occult, and the mysteries of mental phenomena. "Mr. Isaacs," among the earliest of his productions, has for its *motif* study of Oriental magic and mysticism. "Among the Immortals" hints at materialization, while "The Witch of Prague" is a weird yet charming presentation of the possibilities of hypnotism. Among his other novels, "A Roman Singer" brings in the occult as a strong element of the plot.

How much attention is being awakened among our writers in recent years to the growing evidence of the spiritual side of man, as developed through mediumship, the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research, and the scientific study of hypnotism, is shown by the frequent introduction of such subjects by writers who do not profess any belief in the facts, as such, of spiritual manifestations. Such works as Zola's "Lourdes," Edward Eggleston's "Faith Doctor," Mrs. Harrison Burton's "An Errant Wooing," Hall Caine's "Deemster," Henry James's "Bostonians," Miss Murfree's "Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountain," and other stories, show as literary straws the stream of tendency to belief and consideration of the great question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" Many of Wilkie Collins's delightful stories also touch on the various developments of the hidden life of humanity.

Besides the poets Emerson, Tennyson, the Brownings, Edwin Arnold, Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, and presumably

Dante and Gabriel Rossetti (since he was a believer who had personal experience), the trend of spiritual thought to-day is shown by writers like John Fiske, in his series entitled "The Idea of God," "The Destiny of Man," and "Through Nature to God;" Drummond's "Natural Law in the Spiritual World;" the writings of Henry Wood, such as "God's Image in Man" and "Studies in the Thought World," as well as by the wide publication in leading journals everywhere of the careful investigations of scholars and thinkers of the Psychical Research Society, and the verdict of such men as Professors Crookes, Alfred Russell Wallace, Oliver Lodge, Henry Sedgwick, F. W. H. Myers, Richard Hodgson, Professor William James of Harvard, Professor J. H. Hyslop of Columbia University, and Rev. M. J. Savage in regard to evidential proof of immortality through communication with the so-called dead.

Biographical literature, too, is playing its part in calling attention to spiritual thought, as in the recently published "Letters" of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Life and Letters," Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's "Autobiography," and the "Life of William Lloyd Garrison." The subject of Spiritualism is discussed at most length in the second volume of Mrs. Browning's letters to her friends—not the letters that passed between the poet-lovers.

I have not undertaken in this paper to speak of the steady outpour from the press of literature by comparatively unknown writers that deals wholly with psychic problems and spiritual possibilities and is doing effective work in various directions. My aim has been to prove the strong impulse toward increasing belief in man's higher (or spiritual) purpose in the Universe; since the writers of any age, like the poets and songmakers, reflect always the prevailing thought, feeling, and tendencies of the silent masses.

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A PROBLEM IN SOCIOLOGY.

IN an article in the September, 1900, ARENA, on "The Study and Needs of Sociology," I mentioned two seemingly antagonistic tendencies in social development—one the aspiration toward freedom, which has been the characteristic of every people in every time, and the other the equally marked tendency toward slavery through the growing dependence of each person upon others for even the commonest necessities of life. These opposite tendencies were noted as one of the problems in sociology that must be studied and harmonized before such a thing as a science of sociology becomes possible. I will now consider that proposition and see if there is a way to solve it. But, first, let us understand what is meant by the tendency to slavery through the growing dependence of each person upon others for the common necessities of life.

The most conspicuous characteristic of our industrial system is the constantly growing subdivision of labor, whereby each occupation divides itself into a multitude of smaller occupations, each more specialized than its predecessor, and giving opportunity for the exercise of more skill in their smaller fields. For instance, it is within the memory of many now living when there were watchmakers: that is, when the watchmaker learned to make a whole watch. It required an apprenticeship of many of the best years of the lives of the artisans to learn their trade at all; and when learned, it was incomplete. The watches turned out by hand were, at best, crude and imperfect. But, as the occupation of watchmaking became more and more specialized and subdivided, so that one person performed less and less of the whole work of making a watch, greater and still greater accuracy of all the parts became possible; watches were made better on the whole, and less time was required both to produce the watch and to learn the trade. Other advantages were also made possible by this means. The greater the subdivision of the labor of watchmaking, the simpler became the different processes; consequently, the application of machinery to the art of watchmaking became more and more possible. This has gone on until almost the entire watch is made by machinery; watches are better and more accurately made; and, for the most part, nobody need spend much time in learning how to make watches. That is to say, the time required to learn how to do the little that any *one* is called upon to do in the making of watches is so small that any one can learn it in from a few hours to a few days. Of course, expertness only comes by practise; but almost anybody can learn to work in a factory at the making of watches so quickly that the old-time watchmaker would have regarded any person as a fool who should have hinted that such a thing would ever become possible.

The same tendencies noted in the industry of watchmaking are equally marked in every other. The movement toward an extreme subdivision of labor applies to every occupation, calling, and profession; and, while it has added enormously to the productiveness of labor, it has added scarcely anything to the wages of labor. But, on the contrary, it has made the laborers more and more dependent upon one another and upon their employers for the commonest things of life. No man any longer produces the whole of any one thing that he consumes; and if one were thrown upon his own resources, aside from the possible assistance of others, in almost any part of the habitable world, he would certainly perish.

This mutual dependence of the workers is supplemented by certain social adjustments that have grown up along with the entire industrial system, forming a part of it, and that make that dependence one of almost absolute helplessness. Along with the artisan has developed the master, the owner of the factory and the machinery—the capitalist. He owns, not only the shop and tools and the machinery, but the land from which are taken the raw materials that the worker uses in making the goods he turns out. The new-born babe is scarcely more dependent than the artisan with no right to his tools or to the raw materials necessary to carry on his industry. Unless he can find a master he must starve, even though he is ready and willing to work for anybody that will hire him. And the further this system of industry develops, the more general the application of machinery becomes, and the more productive becomes that labor, the more completely the laborer is in the power of the master. At present his only recourse is in trades-unions, which, at best, are wholly inadequate. This is what is meant by the "tendency toward slavery," above referred to.

Nor is this tendency confined to what is called the working class. It extends to those of every other. There is no liberty for one class that does not extend to all. And there can be no slavery for one that is not shared by all. Human society is an organism that has been developed through ages of evolutionary growth; and, like the members of our physical bodies, all must suffer in sympathy with those afflicted. There is no way in which we can escape that suffering; hence, if we permit the continuance of a wrong that works injury to any member of this social organism, we are all sure to have our full share of that injury to bear. It bears upon us in a thousand ways in which we least expect it; so that the burdens that fall upon the artisans, the workers, are the very ones that bend the backs of every man, woman, and child in the land. Thus this "tendency toward slavery" is one that applies to all the members of our social organism. Contrasting this tendency, everywhere observable, with the love of liberty implanted in every heart, it is evident that there must come a condition of stress, of discontent, of strikes, and all manner of disturbances, and, when the stress becomes great enough, of insurrections and revolutions to break the surroundings and give opportunity for the aspirations toward liberty to find expression.

Why should these things be? Why should not the increased productiveness of labor bring increased comfort and enjoyment to the workers? It may be answered that it does; that the toilers are better housed, better fed, and better clothed than they were a hundred or even fifty years ago. Admit it, and still it proves nothing. Their bettered condition is as nothing compared to the increase in the productiveness of their labor. It is in nowise commensurate with their earnings. It has not even kept pace with the increase in their needs. But the aspiration toward liberty, which at times may sleep, is certain to reawaken and demand such a readjustment as will be more in accordance with those aspirations. There are periods when resistance to tyranny comes easy, when the very atmosphere seems charged with revolution, and when the great mass of men appear to rise as by some mighty impulse to achieve greater liberty. This impulse assumes different forms at different times. At one time it revolts against religious tyranny, at another it seeks freedom of speech and the press, while again it claims political equality. The particular form of the revolt is always determined by the special form of the oppression that for the time bears most heavily upon the people. The indications are that the world is approaching another such an era; but, unlike the others, it aims at economic freedom. The economic subjection already pointed out has become the most conspicuous abuse of our time, or of all times; and the resistance is certain to focus right there. Again, unlike other great epochs, the questions to be settled are economic ones. The struggle will be conducted along economic lines. It is the struggle that will solve the greatest problem in sociology that has ever been presented to the world—the problem of harmonizing the two seemingly opposite tendencies in human evolution: the one toward freedom and the other toward slavery. Let us see if we can make a forecast of that evolution.

The money question has been by far the most prominent question before the people, not only of this country but of the world, for the last twenty-five years. Every civilized country has had an experience with it, and some have been brought to the verge of ruin—this country in 1893, for instance. Its methods are the oldest, the greatest, and the most universal of all the methods of exploitation and oppression in this world. All others are but children of this parent, and are as pygmies by its side. The events of the last ten years have unmasked its subtle ways until it stands before the world without a rival in any age or time in the cruelty of its greed and its unrelenting avarice. Then, too, it has organized its power and fortified itself in the laws of almost every country—until it regards itself, and most others regard it, as invincible. It is just this condition that always precedes the fall of a tyrant. His destruction always comes at the time when he feels the most secure. The oppressor can never so fortify himself as to guard all the lines of approach. This is as true of oppressive institutions as of men. The greatest struggle that the world has ever seen, greatest at least in its outcome, is even now upon us in the economic movement to free the world from its dependence upon the money power, which consists in the world's being obliged to use its money, and in order to get it to pay interest. The strength of that power is in its monopoly, and arrayed behind that it has every important government in the world. No wonder it feels secure! But "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty look before a fall."

Even now business men are beginning to see that money can be made unnecessary in the conduct of business. They are awakening to the fact that when they go to the bank to borrow money they only get the legalized certificates of their own credit —credit that they must have before they go, or they will get no money. They begin to see that every dollar they pay as interest, or discounts, or commissions on their loans, is really so much paid for the privilege of using their own credits—something for whch the lender renders no equivalent whatever; and that the lender's power to take arises wholly from his monopoly of certain tools of trade. Business men are asking themselves if there is not some way whereby they can certify to one another's credit and arrange for an easy and safe transfer of those credits without being compelled to use legalized certificates that somebody else controls. The moneyed interests have grown rich trading on other people's credits. They pretend to extend credit to their customers, but really do nothing of the kind. By certain schemes and manipulations they have obtained control of the sources of supply of the legalized certificates of credit, which they think the people must have in order to do their business; and when persons that have credit want certificates thereof they make them pay smartly under the idea that they are getting credit. The bankers have their clearing houses, and daily transfer vast credits practically without money. Other people can do the same if they want to. The same principle can be adapted to the transaction of business until not a hundredth part of the money now required will be necessary to carry on business. This will decrease the demand for money, and its price will fall until interest will disappear—and with it all danger of panics and periods of business depression.

Yet these are not the only nor the most important changes that will be brought about. Under such a system as this, every person will control his own credits and nobody's else. The basis of every one's credit will become the service that he can render to his fellow-men; that is, the labor he performs. Every one who works, either with head or hand, can realize on that labor in credits that he can utilize without waiting to turn those credits into money. Privilege will no longer give credit; so that everybody must render service—perform labor of some kind. It furnishes the basis of a reorganization of society upon that of mutual service. All this is within not only the possibilities but the probabilities of the near future. When it is once worked out, it will be the solution of the problem of the ages—the emancipation of man and the harmonizing of the two opposing tendencies in human society: because it will be the achievement of perfect economic liberty, which includes all and is the expression of every form of liberty. At the same time it will be coupled with the perfect dependence of each upon the other for mutual helpfulness.

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THE LEGAL ROAD TO SOCIALISM.

MEN build wiser than they know; and especially is this true of the framers of the Constitution of the United States. Indeed, they who are religiously inclined might with propriety say that God plans for man, and guides him more wisely than His creature wots of.

Generally speaking, it may be said that every age has been more or less an age of discontent; but the one in which we of the present time are living is peculiarly and distinctly so. Men and women of to-day in all stations of life recognize that there is something at fault in our social system and a just cause for grumbling, and that the terrible disparity in conditions—the contrast between starvation or bare sustenance and extreme wealth—is not justified by anything that exists in Nature or by the productiveness of the earth.

The Malthusian theory, which once was generally accepted, is no longer regarded as worthy of attention by advanced philosophers or practical men. One could readily comprehend that if the earth failed to produce, or was incapable of producing, a sufficiency of food—which chemical discoveries are increasing and will largely increase beyond present computation—some of us would perforce be obliged to starve. But this is not the fact. In certain portions of the globe there are occasional famines, but even these could be entirely relieved by the expenditure or supply of a sufficient amount of what we call money; and if there is any hungry man in the United States to-day, or any other day, it is not because of a lack of fruitfulness on the part of the land or a failure upon the part of agriculturists and cattlemen to produce enough to go around, but because of his lack of a purchasing medium to exchange for the abundance always to be found in every market—and much of it going to waste. That is the simple truth, fact patent to the eyes of every man and woman in the community; hence, the existence of starvation or bare sustenance cannot be justified by society. To say that no man who is willing to work need go hungry or be obliged to depend upon charity is an evasive lie, by which those who have not known and do not know the physical suffering caused by want seek to excuse themselves from the obligations of humanity and still their pliant consciences; it is a statement to the untruthfulness of which thousands can testify, and in daily increasing numbers. It may be and probably is true that there are men that seek to shirk labor of any kind, but their number is so few in comparison with the whole that it is not necessary to consider them; and even in the cases of ones so afflicted society has no right to permit them to starve, and they could be easily forced into doing something and the willing laborer placed in a position different from theirs by securing the enjoyment of better and more varied food and the gratification of his palate, which, after all, is one of the main enjoyments of life, without valuing labor by a purely financial yardstick.

Everywhere thinking men and women recognize that a change must inevitably come, and that there are undeniable truths at the bottom of what it is common to decry as Socialism. But this change—which many will say is not worth discussing, since in all probability neither we nor our children nor their children will witness its fruition, though unknowingly to most of us it is taking place around us—how is it to come about? The only answer the vast majority—99,000 out of every 100,000 probably—can give is *by means of a terrible social revolution and bloodshed.* They are mistaken; there is an entirely open and legal means to State Socialism, *i.e.,* the proper physical and (as far as natural conditions permit) mental care of the State's children—*all of us*—which only requires education of the masses up to an enlightened standpoint to be put into effect. To its enactment the legislation of the civilized world for the last twenty-five years—as seen in the State of New York, which has given to the world among many bad laws more good ones that its sisters and Europe have copied than any other in existence—has steadily, though unconsciously to the legislators and unperceived by the public, pointed.

There is one law capable of application to all the phases of life—the law of Evolution. Applying it to social life, using the term *social* in a limited sense, we find we had first the individual, then the family, then the tribe, then the State, then the nation—all these links being historic facts. Now we are witnessing the alliance of nations, and may we not ultimately expect the universal nation? So, commercially we had first the individual, then the copartnership, then the corporation, and now the trust—all these links again historic facts—and, logically, next comes the State, then the nation, and ultimately the universal nation. This may seem a dream, but it is borne out by what has gone before. Looked at thus, I am unable to join in the indiscriminate denunciation of trusts, which are only a step in evolution; and the more oppressive they become, the more they crush out competition and the small dealer, the more they segregate what we term wealth—aggrandizing the few and impoverishing the many—the more rapidly they will hasten the ultimate outcome. But how, legally and peaceably, *i. e.,* within the limits of recognized law, can the accumulation and perpetuation of colossal fortunes be prevented?

In 1879 there was a great "howl" from one end of the United States to the other over the proposed adoption by California of a new State constitution, born as a result of the "Sand Lots" agitation. California adopted it and has not been ruined. One of its main provisions—the exclusion of the Chinese—has been now for many years the law of the United States. Its other principal feature was a system of progressive taxation. This, it was said, would drive capital out of the State; but it has not, and its general principle is now everywhere recognized. This was that corporations ought to bear the largest share of the burden of taxation, receiving as they do great privileges and franchises. In great cities like New York the corporations could easily bear the entire brunt of taxation and yet earn fair dividends on an honest capitalization. The Broadway street-railroad, Jacob Sharp testified, cost less than $20,000 a mile, and was immediately *bonded* for $200,000 a mile.

One of the anomalies of taxation is the objection to an income tax, the fairest conceivable tax, while a personal tax, which is in every way unsatisfactory and most difficult to collect, is not objected to. European countries more wise than we find no difficulty in imposing and collecting an income tax, and it is a certainty of the future in the United States. Again, on principle it does not seem unfair that capital should pay a heavier tax than labor, not proportionate—because that it does pay—but a *higher* rate. It has more to lose and requires more protection, and it would seem just to divide taxation—as the fire insurance companies divide their risks—into ordinary and hazardous, and to place capital under the latter and charge it a higher premium rate. But this, in view of what I am about to write, is a minor consideration.

It will probably startle the majority of readers to be told that there is no constitutional right to dispose of one's property after death—that is, to make a will. Prior to the time of Henry VIII., wills were unknown. Property was disposed of by fictitious legal devices known as "uses" and "trusts," which modern legislation has practically wiped out, and such remnants as remain the Legislature may destroy at pleasure. So the power to make a will is purely statutory—and unless all the formalities, differing in the various States, are observed a will is not valid—and to-morrow if it saw fit the Legislature could decree that no man or woman should have the power to make a will. This is a startling legal possibility. When there is no will the State claims the right to say how property shall be distributed, and every State has its "statute of distributions."

Now, see how the State—here and even to a greater extent in Europe—has partially put a curb on the will-making power. Laws of the character referred to have passed and do pass without argument or creating any particular comment. Take the State of New York for illustration. It began not so many years ago by imposing a small tax on collateral inheritances, which it has constantly increased, and to-day taxes direct inheritances as well. And on top of this State tax the United

States has added similar taxes for itself. This species of taxation has been declared constitutional. If the State can lawfully take one per cent. in this way, why cannot it take fifty or whatever it may please? The principle is not affected by the rate of taxation so long as it is uniformly applied.

Here, then, without bullets and entirely within law, are ways within which, whenever the people get ready, they can stop the accumulation and perpetuation of colossal fortunes and the impoverishment of the many for the aggrandizement of the few. The ballot-box is their cannon.

WALDORF H. PHILLIPS.

Chicago, Ill.

THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION.

THAT America should have grown out of all proportion to the idea of it held in the minds of the Spanish, shortly after the memorable visit of Columbus to these shores, is not to be wondered at in the least. The Old World had taken on forms of life that could have had no other natural ending than complete mental lethargy, and final utter degeneration. Religion, so called, had cast its mask over the face of science, and the souls of men had been warped into the shriveled forms of the materialism of the religious combinations of the day. Life as it is lived now, in complete individual freedom of thought and action, was not known; consequently, no one but that restless spirit of genius, Columbus, cared what was on the other side of what then seemed an endless tract of ocean.

The whole world bows before a true genius, and seems only to wallow and wait for his coming. When the Christ came the world was wallowing. When Columbus came the world was wallowing—in its pretended love for the Christ. Then came Washington, in a more favorable time, and we have to-day America as a result of the intellectual and spiritual striving of free men and free women—the latter of the greater importance to the progress of the world; for where woman is not free man is not. Latin America has yet to learn that she must free her women before she will rise upon a level with these United States of humanity.

When the Pan-American gates are thrown open on the first day of May, 1901, a scene of unparalleled beauty and interest will charm the eye and delight the fancy of the visitor. Many millions of dollars will have been expended in the production of this Exposition of American progress—a worthy representation of the wonderful era of development we live in and an earnest of what is to come.

Ten years of modern progress outweigh centuries of the past. So fast are we moving on that a generation is hardly alive and grown before its customs and feelings are changed for the newer and higher thought and life. Truly, all things are being made new; and we see more clearly and with greater ease than we are aware of at times.

Great Expositions are mile-stones in the progress of the world. On these occasions we turn our thoughts on the vista of the past and take account of what man is doing with the tremendous energy called *life*.

The scope of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, N. Y., is so broad that it includes all departments of human effort. One great object is to bring into close relationship the commercial and social sides of the governments of the western hemisphere—that the well-being of all may be promoted and America stand as enlightened and progressive. The grounds of the exhibition are considered the most accessible of any site that could have been selected. The electric street-railway connections are such that nearly all lines will take one direct to the grounds. It will consume only twenty minutes from the main railway station of the city, on the trolley cars, while the railroads will have lines running directly to the Exposition. The reason that Buffalo was selected for the Pan-American was because it is within twelve hours of forty millions of people, thus giving an easy opportunity for a very large number to realize our American progress.

The Exposition, in its arrangement of courts, contemplates a much greater area than any similar enterprise undertaken in this country. The electrical and fountain effects have been designed with reference to this large area. The National Government has dealt liberally with the Exposition, having made an appropriation of $500,000 for buildings and exhibits. Progress and improvement in educational methods and systems have been so marked within a few years as to call for special attention from the Exposition management. The new methods of work will be made clear, and practical results exhibited under conditions favorable to all interested in education. Exhibits of the latest school apparatus and plans and models of school-houses of the most modern type will be made. It is intended to make the exhibits of particular value to teachers, and all who have direct responsibility in the education of the young.

A charming rendezvous for lovers of music will be the Temple of Music, at the northwest junction of the Esplanade and the court of fountains. It will be a place of delightful entertainment—not for the exhibition of musical instruments; these will be found in the Manufactures Building. This noble structure will occupy a site 150 feet square, and will be octagonal in shape.

A board of women managers will bring to public notice the accomplishments of women in the arts and trades. The board will occupy the famous Country Club, which is to be remodeled and arranged for its use. The honorary members of the board from foreign countries will be asked to make their headquarters at the Club during their stay.

Along with all that will be exhibited of what makes up the intellectual life of America, and has given her a place in the world second to none, is to be the huge Stadium, as large as the Colosseum of Rome, with a seating capacity of 25,000. Here the great games of which the boy-man is fond of playing will be fought out in honest striving to show what the human frame can endure. The Athletic Carnival to be held in the Stadium is intended to be one of the most important ever held in America. It will bring together many of the noted specialists from all over the world, who will entertain the visitors to the Exposition. The Stadium is built to resemble one erected at Athens a few years ago, and is intended as a model for future generations in this country. The proper development of the physical side of man has ever been a favorite part of the thought of the ~~race-mind~~.

On the occasion of great movements of this kind, individuals are moved to withdraw their love from gold and to think "in tune with the Infinite;" then it is that one comes to see why some men have been favored with a large amount of what we are all striving for in America. The power of concentrated thought in a right direction finds some response in some mind, and from it grows an idea that is altruistic and beautiful. It is no doubt that thus Mr. J. J. Albright thought when he decided to grace the already beautiful city of Buffalo with a gift, princely as well as beautiful and appropriate.

The Buffalo Art Museum will be one of the most beautiful temples of art in this country. It will be 250 feet long by 150 wide. The principal façade will be toward the east. The type of architecture chosen is the classic Greek of the Ionic style.

Another building, which will be in some respects of simpler architecture, is the New York State building, which is to be built of white marble and will face a beautiful lake surrounded by fine trees. On the steps of the entrance will be the statue of "Intelligence," one of the ideal statues the writer is fond of making.

The style of architecture of the Exposition is rather toward the ideas of the buildings of worth found in Latin America, with that added *inspirational* quality which every American architect puts into his work. Along with the splendid architectural effects will be the wonderful amount of fine sculpture. Many of the old classic statues have been faithfully reproduced, in size appropriate to the surroundings. These alone will give great dignity to the final result from an artistic point of view.

At Chicago, we as a nation had our first idea of what the American sculptor could do if given a chance. It was the awaking of the dreams of many men in the profession, and they gave full vent to their desire to create. Since the demolition of the great White City of the West there have been a number of smaller exhibitions in different parts of the country, which have had more or less sculpture decoration; but not until the management of the Pan-American Exposition came, with its broad and just attitude toward the individual sculptor, was there awakened again that enthusiasm which is necessary to do great things. The liberality of the attitude of the management and its sincere confidence in the artists have done a great deal to inspire the latter with a true artistic impulse.

In these days of all sorts of attempts at art reform, when the art promoter runs amuck in the land, it is indeed encouraging to find men of the type of Mr. John Carrere and Mr. Karl Bitter, who have a realizing sense of the importance of keeping the artist as free as possible in order to get the best from his brain and hand. A visit to the great shop where the models for the hundreds of statues are being made would convince any one that the work of the artists selected to do the sculpture for the Pan-American Exposition has not been hampered at all, but that each man was given his subject to think about and execute almost entirely free from any external control. Great undertakings must be based on a foundation of breadth of thought that is in itself an inspiration.

It is too early to give a detailed description of the art work that is being done for the Exposition; but, as far as the architecture and sculpture decoration are concerned, it will certainly rival the effects of the Chicago Exposition, and in some respects will show a decided advance over what was accomplished in connection with that undertaking.

A visit to the grounds some time ago impressed the writer with a feeling of satisfaction. The feeling of vastness is not present, but that of completeness and artistic beauty is everywhere evident. One feels that it will be entirely possible to visit this gem of an Exposition, and see all that is presented, in a way that will not be fatiguing to mind or body. The great electrical tower, with its wonderful water effects and its myriad lights, will be a fitting terminal to the splendid vista that will open to the eye of the visitor night and day. The fountains, designed by the most famous sculptors of America, will be lighted in a way to charm the onlooker, who will carry away an ideal dream that is a reality.

Some ask the question, "Why must these beautiful visions of reality vanish, and the place that knew them be known no more?" It is because we are children playing in the sun, and we love to do these grand things in a childlike way—just to see the world of other children astonished at our house of cards; yet behind and within it all there is the deeper spiritual reason for all this exhibition of beautiful thoughts. The world would not grow as it has if it were not for these childlike attempts to make in material form what the mind is constantly in possession of—when it is free to think. We make our card houses and admire them, call all our friends to look at them, and we say, "How beautiful!" The moment the idea of beauty is ingrafted on the mind, the reason for all this work and attempt to be of use is made known. It is that we may progress along the lines of intellectual and spiritual development, so that the race-man may the sooner realize that he is made for higher things than the merely material.

Many a soul will stand entranced as it gazes at the wonderful works of man, forgetting the toil of thousands in the final beautiful result. The toilers themselves will walk in and about their work on a cool star-lit evening, and wonder and be happy that they had a hand in the making of what will bring joy to millions. Is it not true that a life of beautiful *use* is the highest life? Then we have to thank the Pan-American management for what they have done in giving this opportunity to know what we as Americans are thinking about. Such beautiful displays of man's thoughts are far more to the world of to-day than any forms of dogmatic religion; for they show in which way man is tending. And, believe me, it is always upward.

FRANK EDWIN ELWELL.

New York.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

I. A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY.

THERE is no problem in the United States that receives so much attention, and that offers so rich a field for investigation, as Criminal Sociology. This is the general term now applied to all studies relating to crime and its causes and prevention. It is only within the last decade that the United States has made such a systematic and scientific study as enables it to claim a criminal sociology of its own. This study now includes both the theoretical and practical branches, and each is important and indispensable. European investigators have devoted more attention to the theoretical work. The United States has emphasized the practical side, because its best investigators have been practical, experienced men, holding responsible positions in penal institutions, rather than theorists.

The United States has made noteworthy progress in practically demonstrating the precepts of criminal sociology. More than most countries, it has united effort in the form of organizations whose objects are discussion of problems and extension of progressive measures. Aside from the many State and interstate organizations, there exist such national organizations as the National Prison Association and Conference of Corrections and Charities. The United States is foremost in its adoption and extension of the reformatory system. There is scarcely a Northern institution that does not claim some reformatory influences. In many States systems of identification have been adopted. Private and municipal charities have combined to improve social conditions and lessen crime. This is a significant fact because they have so long stood aloof from each other. There exists a growing interest in social and economic causes of crime. There are now compulsory education and truant laws, free public schools, free kindergartens, college settlements, manual training and public night schools. There are social and industrial organizations that assist in raising the individual's standard of himself. The legal advancement is less marked, though it includes such measures as habitual criminal acts, parole laws, indeterminate sentence, juvenile courts, child labor laws, and many others. All these are within the domain of practical criminal sociology, for they constitute agencies for the prevention of crime. These represent a few of the progressive measures that characterize American criminal sociology.

Unfortunately, however, this does not apply to the whole United States. Only the North sustains theories worthy of the name *criminal sociology,* and only the North has adopted the reformatory idea. In any study of American criminality the South must be considered, for a large percentage of the criminal class is found in these States. The South is still in the age of revenge and punishment. Its system is neither systematic nor scientific. This is true for the following reasons: Its criminal class is largely negro. The problem of white criminality is a small one. While the penitentiaries contain negro women, there are rarely white women, and at most but two or three. The proportion of the white male criminals is larger. The South has been handicapped financially and industrially since the war, and is just turning its attention to this most abject and helpless element of its population. The institutions in the North are much older. Before the war, the South had but few penal institutions. The criminal, then as now, was the negro; and as a slave he was chastised or despatched by his master as the nature of his crime demanded. The few whites were confined in jails or county prisons. The previous condition of the negro as a slave makes the progress of the reformatory idea exceedingly slow, for it must grow with the conception of the negro as a man.

The current opinion in the South is that the negro is incapable of reform. In Alabama and Georgia county reformatories are being established, and New Orleans is struggling to obtain one. In those already existing, much labor and little instruction are the practise. Most of the advancement seen in

Northern penal systems and laws is unknown. Many of the people are hostile to the reformatory idea, for the basis of the Southern system is financial. A successful prison administration is judged by the amount of net revenue to the State. There are no Southern organizations for the study of criminality, and no State bureaus of charity. In fact, one State often does not know the system of its neighbor. These conditions are fatal to the application of any scientific measures, and preclude the study of the causes of crime. So long as a State's criminals bring it a net revenue of from $30,000 to $150,000 a year, it is difficult to introduce methods leading to reform and to the decrease of crime.

In THE ARENA for March, 1900, I presented the most important conclusions of European investigators. These conclusions are only applicable to the country whence the facts underlying them were obtained. This rule has not been adhered to, and they have been adopted broadcast. The United States does not resemble these countries sufficiently to warrant their adoption. It must have its own facts because of its heterogeneous population, nature of soil, climate, government, and industrial and economic conditions. It presents problems that can be solved only by studies within its borders, not by the importation of facts and theories. These may be of suggestive value, but they do not furnish an accurate basis for philanthropy and legislation. The data must be its own. The European investigators assert that there is a criminal type; that criminals differ from normal individuals and constitute a class having common social, physical, and mental characteristics. The problem of the causes of crime resolves itself into one of heredity and environment. It is a very large and important part of these causes to determine the relative influence of these two, for upon it depends much of the nature of penal laws and reforms. Thus habitual-criminal acts recognize the physical basis of the crime; parole laws recognize the influence of environment. In reformatories, corporal punishment and emphasis upon labor attest a stronger belief in heredity than does a more humane system, with more moral and mental instruction. In philanthropy, the establishment of homes, as in New York and Chicago, where criminals can obtain work, is the result of the ascertained social fact that more than two-thirds of all criminals are unemployed when arrested.

As a result of these European investigations, the tendency has been to overestimate heredity and ignore environment. These theories are founded upon measurements of the criminal and normal classes in various European countries, chiefly Russia, Italy, and France. So far as the United States has adopted these theories, it has also adopted the facts. A chief defect of the European investigations is the small number of normal individuals measured, and the fact that they are not a representative normal class. They consist largely of the lower classes found in hospitals. A study in heredity and environment involves measurements for four classes: The criminal class, the normal class of the same grade from which criminals come, a representative normal class in the community, and the criminals of high grade. This last class represents but a small proportion of incarcerated criminals, and the problem of the United States is chiefly with the larger mass incarcerated and with the population furnishing this number. This leaves three essential classes. My investigation has included the measurement of 55 students, representing the normal class. This is a high average normal class, but it must be so selected as not to encroach upon the industrial and laboring classes that furnish the mass of criminals.

Last summer, in Northern institutions, 61 criminals were measured; and this spring, in the institutions of eight Southern States, 90 negro criminals were measured. This is the beginning of efforts to secure data for comparison of the criminal and normal classes. The measurement of the classes from which the criminals come is most essential, but is also most difficult, and has not yet been undertaken. Measurements of students are in progress during the university year—these to include measurements of the negro students at Tuskegee. This last will permit a comparison between negro and white students—and of the negro criminal and negro student. Results are given at this stage of the investigation, not to demonstrate theories and conclusions, but rather to show the nature of the investigation, its scope, and the tendencies it reveals; also to arouse interest and coöperation in an investigation that will make possible the adoption of humane and reformatory measures, more judicious philanthropy, and wiser legislation. Thus far the measurements have been of women, though social and penal institutions have been studied with reference to both sexes.

It is the facts relating to negro criminals and Southern institutions that I wish to present here, together with such comparisons as are possible with Northern white criminals and institutions. These Southern institutions include the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. The data fall under four distinct heads: (1) The negro in the South: socially, economically, politically, educationally, and morally—all with reference to criminality. This includes a study of the Southern white man's attitude, and the position of the negro woman and child. (2) State penal systems: general statement, excellencies and defects in the various State systems, laws, and courts, and county and municipal conditions. The facts for these two divisions apply equally to men and women. (3) Measurements and tests of women in the State penal institutions. The former include: weight, height, and strength of chest and hand grasps; 14 measurements of the face, ears, and head; length of fingers, thumbs, and hands; girths of various parts of the body, and foot imprints, besides nervous observations. The latter included tests of sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste, pain; of memory, association of ideas, precision, assortment, nerve tracing, fatigue tests, and respiration curves. (4) A study of the environment of each criminal, including data regarding the following facts: education of criminal and parents, religion, morality, reading, parents, home, associates, games, occupation, temptations, amusements, diseases, habits, family, superstitions, wishes, and civil condition and facts relating to it. The criminals are divided into two classes, according to the crime, being offenders against property and offenders against person. The former includes arson and all forms of theft; the latter infanticide, homicide, and assault. European investigators make each crime a division, but my results show only small differences for the two distinct classes, and do not warrant a finer analysis. The measurements in the third division are taken to ascertain (1) if the negro criminal differs structurally from the normal negro and the white criminal; and (2) if through psychological tests mental and moral defects can be ascertained.

Assertions have been made that the criminal is defective and degenerate. Thus far few tests have been made to prove this. Structural anomalies have no value to the practical penologist or to the State, unless they influence the cause of continuance of crime. Anomalies in functioning are more closely related to abnormality, and these may or may not depend upon structural defects. It is of no practical significance if an individual possesses asymmetries, high cheek-bones, or heavy jaw, unless they influence his response to social stimuli. These characteristics often exist in normal individuals and are not subject to comment, unless some prominent act identifies them. Psychological tests touch a more fundamental condition. If there are defects of sight, hearing, or touch; if there is limited reason, imagination, mental capacity, memory, or if the normal sense is obtuse, there will be less successful functioning. Hence, tests that determine these are essential in supplementing the anthropometrical work. Most investigations have been confined to the latter and are correspondingly inadequate and misleading. Completing the data of both of these must be such a presentation of social facts as will throw light upon the influences of heredity and environment. These social facts are ascertained by asking questions, and wherever possible they are verified by visits to the homes and haunts of the criminal and through statements of relatives and associates and officers. The negroes' answers are more trustworthy than those of the white criminal class, because they are less suspicious and believe they will benefit rather than lose by them. In some instances there were pathetic attempts to give the right details. These facts must necessarily be less accurate than the ones secured in the laboratory through accurate measurements.

First, then, the negro in the South. There is no denying the fact that negro criminality is out of proportion to the population, the proportion being greater than among the foreign whites. The census gives this fact without further analysis; but any one who will consider the agencies that produce crimes, and will then study the negroes' position, will see the inevitableness of this statement. Briefly, we may glance at these factors and the negroes' relation to them:

1. *Climate.*—In the North, for the greater part of the year, it induces activity; in the South it is detrimental to continued labor, and it affects both negroes and whites. There are but few large cities in the South, and occupation has a more intimate relation to, and is more dependent upon, the climate. When the white finds labor difficult, he relies upon his inheritance or goes into business in the city. The poor white and negro must labor, starve, or steal, for he has not a plantation, nor credit or opportunities in the city. The Southern climate is less rigorous, and there is less forethought required—it is not an incentive to frugality and forethought, but rather encourages thriftlessness, thus providing an opening for vice and crime. Leffingwell has shown that in warm seasons of the year crimes of passion and licentiousness are more numerous. These form a very considerable number of the crimes of both negroes and whites in the South. Thus the climate predisposes to idleness, which is seen to furnish an opportunity for crime.

2. *Soil.*—This yields greater returns for a small expenditure of energy than in most sections. In the North the labor must be unceasing to secure similar returns. The negro rarely labors a full week, even if he knows the necessity exists; for he feels assured of a livelihood. Every race for whom Nature provides lavishly, and in whom there have not been developed desires aside from those incident to self-preservation, will not exert itself. The necessity does not exist. It is the obstacles that have assisted the Anglo-Saxon race in its upward course. When this test comes, the race will rise or disappear. The negroes'

near ancestry to races lavishly provided for, and the lack of these obstacles during slavery and now, have not tended to develop thrift and forethought. Certainly the indolence of the white Southerner is equally notable, and is disappearing only as he enters urban life and is drawn into the current of sharp competition. With the extension of city populations there is increasing criminality, but this is also assuming a more professional character and lacks the simplicity that characterizes so many negroes' crimes. Thus a soil yielding lavishly predisposes to crime through idleness.

3. *Food.*—The food that the negro uses, whether by preference or necessity, is not of such a quality and is not so prepared as to give the greatest vitality. The death-rate of the negroes is often high because of the foods given during illness. In fevers and similar diseases this is important. The negro's daily food is ill-prepared, and his meals are irregular. Food in the North sustains an important place in the social and domestic life. Many cultural influences cluster about the meal hour. In the South there is none of the emphasis that makes it so important a factor in developing or cementing a closer family life. Later the effect of this loosely-woven domestic life will be seen in relation to immorality.

4. *Labor.*—In the North, prison statistics show that where the criminal claims an occupation it is usually that of unskilled labor or of an artisan. Labor or idleness may not be a cause of crime, but they are closely associated with it. Each occupation has its common factors: First, a certain grade of intelligence is incident to certain occupations. The grade of intelligence of a gang of street-laborers in New York is about the same as in Chicago, though they may not have intermingled. Second, certain degrees of physical capability accompany the various occupations. It ranges all the way from mere endurance to skill. Third, associates are often selected through the occupation, and thus there are certain habits, recreations, and amusements with which each grade is familiar. The wages for the various kinds of labor must often determine the social, sanitary, and esthetic environment. Thus street-laborers have their own

"hang-outs," and live in such sections as their wages permit. The habits and resorts of sailors are closely associated with their occupation. It may be argued that a man chooses his occupation according to his tastes and capabilities, and it is a result rather than a precedent. In a limited sense this is true, but among the classes from which the criminals come, and in this age of fierce competition, a man cannot more often choose his occupation than he can direct his training and education. Necessity may force him into work long before he is capable of choosing, or the parents' limited education and desires and lack of influence may keep him down in the scale. In all occupations in which the individual remains he in time develops the congeniality for it and shows the limited or undeveloped capacity characterizing it; for if he fails to keep the pace he drifts into a lower labor grade or into idleness, and if he exceeds the pace he grows out of it into new opportunities. These facts are especially true of the negro. But through his own experience and the desire of the whites his labor remains largely agricultural. Only a small per cent. are skilled laborers, and still fewer are in the professional class. The whites need him in the agricultural work and offer but little incentive for him to rise in this. When he drifts into the city it is often into idleness, unless he is a skilled laborer and can endure the competition.

With regard to women, the criminals come almost exclusively from the servant class. This is true in the North. Out of 1,451 women incarcerated at the Blackwell's Island Workhouse in one year, 1,298 claimed this occupation. There is practically no problem of criminality among Southern white women, and this is primarily true because there is no white servant class. The few white women in the workhouses who are intemperate or immoral come from the poor white class or drift in from Northern cities. It is secondarily true because women in the South have not entered professions and trades to the same extent as in the North; so they are not subjected to the temptations offered by industrial and professional life. Thus, labor in the South predisposes to crime because it favors both idleness and ignorance. It favors ignorance because education is difficult. The large plantations make attendance at school difficult, and the school year is more often three months than six. The far removal from centers of activity makes the use of libraries and all forms of general instruction impossible. The negro is more dependent upon his master, and upon traditions and customs, for his cultural influences—and these are meager enough. The agricultural class in the North can in no sense be compared with that in the South. The system in the North is one of small farms, in close proximity to educational influences, and the laborer has a personal and financial interest in the farm. The negro laborers compare more nearly with unskilled labor in the North—a fluctuating mass, having no stable roots or personal interest in work except the remuneration. It is a noteworthy fact that the occupations in the Northern cities that yield a large percentage of criminals also yield a number of negro criminals in Southern cities. The negro needs that training which will take him out of the class of unskilled labor and put him in a position to attain the interests and success of the small farmer in the North.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

JOSEPH HAWORTH *

EMBODYING

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF GREAT ACTORS IN THE CLASSIC DRAMA.

Q. Mr. Haworth, as one who has supported most of our leading actors, I feel that your impressions of the great ones who have passed from our stage forever will be interesting to our readers. You supported Mr. Booth, I believe, when very young?

A. Yes; I had the honor, while still in my 'teens, of supporting our own idol and ideal actor, Edwin Booth. I appeared in "Hamlet," "Othello," "Lear," and "Macbeth;" also,

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* BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.—Mr. Joseph Haworth, the author of the accompanying "Conversation," is one of the most versatile and finished actors on the American stage. He was born in Providence, R. I., in 1855, but when very young his people removed to Cleveland, O., and here he first faced the footlights—as a member of Mr. John Ellsler's excellent stock company. He adopted the dramatic profession from a passionate love for the stage, and therefore brought into his work that enthusiasm which almost invariably leads to success. He never tired of striving to improve in all his interpretations, and no part was slighted because it seemed insignificant. His early years on the Cleveland stage afforded an excellent schooling, as he then supported Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, and other famous actors, from not a few of whom he received encouragement that proved a constant inspiration in hours of uncertainty and depression that came in after years. Later Mr. Haworth played leading supporting parts with Edwin Booth, Lawrence Barrett, John McCullough, Mary Anderson, and other foremost stars on the American stage. During recent years he has played star parts and principal characters in many of the most successful of the more serious plays of our time. All his creations have been fine, and many of them superb. Perhaps his most brilliant triumph of the last few seasons was made as *Vinicius*, in the play of "Quo Vadis?" From his earliest youth Mr. Haworth has been a close student, and at all times his heart has been thrown into his chosen work. Though perhaps he is not quite as versatile as Richard Mansfield or Edward Sothern, his interpretations are always delightful, because they are in a marked degree intelligent, sympathetic, and finished.—ED.

in "The Fool's Revenge" and "Richelieu." My first meeting with Mr. Booth was while playing in John Ellsler's stock company at the Euclid Avenue Opera House, Cleveland. To this latter gentleman I am indebted for my earliest years upon the dramatic stage and probably my most pleasant results since achieved.

I had read of the tragedy that cast a mantle of blackness around our hero of the stage for a brief period and left the stamp of everlasting sorrow on his pale, intellectual brow and in his luminous eyes, and that served to create in our own imaginations the ideal *Hamlet, Iago,* and *Lear.* Naturally, when the announcement was made that the great artist was coming to play at "our theater," I was much exercised and grew frightfully nervous—having been cast (for the first time) for *Laertes, Cassio,* and *Edward IV.* in "Richard III." Henry Flohr was Mr. Booth's stage director, and he came two weeks in advance to lighten the labor of the master by drilling supernumeraries and giving the principals the stage business of the various plays. What troubled me was my anxiety to please in the foiling bout in the last act of "Hamlet." I played the part with all the nervous force I possessed, and perhaps a little more; and—reaching the final scene—I met on the boards for the first time Edwin Booth, as *Hamlet,* face to face. There was something indescribable in that look; I was unnerved, and looked my discomfiture. My heart seemed to come up in my throat, but, as some one has said, I had "presence of mind enough left to swallow it." Trembling visibly (Mr. Booth noted it), I tried to fence, but was too frightened. Mr. Booth smiled and said, "You're all right my boy; begin." The encouragement of those *sotto voce* arguments was all I needed. I fought well, and when the curtain was lowered Mr. Booth came, assisted me to rise, and said: "Young man, that is the first time that fight has gone perfectly the opening night." "I thank you," I choked in earnest, went to my room, disrobed, and shot home to my dear old mother to tell what Mr. Booth had said.

Q. Tell me more about Mr. Booth. What were your impressions of the man, and did he ever further encourage you in your work?

A. He was simplicity itself off the stage; quiet and retiring; deeply, not *showily,* intellectual; and at our club—The Players', which he gave us in his later years—he loved to conjure up memories of his youth and early struggles. Once, when I complained that the classic drama had gone to sleep (and as my aim had always been to excel in that line of endeavor I felt discouraged), he replied:

"Look at the years I had accounted lost while in California. I could *act* then; had all the enthusiasm of youth—rosy hopes, great ambitions, etc.; yet I could not convince the people I was a good actor. But, you see, it was a foundation I was laying upon which to build my future temple. I am now old and they are paying five and ten dollars a seat, and I cannot act at all. [This was modest.] Yet it sometimes occurs to me that art should be encouraged more heartily in its budding infancy."

Q. What did you regard as his greatest rôles?

A. Booth's *Iago* was subtle and thoroughly Venetian in tone; his *Richelieu* the most finished I had ever seen; his *Lear* a masterpiece; "The Fool's Revenge" perhaps his greatest performance. *Brutus,* in the "Fall of Tarquin," was also a superb performance when he was minded to enact it.

Q. Next to Edwin Booth, whom do you regard as our greatest classic actor?

A. To John McCullough I would accord second place for his individual distinction in the rôle of *Virginius;* it was replete with natural touches. His *Lear* was very *human* and was undoubtedly his greatest Shakespearian characterization.

Q. Yes, Mr. McCullough was one of the most commanding figures on the American stage. His interpretation of *Richard III.* was one of his most popular rôles in Boston. The last time I saw him was at the Boston Theater in that play. He was encored seven times. Will you tell us something about his personality?

A. He was a grand man in many ways. His education was received in the theater and a wise use of the Encyclopedia

Britannica. He gained in knowledge by absorbing the thoughts of the great minds with whom he came in contact—his acquaintances numbering some of the most noted statesmen, Presidents, lawyers, doctors, etc., that this country has produced. His parents were north of Ireland people—modest farmers who little dreamed when the unlettered boy sailed for our own beautiful shores that he was bringing his ship to the haven of success and fortune.

I had the honor of supporting him in his last engagement in Chicago. Miss Viola Allen was then leading juvenile and I the leading man of the organization. The world knows of McCullough's sad ending, and will be silent while we draw the curtain on his notable career.

Q. You supported Lawrence Barrett, did you not, in the old stock days?

A. Yes; he was the first of the tragic actors I met. I had been on the stage but four weeks (at Mr. Ellsler's theater also), and was cast for *Servius* in "Julius Cæsar." Something attracted me to him, and he sent for me after the play and asked after my health, ambitions, etc. I replied: "Unless I can shine in the firmament of stageland—as one of its brightest stars—I do not care to continue." I thought he tried to hide a smile—and then advised me to read Gibbon's "History of Rome." This was good, strong, wholesome advice—I thought a little *too* wholesome, perhaps, as I had waded through it at school. Nevertheless, I wrote down other books he named: Schlegel's "Criticisms," Emerson's "Essays," Bacon's "Essays," "Wilhelm Meïster," all of the poets and novelists, and *all* of the commentators on Shakespeare's immortal plays. I adhered faithfully to his commands, and out of the silence of years I send forth my voice in praise of a man who was much condemned for qualities he did not possess and too little praised for his scholarly attainments and his great desire to do worthy things for the advance of dramatic art in America.

Q. Who was the greatest *Richard III.* you have ever seen?

A. Well, to my mind, the finest was Charlotte Crampton—my tutor in the classics, and the woman of whom Macready said, after seeing her play *Lady Macbeth*: "If that little woman had four inches added to her height she would astound the world." Barry Sullivan was unquestionably the next, although confining himself to the Cibber version of the play.

Q. I think I saw you once in Boston playing *Romeo* to Miss Anderson's *Juliet.* Am I not correct?

A. Yes; I played, one night, *Romeo* to Mary Anderson's *Juliet* at the Boston Theater, and to the largest receipts ever in the house up to that time—Charles Fechter's largest house being next. I was offered her leading business for the season after retiring from Mr. Field's forces at the dear old Boston Museum, where such artists were highly and faithfully rewarded as William Warren, Mrs. Vincent, Annie Clark, Charles Barron, George Wilson, and many whose like we will not see again.

Q. Whose work among the stars you have supported impressed you as being most even and, taken as a whole, most satisfactory?

A. As to several of the great artists with whom I have appeared, I have already mentioned Edwin Booth, who occupied first place in my affection and esteem as both artist and man. Secondly, I would mention Madame Modjeska, whose art was so real as to conceal itself under the garb of absolute naturalness. It was my good fortune to be associated with her in a round of legitimate rôles: *Macbeth, Hamlet, Benedict* (in "Much Ado About Nothing"), *Orlando,* and *Armond Duval,* in "Camille," in the title-rôle of which play Modjeska was, to my mind, the greatest English-speaking exponent. Her performances of *Mary Stuart* and *Magda* may have been considered equally good by many of her admirers, but I still hold to my own opinion regarding her *Camille.* As to her Shakespearian achievements, her *Lady Macbeth* has no parallel, either at home or abroad. It was as full of subtle excellencies as a woman. Apropos of this performance, while playing at the Fifth Avenue Theater, New York, Madame's language became slightly confused, owing to her thinking in Polish while expressing herself in English; and, in giving utterance to the following lines, a little *faux pas* occurred that was exceedingly amusing:

"I have given suck and know how tender 'tis to nurse the babe that milks me. I would, while it were smiling in my face, have plucked my nipple from its boneless gums and dashed its brains out, had I so sworn as you have done to this."

But this is the way the lines were read on that occasion:

"I would have plucked my nipple from its boneless teeth and dashed its gums out . . . had I so sworn as you have done to this."

I glanced at Modjeska, who was conscious of her mistake. I, as *Macbeth,* had to reply: "If we fail?" She gave the same reading of the line as once made famous by the great Sarah Siddons: "We fail" (with the falling inflection). I tried to say: "If we fail?" but, looking at Modjeska, I could scarcely utter the lines, but turned up stage. Modjeska followed, and in very submissive and apologetic tone said, most meekly and with a sweet Polish accent: "We fail." Then she quietly said to me: "What did I say?" "I don't know," I replied, "but it did not sound Shakespearian."

In the banquet scene another accident occurred; this time to *Macbeth*, who on this occasion looked to himself, with his exceedingly long mustache, like one of the heroes of Wagnerian opera. The celebrated Maggie Mitchell and her husband were occupying a box. I was naturally desirous of excelling, as I had a profound admiration for Miss Mitchell, both as woman and artist. In reaching the climax of the speech: "Hence, horrible shadow! Unreal mockery, hence!!" to my real horror, my fierce mustache became detached on one side and I was with difficulty prevented from swallowing it. In sheer desperation I tore the other mockery from my lip and finished the scene with smooth face, being, undoubtedly, one of the quickest shavers on record, and without one evidence of amusement upon the part of the audience. In fact, Miss Mitchell said that it was one of the most graceful of tributes to an artist in a most trying situation, and I appreciated it the more as she left the box to tell me of it.

As to Modjeska, she is, and ever will be to me, the peerless queen of art and perfect womanhood.

Q. You mentioned Warren a few moments ago. He was a great favorite of mine and one of the most versatile men I have ever seen.

A. William Warren was indeed a great artist, and one who was too little known outside of Boston and New England towns—but a more consummate artist I have never seen. Who can ever forget his *Herr Viedel* in "My Son;" his *Sir Peter Teazle* in "The School for Scandal;" not to forget his numerous Shakespearian "labors of delight?" His *Dogberry,* in "Much Ado About Nothing," was certainly without a living equal. His *Polonius* was also flawless. A more natural actor I never knew, and with all his genuine greatness he was as simple and unaffected as a child of good breeding. I know absolutely no one who could equal him when he was at the height of his greatness. The entire country would have been enlightened as to *true art* by his incomparable naturalness could it have known him as we did in Boston.

Q. Have you ever regretted adopting the stage as a profession?

A. No, I have not regretted the step I took—entering a public life. The lofty peaks are hardest to reach—the struggles are many and the heart-aches intense; but the reward comes from that best of critics, the Great Public. Our schools are cultivating the ready minds of the coming generation of play-goers by introducing into our colleges and public schools the study of Shakespeare—the master mind and poet of all time; and just think—he was an actor! One should certainly be proud to be numbered in a profession that worships as poet and artist that master spirit.

Q. Do you not think that there is a reaction setting in against the flood of low French plays and farces that cater to the base in man?

A. I think the public is awakening to the fact that the stage has been presenting works (I am glad to say of foreign origin) that are—well, a disgrace to the theater. Stanislaus

Stange, William Young, and Hall Caine have made successful inroads into a more healthful sphere by their recent successful efforts. "Quo Vadis?" is a play where Christianity triumphs over the vices and sensualities of Nero's corrupt court. Last winter, while we were engaged in our long and successful run of "Quo Vadis?" an eminent divine said to me, in speaking of our play: "Your mission is a great one. You are doing greater good than I am." I thought perhaps he was jesting. But church and stage unite in this splendid play and give a plain, direct, and understandable exposition of the struggles of the early Christians. I feel we were cradled in the arms of "Mother Church," and the artists are trying in "Quo Vadis?" to prove themselves worthy of the mission of both on earth, *viz.:* perfect faith in the great Ruler of man—the Christ. By the kind permission of Mr. Stanislaus Stange, I give the following selection—the Christian speech—from "Quo Vadis?"—

PETRONIUS.—Art thou a Christian?

VINICIUS.—Not yet.

PETRONIUS.—Not yet?

VINICIUS.—I would that I were. Cæsar's world is a mass of corruption, debauchery, and murder. This morning old Pedanius was assassinated by Nero's orders and his slaves accused of the crime. Four hundred were butchered before my very eyes: gray-haired men and women, young boys, fair girls, and even little children. Amid shrieks and groans of horror the sword was driven into their throats or through their hearts. One poor boy, little more than a child, when he beheld the sword pierce his father's bosom sprang forward with an agonized cry and seized the murderer's hand. The assassin flung him to his knees; there the little child began to pray: "Our Father, who art in Heaven." The sun shone forth from out the dark clouds, and in the golden light his face seemed like an angel's. With a jeer, the executioner brought down his sword on the innocent child's head; he fell, the crimson blood bedabbling his fair hair and sweet, pale face. *Such is* NERO's *world!* But—there is another world whose King is all-merciful; where love and pity rule the hearts of men. While searching for Lygia, I went with Chilo to the Christian meeting as Ostrianum. I did not find her there, but this is what I saw and heard. Before me knelt a multitude of people—singing a hymn that was a cry of yearning love. Through the flickering light of the torches I beheld a venerable old man mount a rock. Voices whispered: "Peter! Peter!! Peter!!!" He blessed them with the sign of the cross. Then he spoke of an Almighty Father who had sent on earth his only Son to redeem sinners. He described this Redeemer's crucifixion—His death, resurrection, and ascension. He repeated His words on that cross on Calvary Hill—"Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." None could doubt the truth, the sincerity, of this old man's words, who, standing on the brink of the grave, repeated: "I saw!" Then he bade them love one another, forgive their enemies, and return good for evil. *Such is the* CHRISTIAN'S *world!*

EUNICE.—Vinicius! Where is this beautiful world?

VINICIUS.—It lieth within the temple of the Christian's God. Lygia hath entered—and I am standing on the threshold.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

A PROGRAM OF PROGRESS.

"Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward."—*Exodus* xiv. 15.

"God give us men; a time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith, and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie."

I. IN THE SHADOW OF DEFEAT.

The result of the Presidential election of last November, while proving a bitter disappointment to millions of intelligent and deeply patriotic citizens, must have occasioned a little surprise to students of history; for nothing stands out more boldly on the battlefield of progress than the fact that all great advance social and economic measures that carry with them victories of a fundamental character, and all movements that have sought to adjust changed conditions to the demands of justice and the higher morality, have suffered repeated and not infrequently seemingly crushing defeats, when from surface indications victory was within reach. Nor is this all. Often the upholders of the old régime have won seemingly decisive triumphs almost immediately before the final victory of the reform measure. The philosophy of this historic fact is very evident when we consider the successive advances of humanity in its slow and toilsome ascent.

Whenever civilization reaches a vantage-ground where nobler conceptions of human duty and human rights are forced upon the conscience of an age or a people in a compelling way, or whenever changed conditions operate so as to oppose and injure one section of society, and the wrong and injustice suffered by the weak are brought home to the divine in the hearts of the people, an agitation follows. For a time abuse, slander, calumny, social ostracism, and frequently cruel persecutions are meted out to the band of prophets and reformers who lead what at first always seems a forlorn hope. But if they persist, refusing to take up the sword and pursuing a peaceful, earnest, and determined educational agitation, at all times holding their discussions upon high moral grounds, the hour will arrive when the few shall become the many, and the forlorn hope shall be lost in a great awakened conscience force of the nation, whose august and imperious voice demands obedience. Such is the power of truth, of a moral idea, of justice, that a righteous cause that claims a few wise and sincere champions will ultimately become invincible in its overmastering influence.

But before this final triumph there invariably come times when the new truth seems to have conquered the hearts of the people. It enters Jerusalem amid the waving of palms and the hosannas of the multitude, and the battle-scarred prophets of progress, looking one another in the face with swelling hearts and brimming but joy-lit eyes, say, "The battle is fought and the victory is won;" when, lo! suddenly is felt on all sides the mailed or the gloved hand of intrenched injustice, of enthroned power, or of vastly rich interests that have plundered the nation and fattened off of the misery of the weak—and which now are menaced. A wand is waved, and a thousand influences and agencies, some secret and some open, are set in motion; when, lo! the shout of "Hosanna!" is changed into the cry of "Crucify! Crucify!"—while on the battlefield the standard of the old, the banner of wrong, injustice, and the night waves apparently triumphant, and Belshazzar sits down in the banquet hall and is soon drunken with wine. Nevertheless, without the walls the forces of progress, long before set in motion, steadily are undermining the very bulwark that wrong and oppression have deemed invincible. Such is the history of reform—such the parable of progress.

II. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM NINETEENTH CENTURY HISTORY.

Let us look at these facts in the light of history. We will take England, as there we can view the issues dispassionately. In the great conflict that culminated in the passage of the

Reform Bill in 1832, we have a striking illustration of the facts to which I have referred; but perhaps nowhere have conditions in so many ways paralleled those which have confronted us during the last decade as in the memorable Anti-Corn Law Crusade in England, which I discussed in a recent paper in THE ARENA. In this great battle for economic justice, earnest reformers and broad-visioned patriots will find one of the most suggestive and inspiring passages in modern history.

In January, 1839, the Anti-Corn Law League was formed to accomplish a great and needed reform, which for many generations had been successfully combated by a great vested interest, so powerful as to hold each of the leading political parties in its grasp. Richard Cobden and John Bright, two young men whose souls were lighted with enthusiasm for humanity and a sublime faith in the power of right and the supremacy of the moral law in the operations of national as well as individual life, became the head and front of the movement. These young apostles of progress and other earnest, sincere, and able thinkers were sent out over England. They journeyed from town to town, preaching the gospel of economic reform with much the same compelling force and holy zeal that were manifested by the early Apostles as they journeyed over the Roman world. At first calumny, abuse, and savage opposition confronted them. They were everywhere denounced by the conservatives of society as incendiaries, fanatics, demagogues, the sowers of social discontent, and the fosterers of revolution. Every epithet of abuse applied in this land to those who in recent years have opposed the onward march of private monopoly and other undemocratic evils was hurled at these high-souled prophets of peace and progress. They were frequently in great physical danger. Their meetings were broken up. They were refused halls to speak in. The landlords of many inns dared not shelter them. But the exhibition of intolerance and the mob spirit on the part of the pretended upholders of law and order led to no act of indiscretion or retaliation on their part. They answered epithets with arguments, and met calumny and insult by clear and compelling appeals to the sense of justice and fair play, right, and human sympathy in the hearts of the people; and during all this time, as the great press of England was closed to the reformers, the League literally sowed the nation in tracts and leaflets. In order to raise funds for the proper carrying forward of the work, great bazaars were held in the cities, and the proceeds were turned in to the cause for propaganda work. And then followed the phenomenon of which I have spoken as of frequent occurrence in the progress of a moral crusade.

The nation seemed to be so awakened as to be ripe for the triumph of the cause. The Tories were more bitter than ever in their denunciation of the principles of the League, and the Liberal ministry still refused to antagonize the grain monopoly interests, though many of the Whig or Liberal statesmen seemed moving rapidly toward the League, while from superficial indications the electors were with the reform forces and England seemed ablaze with moral enthusiasm. This interest, however, was sentimental and superficial rather than deep-seated and conscience-compelling in character; and in 1841, when an appeal was taken to the country, what was the result? The reactionary Tories were overwhelmingly successful. Almost everywhere, even in the cities where the Liberals were supposed to be strongest, they were smitten hip and thigh. The Tory majority in the House of Commons, against the combined opposition, was 91; while those who favored repeal of the Corn Laws numbered but 90, to 393 against the proposed reform. The one crumb of comfort that the reformers were able to gather from the crushing defeat, which had been so unexpected in its proportions, was the election of Richard Cobden to the House of Commons.

The sweeping victory of the Tories was primarily due to the united and determined opposition of the great landed classes, who beheld with something like terror the probability of losing the monopoly in bread stuffs, which had been for so many generations a source of continued wealth. To defend their richly valuable special privilege they poured out money like water, and this enabled the Tories to work up a panicky feeling in the business world by hysterical cries and direful predictions. The specters of social revolt and forcible revolution were held constantly before the minds of the property owners of the land as a result to be expected in the event of the triumph of the reform forces; while on the other hand every prejudice of the discontented voters was appealed to and the shortcomings of the Melbourne ministry, which had exasperated the Radicals by refusing reform measures while holding office, were enlarged upon. The increased sufferings of the poor, due to bad crops and business depression, were also charged up against the Liberal government. Thus the landed interest, a large section of the business interest, and the spirit of conservatism were arrayed against the Liberals, while the errors and sins of omission of the Whig ministry were effectively used to take from the Liberals the discontented floating vote.

The leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League, under the guidance of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, however, were not cast down. They knew that their cause was just, their position sound, and that in spite of appearances millions of Englishmen had already become interested as never before in social problems. What was needed was a continued educational agitation, and they therefore carried forward their crusade with persistency and energy. The Leaguers pointed out the fact that so long as bread was dear and the conditions of the poor were such as in Leeds, for example, where more than twenty thousand persons were earning less than a shilling a week, the threat of revolution would increase. Cobden had time and again declared that, if the markets were opened to the free admission of grain, the abundance of food stuffs and the consequent lessening in the price of bread would allay the rising and dangerous discontent of the people. And now the proof of his prediction in regard to the influence of an abundance of bread was illustrated, but in such a way as to help the opposition; for coincident with the triumph of the Tories, and for two years thereafter, England was blessed with bounteous harvests. Grain was comparatively cheap, and the popular discontent appeared to be vanishing. It looked from superficial indications as if the Tory government had a long tenure of office before it, and as if weary generations must pass ere the great food monopoly should be destroyed. The people said the times had improved with the coming into office of the Tories; hence, they had best let well enough alone. And when the fact of the bounteous harvests was pointed out as a chief cause of better times, they were not disposed to be influenced; for, if Providence worked with the Tories and the Established Church, was it not a further evidence that they were right? "The prospect of the Anti-Corn Law League," says Justin McCarthy, "did not look by any means bright when the session preceding the free trade legislation came to an end." Indeed, though many Whig statesmen had been drifting toward the platform of the League, and even Sir Robert Peel had shown evidences of having been influenced by the theories of free trade, a vast majority of the statesmen still opposed repeal, and apparently the nation was far less interested in the subject than it had been during the campaign that preceded the defeat of 1842; for the League meetings were now not nearly so largely attended and the demand for literature had greatly fallen off.

Mr. Cobden, however, understood the condition better than did any one else. He knew that for seven years a steady and effective educational agitation had been carried on. He knew that, while in 1842 the popular imagination of the masses had been merely stirred, now the intelligence of the nation had been instructed and its conscience awakened. All that was needed was the peal of the great bell of discontent, to be rung by some new manifestation of popular misery, and, lo! the nation would start as one man and in tones of thunder demand repeal. In the summer of 1845, in a public address, Mr. Cobden said: "Three weeks of showery weather, when the wheat is in the bloom or ripening, would repeal the Corn Laws." He better than any other English statesman understood the temper of the nation, though the great Tory Prime Minister was by no means deceived by surface indications. Sir Robert Peel knew that what Cobden said was literally true. He knew that when the people next demanded repeal it meant prompt acceptance on the part of the government or forcible revolution; and in 1846, when the potato famine in Ireland precipitated the issue, Sir Robert Peel was great enough to sacrifice himself in order to save the State. Recognizing that only through repeal could revolution be averted, he accepted what Cobden, Bright, and their companions, in a great moral crusade of seven years, had rendered inevitable. The reform triumphed; nor was this all. The agitation carried on, together with the propaganda of the Chartists that paralleled it, educated the brain and awakened the conscience of the nation so thoroughly that England's face, so far as it related to the home government, had been set resolutely toward the democratic ideal; and her progress in this direction has been in many respects more marked than our own—so much so that, while in the forties the great American Republic was the constant inspiration and ideal of the democratic reformers of Great Britain, to-day in matters relating to municipal ownership of public utilities, governmental ownership of the telegraph, and many other truly democratic issues the reformers of our land are compelled to refer to England.

This illustration is typical, as the history of reform movements amply demonstrates; and it is rich in suggestions and should prove a source of inspiration and encouragement to all who are resolutely determined to fight for justice and the democratic ideal in government.

III. The True Place of the Republic in the Procession of Nations.

The recent reverses that have overtaken those who oppose a radical departure from the old ideals of republican government, those who oppose private monopoly, and those who favor such democratic measures as direct legislation, governmental ownership of public utilities, and other fundamentally just and necessary governmental changes required by new conditions and in order to preserve in spirit and fact as well as in name a true Republic, should not discourage any patriot, or at least cause him to despair of the triumph of free government. But it should lead him to consecrate his best energies as never before to the cause that demands those changes which shall make our nation what she long was—the hope of the world's oppressed, the inspiration of all lovers of freedom, the most august embodiment of liberty known to the peoples of earth, and in the truest sense of the term the leader of progress in the procession of nations.

Now less than ever must the *Program of Progress* be abandoned. Every consideration of human happiness, of peaceful progress, and of well-rounded development of the whole people demands that now as never before we close up ranks and battle for the evolutionary progress that shall insure to the coming generation a land of freedom and the happiness of all the people.

Let us see to it that not through our indifference, neglect, or failure to further to the fullest extent of our power the fundamental demands of freedom, the Republic suffers a permanent eclipse. If the name of free government becomes a misnomer when applied to the United States, where shall the friends of liberty look for encouragement or inspiration? Let us further address ourselves to those requirements of democratic government which modern conditions render imperative, and which other nations, with wise foresight and more faith in freedom and the people than we now seem to possess, have successfully introduced.

IV. Some Demands of the Present.

We now come to notice some of the important demands of the present which the perils confronting us, the changed conditions of our time, and the larger consciousness of our age, with its higher idea of national duty and individual responsibility, render imperative.

(1) *Back to the Declaration of Independence.*—Perhaps no greater peril ever confronted the Republic than that which menaces her to-day in the subtle but persistent attempt to supplant the demands of free government with essentially monarchical innovations, which nullify the fundamentals upon which our Republic was builded. From my point of view no more wickedly misleading statement ever leaped from the lips of man than the assertion that the taxing of the Puerto Ricans without giving them representation, and indeed the whole colonial program of the present Administration, is in line with the ideals of republican government as conceived by our fathers, and which in active operation gave the United States a proudly unique position in the civilization of the world. The proposed innovations are at variance with the fundamental principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, but they are in perfect alignment with the monarchical rule of England, against which we revolted, and that of other monarchical or imperial governments. Never in a decade of our whole history have we moved so rapidly away from the ideal of free government as during the last two years. Never before has the Republic assumed the attitude of aping the monarchies against which she has always stood in glorious antithesis, or presented the humiliating spectacle of supplicating for admittance at the door of a family of nations ruled chiefly by czars, kaisers, emperors, and kings. Let us not forget that a government is not necessarily a republic because it is so labeled. Florence during the time of the di Medici was called a republic, and it possessed all the old paraphernalia that once served as the body of a republican soul; but in fact the shell masked the absolutism of the successive heads of a shrewd, calculating, and enormously rich family. Speaking of Cosimo di Medici, no less an authority than Professor Vallari of the Royal Institute of Florence observes:

"He succeeded in solving the strange problem of becoming absolute ruler of a republic that was keenly jealous of its liberty, without holding any fixed office, without suppressing any previous form of government, and always preserving the appearance and form of a private citizen."

Cosimo di Medici passed away, but his son Lorenzo remained, and he pursued the same policy as his father, although he felt less the necessity of employing the same degree of caution, as the public conscience was being rapidly lulled to sleep. In referring to his rule, Professor Vallari continues:

"Florence was still *called* a republic; the old institutions were still preserved, if only in name. Lorenzo was absolute lord of all and virtually a tyrant. . . The more oppressive his government the more did he seek to incite the public to festivities, and lull it to slumber by sensual enjoyment. His immorality was scandalous. He kept an army of spies and meddled with the citizen's most private affairs."

And all this time the citizens of Florence were being exhorted to be loyal to the republic, and demagogues who were tools of Lorenzo never tired of extolling the blessings of priceless liberty.

Was the so-called republic of Venice a real republic under the absolute despotism of the Council of Ten or the three Inquisitors of the State? Augustus Cæsar was wont to extol the republic of Rome, and so it has been throughout the annals of the ages. All history is strewn with wrecks of free governments—sad and impressive warnings to the patriots of our time. I am not ready to believe, however, that after progressing so far along the highway of freedom our great nation is destined to fall back into night—the night of imperial rule under the cerements of a republic. Perhaps it was necessary that a party should enjoy a period of power who for supposed commercial gains should seek to minify the Declaration of Independence, which for more than a century has been the nightmare of monarchies and the day-star of all peoples struggling for freedom. I believe that now, after the Babel of confusing voices that marked the last election has ceased, the sober judgment of this great nation will arouse to its imminent peril, and a stern day of reckoning will await those who have led its people away after the strange gods of other nations. But victory will be largely dependent upon the prompt, vigorous, and unceasing agitation of all those patriots who appreciate the importance of the issue—who realize that the battle is between light and darkness, between the genius of freedom and that of despotism.

(2) *Private Monopoly.*—It would be difficult to exaggerate the peril to free government of vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few and the control of the necessities and comforts of life by irresponsible corporations, which have been

so admirably characterized as "bodies without souls." In private monopoly we have a double peril. It menaces free government, while ultimately it oppresses all the people. The corrupting influence on legislation of vast moneyed corporations has been so frequently exposed in Congressional, State, and municipal affairs that there is no longer any question as to the fact of its debauching effect. The famous Colton letters, put in evidence in a suit brought by the widow of General Colton against the Central Pacific Railroad Company, furnished a striking revelation of how the railway magnates have secured benefits through legislation. The story of the Standard Oil Company, as graphically but carefully related by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd in his great work, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," the startling admissions made by the late Jay Gould in the legislative investigation of the Erie Railroad conducted in 1873, and the astounding exposition of municipal corruption brought out at the investigation made by the Lexow Committee a few years ago in New York, are but a few warning voices among many that speak the same language and tell the same story.

The corrupting influence on legislators is by no means the only evil wrought by powerful combinations. In all ages, when permitted to flourish, private monopolies have oppressed the people and wrought great injustice. The recent autocratic action of the coal "combine" and the enormous increase in the price of sugar are but two typical illustrations of how monopolies extort from the whole people. The trust problem, or private monopoly, concerns every American citizen, both in his relation as patriot and as provider for those dependent upon him. Two remedies have been suggested for the evil. The one proposed by the Democratic party seeks to destroy all these combinations by rigid laws vigorously enforced, and the throwing open of the ports to the free entry of all productions controlled by monopolies or trusts. On the other hand, the Socialistic solution would provide for the nationalizing of all monopolies and their operation by the State for the benefit of all the people. That this solution is in harmony with the tendency of the age is beyond all question. All business and the general spirit and current of the last quarter of a century have been toward coöperation and combination. There is no doubt that combination makes possible a great saving in labor and expense; but when these savings do not go to the great majority of the wealth creators, but are diverted for the purpose of paying enormous dividends on watered stock, and to increase the already princely portion of a few, and also to corrupt government and influence opinion-forming agencies, it becomes an imperative duty of the people to combat that which menaces the nation and oppresses the individual.

(3) *Governmental Ownership of Natural Monopolies.*—There is one phase of the monopoly question that will more and more become a living issue in American political life, and that is the national, State, and municipal ownership of natural monopolies. In very many of the leading nations of the world the telegraph is owned by the State and operated in connection with the postal service. Several of the great nations likewise own and operate the railway systems and other natural monopolies, while in many cities of England the water, electric and gas lighting, street-car service, and other public utilities are owned and successfully operated by the municipalities. With us, the two great illustrations of the practicability of the Socialistic ideal, when applied to matters that concern the whole people, are found in our public-school system and our post-office; and I think it is safe to say that there are no two things in our government more prized or which on the whole give greater general satisfaction to the people than the public school and the post-office department. But, urges some one, does not the latter run behind in its expenditures? And in reply to this question, so frequently asked, we would say, in the first place, the chief cause of the deficiency is found in the extortionate charges made to the government by the railways—charges far in excess of what express companies would pay for similar services. But with public ownership of railways this cause of deficit, which has been one of the most notorious scandals in the government since private monopolies have undertaken to benefit at the expense of the people, would be abolished, and the department would be charged merely a reasonable percentage above the cost of transmitting—a price even less than to-day the express companies would be compelled to pay the railways for like service. The one other possible cause of deficiency, which is at best very slight compared with the excessive charges paid to the railways, is for the distribution of books, periodicals, and literature in general. But here it should be remembered that the importance of raising the educational standard of the people, encouraging the diffusion of knowledge, and affording the people pleasure and profit thereby, has been considered, and wisely considered, richly worth the

cost. Our postal system has made steady and phenomenal progress in serving the public and in cheapening the cost of the transmission of mail. It is justly one of the proudest monuments of nineteenth century civilization; and without doubt, but for the excessive charges due to the debauching influence of private monopoly already referred to, the post-office department might soon be made more than self-sustaining.

(4) *Direct Legislation.*—The republic of Switzerland leads the democracy of the world, so far as it better represents a government of, by, and for the people. The great reformative measures introduced to preserve under present conditions a truly republican government include the initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the imperative mandate; and these have been fully tried and have proved eminently practical. In no country are changes along the line so successfully pursued by Switzerland so imperatively demanded as in our own Republic; and, though much has been already accomplished in arousing the electorate to the importance of these reforms, far more educational agitation is needed.

(5) *Compulsory Arbitration.*—When there was a comparatively free field and competition prevailed, neither the laborer nor the public was at the mercy of large operators, manufacturers, or producers, for strikes meant as great an injury to employers as to employees, and often they proved more disastrous, inasmuch as they enabled rivals seriously to encroach on the business that had been paralyzed by the strike. But, with the centralization of business and the formation of trusts and monopolies, the relation of the capitalists to society as well as to the employees was materially changed, and, instead of the interest representing monopoly losing, it frequently gained immensely by the strike, while labor suffered on the one hand and the general public on the other. In other words, a few, representing a monopoly, had the people as well as the employees at their mercy, and frequently they greedily seized the opportunity offered by the strike to levy extortionate and unjustifiable prices for commodities produced or services rendered. A striking illustration of this was furnished by the prompt and enormous advance in the price of hard coal as soon as the recent strike was declared, and the increase of fifty cents a ton over September prices after the trust was compelled slightly to increase the pitiful wage paid to its employees. Here the people, and particularly the poor, were compelled to pay enormously for the strike.

Again, in St. Louis, last year, for weeks and even months the inhabitants of a large part of the city were practically without car service, simply because an arrogant corporation, enjoying the enormously valuable street franchises, refused to arbitrate its differences with its employees. Many lives were sacrificed and a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars in wages and costs was incurred, to say nothing of the inconvenience to the public, owing to this wholly needless wrong.

Here we have two typical illustrations of the strike evil. The relation between employer and employee under prevailing conditions is no longer simply a matter of concern between the parties engaged directly in the business. It intimately and seriously affects the public; hence it is clearly a case for proper governmental intervention in the interest of the community at large. The necessary measures demanded can easily be provided by the State's enacting wise laws and compelling differences between labor and capital to be adjusted in courts of arbitration. Nor is this an untrodden pathway.

With the independence and superb courage that once made our Republic the wonder of the world and the admiration of all friends of freedom and justice, New Zealand is to-day leading the nations in the successful inauguration of many of the most wise and practical legislative measures demanded adequately to meet changed conditions; and among the successful innovations of her statesmen none more challenge the attention of earnest reformers than her provisions for compulsory arbitration. In the framing of this important statute true statesmanship and an enlightened humanitarian spirit were evinced. The law has proved eminently successful. No strike has occurred since its passage, and the laborers thereby have been enabled to save large sums that were hitherto lost to industry, through idleness on the one hand and unjust exaction on the other, while besides this the public has been free from the inconvenience, increased expense, and other evils incident to strikes.

(6) *Employment of the Unemployed.*—Among the great new questions which the larger views of life have impressed upon the thought of this age are the solidarity of the race, the fact that humanity is one, and a recognition of the duty of society and the State toward the individual; and with the appreciation of this fact there has come to many of the wisest philosophers, and to some statesmen, the realization that the State has a grave duty to perform in striving to elevate the

citizen and so far as possible help him to be a useful wealth producer, enjoying a happy independence, instead of a despondent, discontented tramp or something worse, who in time becomes a burden and a menace to government. These philosophers hold that it would be at once wise, economical, and just for the government to give every citizen unable to find employment productive work at a reasonable wage—work such as will add to the wealth of the nation without taking bread from any other individual. There are great tracts of arid land waiting for irrigation that they may blossom in orchards and gardens. There are thousands upon thousands of acres of the richest lands in the Republic in the Mississippi Valley that are useless now, but when a permanent levee is once built they will find a ready market and immensely add to the wealth production of the nation.

Our country greatly needs good roads. They would bring hundreds of thousands if not millions of dollars of added wealth annually to our farmers, who would be readily able to convey their perishable fruits and vegetables to market, but who because of the condition of the highways are unable profitably to market a large percentage of that which is now produced. A few years ago I pointed out these facts at a time of business depression, when hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men were praying for work, and I then said what I will repeat now—that if the government would promptly give employment to all the out-of-works who desired to earn an honest and independent livelihood, and who could not obtain employment, it would give to the world one of the wisest illustrations of advanced statesmanship found in modern times, and it would win the love and patriotism of hundreds of thousands of honest toilers who had ceased to feel that the nation cared for them. It would, moreover, increase the wealth of the nation, and the money earned would serve quickly to relieve in a positive way the business stagnation, as it would put large sums of currency into immediate circulation. The suggestion was objected to on the grounds that the government had no money to expend in that way and it would not be right to tax the people to raise the money. Yet to-day we find our citizens are being taxed to pay the enormous expense of a large army, engaged in subjugating a people eight thousand miles away, whose only crime is that they insist on imitating our fathers and enjoying the blessings of freedom, which our own Declaration of Independence declares they have an inalienable right to enjoy—a people, moreover, who for generations have bravely fought for their liberty. And now it is further proposed that we have a standing army of 100,000 men, incurring an annual burden of $200,000,000, to be kept in idleness when not shooting down their fellow-beings and supported by the wealth creators of the Republic. Which, I ask, is wiser: to abolish all uninvited poverty by giving productive employment to an industrial army who would be steadily adding to the wealth of the nation, or to maintain a large standing army of non-producers in demoralizing idleness when not engaged in the profession of killing? By adopting the former course we would be maintaining the self-respecting manhood of our citizens, increasing industry, and fostering hope and happiness. We would be lessening the burdens of the State by diminishing crime and poverty, and we would be also fostering in the hearts of the people a love for their country that would render the Republic absolutely invincible in times of peril; and, more than this, we would be setting an example to the world that would be of incalculable value in the furtherance of true civilization. The strength of a free government lies in the love or the true patriotism of her children. Let the Republic exhibit a loving, wise, and just concern for all her children, and in time of danger she will not be wanting in friends, but from millions of homes at her call for aid there will leap forth strong men in the prime and glory of life, old men, and youths, all ready to die for land and home. Herein lie the safety and invincibility of the Republic, while despotisms and imperial governments are compelled to levy oppressive taxation upon their subjects to sustain vast armies in order to bulwark thrones.

These are some of the really serious questions that are pressing for solution and that all reformers should strive to bring before the intelligence and the conscience of the nation. Let a vigorous educational agitation go on along this line, but at all times let us emphasize the fact that when a battle is to be fought at the polls it is wisest to seize upon those economic reforms upon which the public mind has been most thoroughly enlightened and which therefore are dearest to the hearts of the majority; and let us be ready to concentrate upon the one or two issues that may be won. The peaceful victories of progressive democracy during the past century have been almost entirely made by the practical step-by-step policy in political contests.

V. PEACE WITH PROGRESS.

But above all let it be clearly understood from the outset that the practical reform forces of America are working for peaceful progress. Let there be no threat of violence, and let all indications of the mob spirit be promptly discouraged. We shall win, but it will only be after we have convinced the reason, quickened the conscience, and aroused the sense of right and justice in the hearts of the people. *We must place our cause on high moral grounds and make a religion of the Program of Progress.* When this is done the cause for which we have striven will prove invincible, and the power of the opposition will become thoroughly impotent to turn aside the awakened soul of the nation or to defeat that which is approved by the wisdom and the sense of right in the hearts of the people; for without having behind it the conscience and intelligence of the majority of the electors, the most just and necessary reform will inevitably fail.

The success of the Anti-Corn Law League was rendered possible by a clear recognition on the part of Richard Cobden and John Bright that the hope of their cause lay in arousing the moral sensibilities of the nation. On the other hand, the Chartist movement, with its just and reasonable demands, failed of immediate victory largely through the indiscretion of its leaders in making either open or veiled threats against government and in appealing to the passions of the people. This course proved fatal because it inflamed the masses to such a degree that their indignation found expression in mob violence, which drove from the movement hundreds of thousands of the more thoughtful, who were already beginning to become interested in the cause.

The important demands now pressing for solution are worthy of serious consideration, however erroneous they may appear to some thinkers. Moreover, the aim of the reformer of to-day is for a higher and fuller measure of justice. His ideal is the happiness of the people, the development of the individual, and the preservation of free government.

We have about four years before another Presidential battle will be fought. Let this time be employed for the most vigorous, persistent, and aggressive campaign known to history. No man or woman ever worked in a nobler cause than that which demands our allegiance to-day; and let us remember that there is something far more potent than gold, something more effective than the cunning or the might of self-interest and greed, something more invincible than the bayonet or the cannon, and that is the *divine* within the heart of man—the conscience force of a great people. The labor confronting us is one of the most stupendous works that the sons and daughters of freedom have ever been called upon to carry to victory, but we will succeed if we are brave and true to our highest sense of right. "How is it," exclaimed John Bright on one memorable occasion, "that any great thing is accomplished? By love of justice, by constant devotion to a great cause, and by an unfaltering faith that that which is right will in the end succeed." And if with this assurance strong in our hearts, and actuated only by love of justice and fidelity to duty we go forward, we cannot fail, and the few will soon become the many who shall raise the Republic to even a grander place than she has hitherto known, making her the proud leader of the world's civilization, the home of freedom, the asylum of justice, and the one nation among all peoples whose first concern shall be the happiness and development of all her citizens—a nation whose people shall at length come to know that "that which is morally wrong cannot be politically right."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

WHERE DWELLS THE SOUL SERENE. By Stanton Kirkham Davis. Cloth, 220 pp. Price, $1.25. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company.

A Book Study.

The noble idealism and the transcendental philosophy that rose at a time when the old religious superstitions on the one hand and the narrow dogmatism of warring theological sects on the other had called forth a liberalism that too often led to crass materialism, exerted a most wholesome and necessary influence on the minds of many of the best thinkers of the nineteenth century, lifting as they did the ideal and thought of life from the soul-deadening and essentially low spirit of sordid commercialism that prevailed throughout the business world. These broader and nobler views also did much toward steadying the mind of the thinking world when the evolutionary philosophy was first presented against the age-long theological explanation of the phenomena of life. The great idealists and the transcendental philosophers necessarily appealed to comparatively few minds. Their works were too abstract or the concept too strange and new to be quickly apprehended. It remained for a few thinkers, who had caught the full significance of the New Thought, to present it intelligibly to the multitude.

In America the man of all men who came profoundly under the transcendental philosophy which, as Mr. Frothingham well observes, "is built on these necessary and universal principles, the primary laws of Mind, which are the ground of absolute truth," was Ralph Waldo Emerson; and his luminous exposition of the broader philosophy of being, with its saner views of the Infinite and its richer, fuller, and deeper conception of life, silently and often imperceptibly changed the thought-world of tens of thousands of earnest men and women, who in turn radiated these new ideals until the general thought of hundreds of thousands had been modified where a generation before hundreds had been similarly influenced. The writings of Emerson, of course, were but one great factor among many that revolutionized and lifted the thought of the age largely from sense perceptions to the more subtle and powerful though less evident influences at work throughout the universe and within the individual. The rise of Modern Spiritualism and the tardy recognition of the basic truth discovered by Mesmer, but rechristened *hypnotism*, had led many of the foremost scientists of Europe and America to systematic investigation of psychic phenomena, applying to them the modern critical methods and awakening a general popular interest in what had heretofore ever been a dark continent. On the other hand, the heart-hunger of the age for a religious belief more in harmony with the nobler vision of Deity, and bearing with it a recognition of man's oneness with the Infinite and a vital realization that love is the greatest thing in the world, has led to popular movements whose growth has been so steady and remarkable that they must be considered significant signs of the times. The advent and rapid growth of the religious belief known as Christian Science, and the equally phenomenal spread of metaphysical and idealistic thought outside of the rigid religious tenets of Christian Science, challenge the attention of all thoughtful people. A voluminous literature, whose aim has been to elucidate and popularize this New Thought, has been widely accepted and popularly welcomed; and though much that has appeared has been ill-digested and very immature in character, other works have been well considered and the authors have evinced at once a philosophic grasp of the essential demands of the higher, finer thought and the ability to present it in a pleasing and thoroughly intelligible manner to the popular mind.

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* **Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.**

A very notable work of this character, bearing the rather striking title of "Where Dwells the Soul Serene," has just appeared. Its author, Mr. Stanton Kirkham Davis, has succeeded in an eminent degree in bringing his philosophic discussions within the easy grasp of the busy man of affairs who has little time for calm and serious contemplation. Among the leading subjects discussed are Freedom, Culture, Religion, Prayer, Practical Idealism, Thought, Character, Poise, Ethical Relations, Wealth, Higher Laws, and the Soul of Nature. The volume is a noble and sane plea for *love;* for a vital recognition in the individual and the State of the only thing that can insure happiness, growth, and enduring progress. It is an appeal to all that is best in man's nature, and seldom have I read so rational a presentation of the ethical needs of to-day as is here presented.

That the reader may come *en rapport* with the author, and thus understand something of his spirit as well as his viewpoint and the style of his writing, I give a few extracts from the work. In a chapter on the "Elements of Freedom" we find the following:

> "If you have reached the stage of nonconformity, not to one institution in particular, but to all things external to you—to all but the divine pattern within you—so may you hope to be transformed. If you have come to esteem free thought as a birthright and heritage of humanity, so may you confidently hope to be free; for the thought precedes the state—freedom in thought before freedom in action and life. The Spirit bids us cast off the shackles of tradition and forego our musty creeds. We must have the living Word; the Truth shall make us free Nurture your free thought; cherish it; it shall be a jewel in your crown. Free thought or slavish thought, which will you? Once resolved to think for ourselves, we shall become men; let others think for us, and we remain puppets.

"We are not to confound freedom with license nor to suppose that the one through any transition may lead to the other, for freedom is the guerdon of a perfect apprehension of Divine Law and a conformity to the Will of God; it is in fact the realization of the Soul's identity with the Infinite and the recognition of the Divine Presence. We may ask, with the Stoics, Who shall compel us more than Zeus? If God be for me, who can be against me? It is from ignorance, from mistaken impressions, from the tyranny of supposed laws, that we would be free. License, on the other hand, is a lack of realization and a failure to apprehend the Divine Laws and Relationship; and the greater the license the more complete the slavery.

"Freedom is not a name in the sky; it is a condition to be actualized within. We shall not be free until we know ourselves. The true life is distinct from the senses, and when we awake from our dream we shall stand forth in the majesty of the Soul. Open the oak gall and within lies the larva of the gall fly; it dwells within a tiny sphere, nor dreams of earth, nor sky, nor sunshine. One day visions of freedom—of a larger life—possess the maturing insect and forthwith he breaks his prison wall and beholds the glory of the Day. The grossly feeding caterpillar no sooner views his world than he proceeds to devour it; but anon he becomes a free child of the air and sips only a drop of nectar.

"There is in man a higher Self, which partakes of Divinity and transcends the illusions of sense. To seek this Self and to become one with it is the dictate of wisdom and the path of freedom. Self-union through spiritual unfoldment: this is the esoteric teaching of all great religions—a teaching that in all ages has influenced the few and eluded the many. We may trace it from the Upanishad to the Vedanta; read it in the Bhagavad-Gita and in the Psalms of David. 'Seeking for freedom, I go for refuge to that God who is the light of his own thoughts:' thus sang the Aryan poet, and the sacred literature of the world echoes his thought."

In these lines the author refers to the idea of the higher life:

"It is the royal privilege of every man so to live that his life and example shall be an inspiration; to walk so erect and free that men shall be constrained to inquire as to the means of his freedom. When we have tried the various motives of life in the crucible of experience, there is left the precious residuum of unselfishness; and it is this shining spherule which shall be the talisman of our freedom. . . .

"In our unselfish deeds we act divinely, and every man's altruism comes forth to welcome us. It is a profound truth that in our thoughts we join hands with all who are of the same trend of mind and become one of a brotherhood of like thinkers."

The chapter on "Wealth" is very rich in basic truths. Here are some thoughts that cannot be too frequently or too solemnly impressed:

"There is perhaps no subject that labors under a more general misapprehension than that of wealth. While economists have dimly predicated an inward as well as an outward wealth, they have preferred to treat it directly as that which has an exchange value and to class it as a species of utility, but of a base order, having reference only to the material welfare of man. And herein lies the fallacy of the worldly concept of life—that it would deal with material issues as separate from spiritual; whereas in fact the material is but the reflex of the spiritual, and can no more be rightly considered as a separate entity than a corpse may be regarded as a man; and though political economy may admit that man *has* a soul, it nevertheless does not recognize it as an asset.

"It is a shallow sophism that money will buy everything; it will buy everything but happiness, everything but peace, everything but Truth, Wisdom, Love. It will buy servile allegiance, but not respect; it will buy a book but not the ability to read it; it will buy a coronet but not nobility of character. In short, it will buy the symbols but not the substance of things.

"To inherit money may or may not prove beneficial; but to inherit the conviction that money constitutes wealth is always a calamity. There is this difference, moreover, between earning money and acquiring it, that the one contributes to character and the other requires character to withstand it. Two payments are made for all honest work; the first is in money and is counted, the second is in patience, in dexterity, in tact, experience, and courage, and is not counted. . . .

"The world's view of wealth readily follows its dogma of success. Money is to-day largely the measure of success—a business that is profitable; a profession that is lucrative. But the ample perspective of history reveals success to lie only in the character of a work, and thus is assigned a truer value to a work of Phidias or an ode of Pindar than to contemporary art or life. Inventors have lived in garrets; there are monuments of literature which brought but paltry sums to their authors; prophets have been stoned. Was the inventor, then, less rich in ideas; was the author less wealthy in diction; had the prophet any the less an ownership in Truth? It is but a poor standard of success that is measured by gold and silver; a noble bearing, a lofty brow, a kindly smile, a self-control, a healthy body, a clear eye bespeak a success that is more real. The only victory worth making is the victory over one's self; the only real success lies in the development of character and insight; the only thing worth seeking is the Soul; the only thing worth possessing is the Truth; the only thing worth living for is Love. And this is the greatest success—to have ennobled your environment, to have done good, to have given happiness, to be happy; for Virtue alone wears a serene smile, and Wisdom only is truly happy."

"The Soul of Nature" differs somewhat from the previous discussions. It closes the volume and occupies more than fifty pages. In the introductory chapter the author traces the story of the world and the rise of life from the time when our globe was a shapeless, chaotic mass to the time when the highest development of human life, with its consciousness of its relationship to Divinity, comes as a crown of creation. This chapter is one of the most vivid and panoramic in its portrayal of the various ages of the earth and the phenomena presented by each, and of the constant evolution of life from the lower to the higher, that I am acquainted with; and the philosophic discussions and observations leading up to the four chapters or prose poems devoted to the Seasons will richly repay perusal. The author's portrayal of the Seasons will delight all lovers of fine prose poetry. It reveals the mind of the careful student of Nature and the imagination of the artist and poet. It suggests at times some of the best flights of Victor Hugo; it has also something of the rugged quality of Walt Whitman. The philosophic observations and lessons are like clusters of berries that one gathers as he journeys through the rich profusion of Nature's gardens in the summer. We have only room for a few brief paragraphs descriptive of each of the seasons, but they will convey something of the treat in store for those who peruse this volume:

"SPRING.

"We march to the music of the spheres and are lighted by the radiance of a million suns; we live always on the eve of great discoveries and are the witnesses of unceasing wonders. Every man is born in an age of miracles and is the inheritor of immense Beauty. Had the Earth made but one rotation upon its axis, that spectacle of the rising and setting Sun would be the marvel of the Ages. Did but one rose bloom upon the Earth we would build for it a temple; had but one bird been seen to spread its wings and sail into the sky, or but one butterfly to expand its gold and azure splendor upon the blossoms of the milkweed, we would long retain the memory of so fair a sight. He is happy who amidst the care and turmoil of the world cherishes in all perfection the innate love of the Beautiful: who regards with joy and wonder and reverence the procession of infinite Beauty that flows perpetually from the great Soul of the Universe.

"Nature exacts more than passing admiration; she would have worship. To this end she importunes—with persistence and unremitting patience besieges us. . . .

"Year by year she revolves for him her seasons; appeals to him with the springtime—the Primavera; brings thick and fast in sweet confusion all the flowers, columbines, and bellworts—medeola and twisted-stalk and trilliums; spreads a carpet of houstonia and yellow cinquefoil, and stars the grass with dandelions; leads him by still waters and smooths for him a couch of violets. She withholds no charm, but lavishes a wealth of beauty in common things: in fresh-ploughed fields and April skies, in apple blossoms and buttercups, and country lanes in lilac time, in the rosy breasts of grossbeaks and the indigo blue of buntings, in the ruby throats of humming birds and the pensile nests of vireos, in the blue of robbins' eggs and the mottled eggs of sparrows; in the languid fluttering of cabbage butterflies, the marvelous flight of swallows and the easy poise of buzzards, in the peeping of frogs and the hum of bees, in pattering raindrops and lapping waves. She writes a prayer in every flower and incites the thrush to singing hymns; is eloquent of her purpose in star and cloud and tree, that men may at last look up, may rise to the heights of worship and be led 'through Nature to Nature's God.'

"Have you found the closed and hidden flowers of violets, or seen high upon the spruce the crimson beauty of its fertile blossom? Have you seen the yellow warbler lay a floor over the cowbird's eggs—the carpenter bee take honey from the pinxter flower; heard the jubilant song of the ovenbird, so different from its call, or the plaintive, noonday note of the chickadee? . . .

"The seasons mark the rhythmic expansion and contraction of Life—the outbreathing and inbreathing of the Infinite. Spring is Nature's darling—the fair one; her gentle admonition to the jaded world to renew, forever to renew; to cast off dry custom and tradition and the sear and lifeless habits of thought, as the tree its withered leaves, and to renew the mind that it may be transformed as by a newer and fresher verdure. . . .

"SUMMER.

"The Dog Star has faded from the evening sky and the dogwood from the hillside and the woodlot. Far into the night have the Pleiades gone; into the night too have departed star flower and anemone. Orion's splendor is now a memory—a memory the hum of bees in the apple blossoms, and berry and fruit recall a host of gentle flowers. Out of the twilight comes Lyra the beautiful, and Cygnus lies over the Milky Way.

"Wood roads are gay with foxgloves and starry-campions, and lanes are fringed with wild carrot as with a border of lace worked in flaming patterns of black-eyed Susan and vivid hue of milkweeds. In deep shades the black cohosh raises tall and ghostlike its white racemes, and the lovely meadow lily hangs its head—fitting cap for elf and sprite. The salt marsh is brightening with the roseate flowers of swamp mallow—a flower garden in a wilderness of cord grass and cat-tails. Where blue flags not long since were blooming, there sparkles now the silvery leaf of jewel weed. On the ponds are floating yellow pond lilies, and Nymphæa, the queenly water lily, reigns supreme. Sundew and adder's mouth are flowering side by side in the cranberry bogs; and pools are fringed with pickerel weed and arrowhead. Look for meadow sweet and hardhack in the pastures, where clover and mullein are interspersed with grasses now ripe and brown and wood lilies lift their petals above the huckleberry patch. Gentle signs of midsummer these, of the season of fulness and completion, of repose and contemplation; and the white pine invites us to sit beneath its shade that it may be to us the Bo-tree of our meditations.

"The dandelions have become balls of down—clusters of silken parachutes attached to as many brown seeds. Each parachute shall carry its seed out into the world; impelled by the Purpose of an Infinite Mind it shall sail dreamily away, over fence and hedge, over road and ditch—now sailing high, now skimming low. Strong winds shall blow it, gentle breezes waft it, until it floats quietly down into some cool green pasture where amid the red-top and the sorrel the seed shall end its travels. There the summer Sun shall beat upon it; it shall be covered by the brown October leaves of beech and chestnut, or perchance a maple leaf shall be its canopy of red and gold. Deep beneath the snows of winter shall it lie, unknown, forgotten save by that One whose pulse within it beats. . . .

"Let us seek the stern companionship of the stars, which fails not, and grapple with hooks of steel the solemn friendship of mountain range and encircling ocean. There is poetry in the sky—rich, varied, and endless, the immeasurable Soul projected before us and made visible: there is sweet solace in the clouds and jovial good fellowship in the tried and trusty Sun.

"The perpetual miracle of the fields shames the unnecessary and interpolated miracle of tradition. Little Science stands hat in hand before a cherry-pit—wondering, puzzled! Peer into a seed—the magician's outfit is simple; consider this granite—only feldspar and the rest. But bring the one to the other and a mighty witchery is let loose. Rain and frost conspire together that clay shall be transmuted into hue of poppy and the bloom of plum. Miracles? Shut in the seedsman's box are waiting the squire's lawn and my lady's bower, the rich farm and the stately avenue; a pansy bed in an envelope, a clover field in a quart measure—and a pot of honey to boot. . . .

"AUTUMN.

"October days! October days! These are the idyllic days—the richest, ripest, mellowest days of all the year; when the tupelo and dogwood are arrayed in Autumn colors; when the chestnuts and the wild grape are waiting for the frost, and the yellow pumpkins glisten in the fields where the corn is stacked for husking; when the wind-falls of winter apples lie rotting in the grass, and the buckwheat is ready for the cradle and the flail. . . .

"Hark to the music of the locust and the cricket, the song of halcyon days, the song of the triumph of creation. . . .

"Along the rocky shores and all the country roadsides gleam the purple and the gold of golden rod and asters. It is the fringe of the Autumn mantle, the garment of brilliant colors; on the oaks it lies in brown and scarlet, on the beeches glistens yellow, from the maples flashes crimson. It is the work of the Great Colorist who now works in emerald, azure, Tyrian, and again transforms all verdure with a sweep of his magic brush and clothes with a great beauty the lowly shrub and vine, and makes glorious the hobblebush and huckleberry. It is no fable that the Lord speaks from the burning bush.

"This is the old age of the leaves; venerable, majestic, reflecting the dignity of a life of beauty and of usefulness, they prepare for the return to the mother world. In obedience to a silent command they appeared and spread over the earth—a tide of green setting to the North; and now they as silently retire—a sea of gold. . . .

"Like some of her children, Nature hibernates; no sooner asleep than she dreams a dream, and they who watch her asleep and dreaming say it is now the Indian Summer. Perhaps the essence of the tobacco plant pervades her slumbers; perchance there are poppies in her dreams. The brilliant company of the sumachs are to her a band of warriors, gaily decked in paint and feathers. Around the Sagamore sit the old men and in silence smoke the peace-pipe. From the wigwams the smoke ascends in the soft and balmy air—curling upward in thin blue lines. She dreams of youth, of bees and flowers, and hears again the love songs of the birds; listens to the trilling of the wren and kinglet; listens to the warbling vireo and the drumming of the partridge; listens to the love notes of the woodthrush and the robin. Obedient to the spell of this fair dream the little breeze comes joyfully back; looks for Youth and finds but Age; looks for its playmates, the columbines and bellworts, and finds but yellow blossoms of witchhazel and here and there a gentian. It wonders at the silent bands of myrtle birds and juncos, and the flocks of white-throat sparrows; sees how the white oaks have drawn around them their mantles of brown and withered leaves—and shrinks away abashed; whispers to the gray squirrel as he throws aside the rustling leaves, but he heeds not, for he is busy planting forests.

"WINTER.

"It comes! The Snow! The invasion of a dazzling host; the silent onslaught of the children of Cold. Whirling, driving, twisting, it descends upon us from the upper regions of the air—charging in a sinuous wavy advance. Rushing forward, careering onward, comes the gay, mad, swirling charge of the mimic fairy foemen. Maneuvering in battalions, massing in phalanx—gyrating, impetuous, resistless—the array of crystal beauty is launched upon us; and who would not invite this superb charge, this shining foray of the Beautiful? Out from the glittering hordes now and again is one detached; bereft of the frenzied impetus of the swirling masses and left to settle gently down upon the coat sleeve, the fairest, purest crystal midget, an infinitesimal jot of the vast elemental invested for the moment with divine form, a tiny marvel claiming our admiration. It lingers for an instant and there is left but a trace of moisture; the investiture of graceful form, the *chef d'œuvre* of miniature loveliness eludes us and is gone.

"Lo, the soft enchantment of the snow; a world in white, a fairy scene of bending boughs and gleaming bowers. Every twig of birch and alder is incrusted with the clinging snow, and it lies heavy on drooping branches of white pine and spruce. Silently and wonderfully is the Earth transformed; she has donned her radiant garments of light. The hemlock assumes the ermine and is majestic in its robes, and oak and maple acquire a new dignity. The snow fleas come to leap upon the snow, arising like fabled warriors from dragon's teeth, and whirling flocks of snowbirds drive free before the wind.

"Blessed be the stillness of the winter day—where silence reigns supreme. Frozen are the ponds and rivers, and the fields lie hidden beneath the drifted snow. A fall of temperature works miracles: congeals what was fluid; petrifies soil and loam, and traces on window panes its cherished arboreal designs, spreading with lavish hand, in graceful inflorescence, panicles and racemes of glittering frost work. It spreads over country roads a polished layer of ice, galvanizing into life the frozen particles and investing them with the pitch and *timbre* peculiar to intense cold, so that they respond in shrill and resonant protest to the runners of swift passing sleighs."

I cannot close this notice without giving the reader one of the little sermons that are woven into the fabric of our author's thought, and reveal the broad, loving spirit and also the deep and true philosophy that characterize the volume. In the chapter on "Autumn" we find the following:

"Because we have loved the wolf's brother, from a snarling, howling, savage beast lurking in caves and in the forest, he has come to be our companion—faithful, noble, gentle, true; ready to serve us; lavishing his affection upon us; giving his life for us; pining and refusing consolation when separated from us. Look into the beautiful eyes of a noble dog and you will feel that there too do you perceive the intimations of the Soul; and this which is true of the dog is true in a degree of all creatures—if they could have but half a chance. This collie, sensitive as a child, of unerring and delicate instinct, superior in intelligence to many illiterate men, superior in kindness to some scholarly men, capable of communicating important things in his own peculiar language—what would he be had he been hunted like the fox?

"Oh, the downtrodden people of the forests and the prairies! Oh, the hunted people of the mountains and the streams! Farewell to the buffalo and the moose; farewell to the wild pigeon and the heron! There is left a great array of foes where might be friends; and this the commentary on man's ruthlessness. But see the fine working of the law—not with impunity shall he thus devastate; an eye for an eye. Unto the destroyer passes the burden of fear. He that destroys what he cannot replace destroys therewith the finer workings of his own nature, and benumbs those sensibilities which alone made him susceptible of a higher development. He trembles who caused the innocent to tremble; he is fearful who made the defenseless to fear.

"The host of the innocent cry aloud; they petition us incessantly. To lie in ambush and shoot a defenseless creature is a dastard's deed. O hunter, the tongue that might have licked your hand hangs from the mouth; the eyes that would have looked affection from their clear depths have appealed in vain for mercy—despite their superb eloquence; the heart that once felt the pulsations of a strong life, that cherished affections similar to your own—but which knew not the strife and hate of your own—has ceased. The gentle life has gone, whither you fear to go—taking with it what was noble, bequeathing to you what was brutish. You have seen Nature through the sights of a rifle and she in turn has taken your peace of mind with the phantoms of the air. The giant of the forest has quailed before you, and you, manikin, tremble at the pygmies of the microscope. You have given your measure of anguish to the denizen of the woods, and it is meted to you again; you have taken her cubs from the bear, and your children are taken from you; you have denied the oneness of all Life, and you are riding the nightmare of Death. You have played the tyrant, and you are confronted by the Inscrutable."

The closing division of the volume would make a charming little work in itself, and one that would be prized by all lovers of Nature and of the beautiful in literature. The author is clearly not only a philosopher and a teacher: he is a poet and an artist. This is a book that merits wide circulation. No one can read it without being made healthier, saner, and happier for its perusal.

JAMES MARTINEAU: A Biography and a Study. By A. W. Jackson. Cloth, 460 pp. Price, $3.00. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Mr. A. W. Jackson's life of James Martineau is a work that all thoughtful persons who would come *en rapport* with the best religious thought of the nineteenth century should carefully peruse. Dr. Martineau was a great man, in the truest sense of the term. He occupied a unique and noble preëminence among the master theological brains of his age. He was liberal, yet profoundly religious. He was an apostle of toleration whose splendid breadth of thought swept the horizon of the world and beheld good everywhere. No man in the England of the last century did more to liberalize the religious thought of the nation. He compelled the ablest churchmen to respect Unitarianism. His thought commanded the serious attention of scholars, while the sweet and loving spirit that marked his life and teachings made him an object of affection wherever he was known. Seldom has a man received a more memorable tribute during his life than did Dr. Martineau on reaching his eighty-third birthday. It came in the form of a memorial note, expressing the gratitude and appreciation of the signers for the help received from, and for the work wrought by, Dr. Martineau. This note ran as follows:

> "We thank you for the help which you have given to those who seek to combine the love of truth with the Christian life: we recognize the great services which you have rendered to the study of the Philosophy of Religion: and we congratulate you on having completed recently two great and important works, at an age when most men, if their days are prolonged, find it necessary to rest from their labors.
>
> "You have taught your generation that, in both politics and religion, there are truths above party, independent of contemporary opinion, and which cannot be overthrown, for their foundations are in the heart of man; you have shown that there may be an inward unity transcending the divisions of the Christian world, and that the charity and sympathy of Christians are not to be limited to those who bear the name of Christ; you have sought to harmonize the laws of the spiritual with those of the natural world, and to give to each their due place in human life; you have preached a Christianity of the spirit, and not of the letter, which is separable from morality; you have spoken to us of a hope beyond this world; you have given rest to the minds of many.
>
> "We admire the simple record of a long life passed in the strenuous fulfilment of duty, in preaching, in teaching the young of both sexes, in writing books of permanent value, a life which has never been distracted by controversy, and in which personal interests and ambitions have never been allowed a place.
>
> "In addressing you we are reminded of the words of Scripture, 'His eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated,' and we wish you

yet a few more years both of energetic thought and work, and of honored rest."

Among the more than six hundred signatures attached to this remarkable tribute were the following: Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Benjamin Jowett, F. Max Müller, W. E. H. Lecky, Edwin Arnold, Ernest Renan, Dr. E. Zeller, and Otto Pfleiderer. These names were followed by a long list of professors of the leading colleges and universities of the world, among which were St. Andrew's, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Oxford, Jena, Berlin, Grönigen, Amsterdam, Harvard, Johns Hopkins University, and the entire board of instructors of Andover Theological School. Then came a long list of members of parliament. Among the distinguished Americans who signed it were James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Phillips Brooks, and Philip Schaff; also a great number of clergymen of England, France, Germany, Holland, and America—the leaders of all schools of Protestant Christian thought. "Party distinctions," says Mr. Jackson, in referring to the signers of this tribute, "were lost to view in the common recognition of a common benefactor. As one scans the list of names and marks the many that are the luster of our age, leaders in letters, science, philosophy, theology, and public service, he is likely to query whether a nobler tribute could have been offered. The only names conspicuously absent are those of men of science, especially of those of agnostic tendencies; and some of these, unable to subscribe to all the terms of the Address, sent him their personal acknowledgment. The Address and signatures were offered him in a book of surpassing elegance."

When we remember that Dr. Martineau was the representative of a minority faith, that he was a liberal, and that his own fellowship or church was one of the smallest bodies in the realm, we appreciate something of the great work wrought by him, and we also see how profoundly he has influenced the religious thought of our time.

Mr. Jackson's volume combines a biography of Dr. Martineau with a sympathetic and interesting study of the teachings of this eminent thinker. The work is in a way a reflex of the higher religious thought and movement of our time, and it cannot fail to prove a wholesome moral and mental stimulus to every reader.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-TRUST CONFERENCE. Illustrated with more than 100 portraits and containing verbatim reports of the principal addresses. Cloth, 586 pp. Price, $1.00. Chicago: George S. Bowen & Son, 344 Unity Bldg.

All persons interested in the present struggle for supremacy between the people and the great monopolies, which are so rapidly gaining control over almost all of life's comforts and necessities, should possess a copy of the recently issued "Report" of the National Anti-Trust Conference, held in Chicago, Feb. 12-14, 1900. The question so exhaustively considered in this thoroughly representative gathering of earnest thinkers is an overshadowing issue in American life to-day. No thoughtful citizen can be indifferent to it, for it not only affects his bread and butter and the future livelihood of his own children, but it carries with it the very life of free institutions. Either private monopoly must be destroyed or the Republic as a free government ceases to exist and becomes the cringing and obedient vassal of an oligarchy. There is no escape from this tremendous fact. Two courses remain open for the people. One is the vigorous fighting by legal measures of all monopolies—by removing tariffs from all articles controlled by monopolies or trusts, by the vigorous enforcement of anti-trust legislation, and by the enactment of laws that will bring private monopolies within the reach of the criminal code. The other is the progressive appropriation on the part of the government of all private monopolies, making them municipal, State, or governmental monopolies, operated for the benefit of the entire commonwealth instead of for the enrichment of a small class at the expense of the people to the detriment of the State. That the latter method is in harmony with the general trend of the spirit of the age is undoubtedly true. The trusts and private monopolies have demonstrated the fact that there is a vast waste in the competitive system, which can be effectively overcome by combination. This fact has been made so clear that the vital issue in the minds of a rapidly increasing body of electors is as to whether these monopolies shall remain in the hands of small bands of capitalists and speculators—who by virtue of controlling life's necessities have the entire nation at their mercy and through their special privileges are enabled to acquire millions upon millions of dollars at the expense of the wage-earners on the one hand and of the consumers on the other—or whether the great savings undoubtedly possible under coöperation shall accrue to the benefit of all the people.

In the volume before us many of the most competent students of social problems discuss different phases and advance various views relating to the question of monopoly. Many of the addresses have evidently been prepared with great care, and, coming as they do from specialists who also represent the conscience element in public life, are worthy of serious consideration. Especially would I mention the addresses of M. L. Lockwood, national president of the American Anti-Trust League; Hon. F. S. Monnett, the intrepid attorney-general of Ohio, who incurred the displeasure of his party by striving to enforce the law according to his oath of office; Hon. Samuel M. Jones, mayor of Toledo; Prof. J. R. Commons; Prof. Edward Bemis; Prof. Thomas Elmer Will, A.M.; Bolton Hall; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss; Dr. H. W. Thomas; George H. Shibley, and Judge W. B. Fleming. These names are only a few in a long list of authoritative thinkers whose views are presented in this volume and whose intimate knowledge of the subject entitles them to the candid consideration of the American electors. The volume is a veritable magazine of effective material for those aroused to the importance of the trust or monopoly issue, and who have the courage to speak for justice, human rights, and free government.

A NEW EDITION OF "LEAVES OF GRASS." By Walt Whitman. With variorum readings of the poems and a department of "Gathered Leaves." Cloth, 506 pp. Price, $1.25. Philadelphia: David McKay.

Lovers of Walt Whitman cannot fail to be delighted with this beautiful edition of "Leaves of Grass." The volume is a handsome specimen of the printer's art, and is embellished with several fine portraits of the poet at different periods of life. But what will delight the reader even more than the beautiful setting given to the work is the pains evinced on the part of the editor to make the volume at once satisfying and serviceable. This is shown in the elaborate and carefully arranged table of contents, in the alphabetical index, in the numbering of the lines in the general text, and in the footnotes, giving the changes made from time to time by the poet in his creations. In his introductory note, Mr. McKay says:

> "Perhaps no author was given more to change than Walt Whitman. Many poems or parts of poems have been either altered or discarded for a time to appear in a new form in later editions, and not a few have disappeared entirely. His poems appeal to the student rather than to the casual reader, and this edition has been prepared with the clearest recognition of that fact. It aims to give the growing as well as the grown Whitman. The accepted readings are given in the text. Each poem has been carefully compared with that appearing in all previous editions, and the changes have been inserted as footnotes. The lines have been numbered, by which means the reader can readily compare the various readings and mark their transformations. Under the head of 'Gathered Leaves' I have collected such poems as have been dropped by the way, some of which appeared in only one, and others in several editions."

It is difficult to understand how so handsome a volume can be profitably sold at so small a price, but it should greatly increase the circle of Whitman readers.

ANNE GILCHRIST AND WALT WHITMAN. By Elizabeth Porter Gould. Illustrated with full-page portraits of eminent contemporary thinkers. Cloth, 90 pp. Price, $1. Philadelphia: David McKay.

Another contribution to the Whitman literature that has recently been given to the public by Mr. McKay is an altogether delightful little volume by Elizabeth Porter Gould, entitled "Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman." The first half of this work is given to a charming sketch of Anne Gilchrist and her friends, and when we remember that among these were Carlyle, George Eliot, Alfred Tennyson, the Rossettis, Walt

Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and John Burroughs, we can easily understand how attractive are these gossipy pages, in which the author gives glimpses of this illustrious coterie. The second half of the book contains Anne Gilchrist's appreciation and criticism of the "good gray poet" and his work. It is entitled "A Confession of Faith." Anne Gilchrist was in many ways a remarkable woman. She possessed a rare insight, which enabled her to come *en rapport* with the larger thought and broader ideals of the poet—thoughts and ideals that unhappily have been entirely overlooked by many less sympathetic and intellectually discerning readers. It is a luminous criticism of the work of one of the few strong and stimulating bards of the nineteenth century.

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Attractive Color Work for the Holiday Season.—Among the wonderful discoveries and achievements of the nineteenth century that have added immeasurably to the pure pleasure of the common life, the development of picture-making is entitled to a foremost place. It would indeed be difficult to estimate the refining influence on the common life exerted by the multiplication of fine pictures, and especially the beautiful color work, which through discoveries, inventions, and successive improvements has been so cheapened as to bring really beautiful work within the reach of moderate means. Good pictures at once become real factors in education and positive contributors to the enjoyment and contentment of the people. With each recurring holiday comes new supplies of art works—calendars, cards, booklets, and fine pictures, which find their way into the homes of the rich and of the poor and serve as aids in the brightening and refining of the lives of millions. At the present time no house in the English-speaking world is doing more to supply the public at a low cost with thoroughly artistic color work than Raphael Tuck & Sons Company. Their calendars, cards, and booklets are always things of beauty. The illustrations are excellent, the lithography of a very high order, and the texts are for the most part appropriate. We have recently been reminded of the excellence and the variety of the work done by this famous firm by the receipt of some beautiful cards and calendars, together with "Grimm's Fairy Tales" and "Father Tuck's Annual," beautifully illustrated volumes that cannot fail to be a delight to the little folks. Each of these volumes has a number of colored pictures and is profusely illustrated in black and white.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The White Flame." By Mary A. Cornelius. Cloth, 402 pp. Price, $1.25. Chicago: Stockham Pub. Co.

"Ghost of Rosalys." A play by Charles Leonard Moore. Printed on heavy paper, 174 pp. Price, $1. Published by C. L. Moore, Box 178, Philadelphia, Pa.

"The Awakening of Noahville." By Franklin H. North. Illustrated by W. McDougall. Paper, 383 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"The Eagle's Heart." By Hamlin Garland. Cloth, stamped in gold, 369 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

"Stringtown on the Pike." By John Uri Lloyd. Cloth. Illustrated. 414 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

"Power Through Repose." By Annie Payson Call. Cloth, 201 pp. Price, $1. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"In Nature's Realm." By Charles Conrad Abbott. With photogravure frontispiece and ninety drawings by Oliver Kemp. Hand-sewed, broad margins, extra superfine dull-surfaced pure cotton-fiber paper, deckle edges, gilt top, and picture cover in three tints and gold. Fully indexed. Cloth, 309 pp. Price, $2.50 net. Published by Albert Brandt, Trenton, N. J.

"The Key to Magnetic Healing." By Prof. J. H. Strasser. Cloth, 201 pp. Price, $5. St. Paul: Webb Pub. Co.

"As It Is To Be." By Cora Linn Daniels. Cloth, 294 pp. Price, $1. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Shadowings." By Lafcadio Hearn. Illustrated. Decorated cloth, 268 pp. Price, $2. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"James Martineau: A Biography and Study." By A. W. Jackson. With portraits. Cloth, 459 pp. Price, $3. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Official Report of the National Anti-Trust Conference," held February, 12, 13, and 14, 1900, in Central Music Hall, Chicago. 586 pp., 100 portraits. Cloth, $1; paper, 50 cents. Chicago: George S. Bowen & Son.

"Valics; or, The Science of Value." By George Reed. Cloth, 249 pp. Price, $1. San Francisco: George Reed.

"The Theory and Practise of Human Magnetism." From the French of H. Durville. Leatherette, 111 pp. Price, $1. Chicago: Psychic Research Co.

"A Series of Meditations on the Ethical and Psychical Relation of Spirit to the Human Organism." By E. C. Gaffield. Cloth, 107 pp. Price, $1.50. Syracuse, N. Y.: Order of the White Rose.

"Womanly Beauty of Form and Feature." Edited by Albert Turner. 80 illustrations. Cloth, 256 pp. Price, $1. New York: Health Culture Co.

"Official Proceedings of the Twelfth Republican National Convention." Cloth, 188 pp. Price, $1.50. Minneapolis, Minn.: Charles W. Johnson.

"Brain in Relation to Mind." By J. S. Christianson, M.D. Cloth, 143 pp. Price, $1.25. Chicago: The Meng Pub. Co.

"A Comprehensive Guide-Book to Natural, Hygienic, and Humane Diet." By Sidney H. Beard. 102 pp. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents. New York: Alliance Publishing Company.

"Jaccardin." By William Ryer. Cloth, 364 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"Taking Chances." By Clarence L. Cullen. Paper, 269 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"Heart to Heart Talks Mit Dinkelspiel." By George V. Hobart. Paper, 181 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"The Story of Money: Gold Bimetallism." By Edward C. Towne. Cloth, 248 pp. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE ARENA begins its Twenty-fifth Volume and the twentieth century under the most encouraging auspices. The need of a magazine of rational and feasible Reform—along *all* lines of human thought and activity—was never more imperative than now. We are about to enter upon a new era of economic change, of social transition, of ethical advance, of political reformation, of new religious ideals; and of the ripest development of the intellectual phases of these forward movements THE ARENA's aim is to be the leading exponent in the literary world. In this endeavor we are having a degree of success that at once confirms our position and policy and augurs well for mental freedom.

In this number the burning question of Christian Science is discussed, from opposite viewpoints, in a symposium that is in many respects unique. It is refreshingly free from the acrimony that so often marks debates on this subject, and is luminous in its presentation of facts.

Judge Ewing, who contributes the opening paper, is perhaps the ablest thinker in the cult founded by Mrs. Eddy; Editor Patterson, in defining the New Thought, writes from the vantage-ground of long experience as a practitioner and teacher of its principles; John Brooks Leavitt, LL.D., speaks from the standpoint of an intellectual layman of the Episcopal Church, and Dr. Winkley from the dual platform of medical science and Unitarianism.

Christian Science is a subject about which the truth should be more widely known, for it assumes to deal simultaneously with man's bodily welfare and his spiritual destiny.

Whether it shall prove possible thus to effect a coalescence between science and theology can only be determined by referring the proposition to the crucible of discussion, to which this month's symposium is a most important contribution.

Mrs. Underwood's paper on "The Spiritual in Literature" is also in line with the new religious concepts that are proving fatal to creeds in some quarters and offering defiance to tradition and superstition everywhere. The author's use of the term *spiritual,* it will be noted, has reference chiefly to the science of *psychics,* technically so called, and not to religion *per se.*

She is a Spiritualist of wide experience and unique attainments, and those who think that believers in the possibility of communicating with the unseen world are restricted to the mentally undeveloped will be surprised to learn, from this article, of the great number of intellectual lights who accept the chief tenet of psychical science.

The next paper in this series, to appear in February, will be entitled "Vibrations, Waves, and Cycles," by the Rev. J. S. David, of Vineland, N. J.

Frances A. Kellor's introductory article, which appears in this number, is a most instructive study of the sociologic conditions that help to develop criminality in the American negro. Other conditions, peculiar to our Southern States, that tend to promote the same end will be described by the author next month—education, religion, social and domestic life, politics, etc. No one interested in the race problem, or in any of its phases, should neglect to read this valuable series of papers.

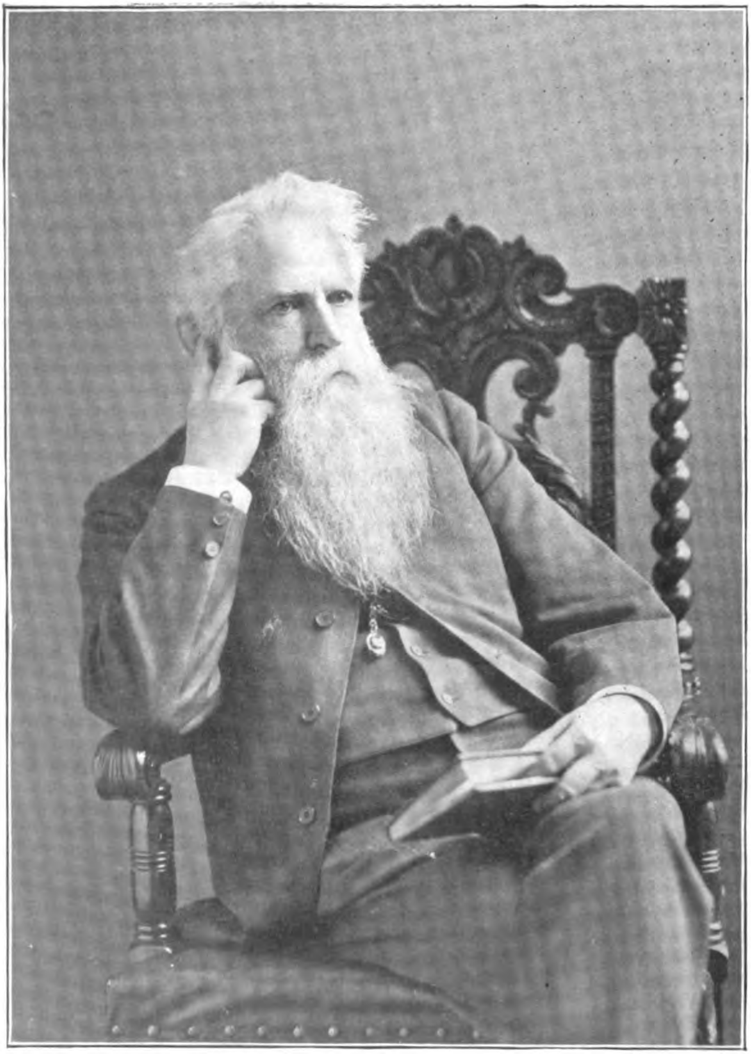
We give space in this issue to two articles on economic subjects that are sure to provoke thought even among those who decline to accept the conclusions of the writers—Prof. Van Ornum and Mr. Phillips. But, in the chaos of legislation—national, State, and municipal—by which the American people are becoming yearly more confused, even propositions that assume only to palliate inequalities are worthy of a hearing while we await the advent of the man with the larger and necessarily radical solution of our social problems.

Editor Flower's discussion of "Topics of the Times," this month, embraces a number of subjects, under the general head of "A Program of Progress," which will be found of especial and timely interest. Beginning with our next issue, Mr. Flower will contribute to THE ARENA's essay department a series of papers dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and bearing the general title of "The Foundations of a Higher Civilization."

These articles, together with some contributions from Prof Frank Parsons on the political, social, and economic history of the nineteenth century and its general trend, will make THE ARENA absolutely indispensable to all interested in the progress of government and the elevation of the individual.

They will be especially helpful to tens of thousands of young men and women in our colleges, or on the threshold of active life, who wish to place themselves in alignment with the great moral and ethical currents that are bearing humanity upward.

J. E. M.



EDWARD A. JENKS, A.M.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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THEOLOGICAL VIEWS OF A LAYMAN.

Congregationalism, as it stands to-day, is synonymous with unfettered and untrammeled religious thought, investigation, and belief, with Jesus Christ as its great Head and Center and Circumference.

God. Creation.

THE consensus of belief in the religious world concerning God might be comprehensively formulated thus: One God, the Father Almighty, self-existent and eternal—Supreme Intelligence and Supreme Law—pure Spirit, absolutely without form or visible Personality—boundless Good, Life, Light, Love, Holiness, Justice, Truth, Wisdom, Mind, Power—the All-Merciful—the All-in-all—the Maker and Preserver of all things—omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent,—reaching to the uttermost extent and to the broadest meaning of every term used.

"I am, O God, and surely Thou must be!"

"In its sublime research, philosophy
  May measure out the ocean deep,—may count
The sands, or the sun's rays,—but, God, for Thee
  There is no weight nor measure;—none can mount
Up to Thy mysteries!"

A "self-existent" God is an incomprehensible term or idea; we cannot fathom it;—still we cannot go behind the Almighty, and so must not allow ourselves to doubt. Here faith is an absolute necessity. I cannot think, however, that God "created" the unnumbered worlds "from nothing": the account in Genesis does not say so; nor does Christ, the Alpha and Omega of inspiration, say so. The idea found birth in a linguistic assumption, finally blossoming into theologic presumption, paralyzing thought, and leading a docile world in chains. I must therefore believe in the eternal existence of matter (indestructible, hence "eternal" in its primary sense), in the form of gases and atoms (as easy of belief, and as logical and demonstrable, as the belief in a self-existent God)—a coördinate existence of mind and matter, the crude matter or gases responding to a masterful Almighty formative Intelligence through monumental ages, as octave responds to octave or rhyme to rhyme in the rhythm of the universe. The different forces of Nature—electricity, magnetism, light, heat, gravity, chemical affinity, etc.—are but different forms of one universal, omnipresent energy or life-force—the tools which the Great Architect and Mechanic uses in His gigantic workshop, and with which from the material at His hand He turns out great burning balls and flings them flashing and whirling through space, and fashions the daisies and the humming-birds that make music for us on all the sunny slopes. So the iron and copper and wood are ready to the hand of a *limited* creator—the master shipbuilder's formative mind and hand,—the great ship no less an actual creation than are the worlds of the starry firmament—less simply in magnitude and magnificence;—but, although an absolute creation, is it justly held to be a product of "evolution"? is it the product of "laws of Nature"? did it have its birth in the legitimate and lawful action of electricity, magnetism, light, heat, etc.? or, is it not distinctly the child of independent mind and independent thought—God-like intelligence and design and constructive power? The most marvelously intelligent human mind and the most skilful and artistic human hand were powerless in the making of even the simplest implement, without rough material ready for manipulation. And if, with every necessary concomitant at hand, intelligence—design—is necessary to the construction of so crude a thing as a battle-ship, how much more must it be necessary in the construction of worlds and systems of worlds, and flowers and birds, and man! Force (the so-called forces of Nature), no matter how great, could not do it: force must be supplemented with Intelligence—Mind.

The brains of a Michelangelo, a Franklin, a Watt, an Edison, or a Tesla were but dense vacuity without matter: but we have it. Why, then, as we are made in the similitude and likeness of the Creator, should we not "create"? The time is coming, and easily within the twentieth century, when the meaning of the word *create*—"to make out of nothing"—will become obsolete —but the faint echo of an unremembered tongue.

These three fundamental facts of existence, therefore, may be formulated thus: 1. God, Spirit, Mind, Supreme Law, had no beginning. 2. Eternity—from everlasting to everlasting—had no beginning. 3. Matter—eternal and indestructible—had no beginning.—Whatever is indestructible *must* be eternal. The terms are compatible and inseparable. But worlds, and cathedrals, and battle-ships, and everything that is "made," are perishable *as things*.—When these stupendous truths, which even the angels may never hope to comprehend, are accepted without question, then the way will be clear for further argument.

The primal work of creation was finished "in six days"—an indeterminate period of time;—still the work goes steadily on down the ages, partly through the God-made natural laws of evolution* and partly through the creative agency of mankind. The earth is not altogether the same world that originally evolved from the creative fiat. It is improved and modified in a thousand natural ways, and is made to serve human needs and the wise ends of the Creator by the brain power and the skilful formative hands of man. Mountains are leveled, or pierced to the heart with great tunnels, to serve man's purposes; valleys are filled; great waterways connect oceans with their fellows; through irrigation deserts blossom into beauty and fruitfulness; indeed (not to speak irreverently), the Great Creator, were He not omniscient and omnipresent—were He a long-time absentee from His fair vineyard—might with difficulty recognize to-day the work of His own hands. Man, under God, is a creator himself.

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* The most stupendous single seismic convulsion known to history occurred August 26, 1883, in the volcanic island of Krakatoa, in the Straits of Sunda, when the greater portion of the island—about fifty square miles—disappeared in one grand explosion, the report of which was heard three thousand miles away. Nearly thirty thousand persons were drowned along the adjacent coasts by the waves thus set in motion. The volcanic eruption was followed by marvelously beautiful atmospheric phenomena, visible over most of the globe—incomparable sunsets, caused by the impalpable dust and vapor particles ejected from the volcano.

Infinity, eternity, boundless space, are also terms incomprehensible to man; but, because they are logically the field of a Supreme Governor of the universe, we have no difficulty in accepting them as facts. "In the beginning" is a phrase that cannot be criticized. Yet in the realm of Nature there is no evidence of a beginning, no prophecy of an end. So far as the great work of creation is concerned, to us the starry firmament has practically existed from all eternity, so impossible is it for the human mind to comprehend the limits of infinite cycles of time; and let it be remembered that *time* is for puny man alone—not for God. Even a million years might well seem to us an eternity. What, then, of unnumbered millions of years? As we look into a cloudless evening sky, we are brought face to face with the stupendous fact that what we see is but a drop in the great ocean of worlds that fill all space—43,000,000 suns and planets brought within the field of our great modern telescopes! The thought almost shrivels our weak brains to nothingness. The north star—so far away that the combined light of its great stellar system makes it appear to us as one brilliant star; so near that we may lay our hands upon it as compared with the overwhelming distances of innumerable other worlds revealed to us by our modern lenses—teaches us that our poor finite minds need not presume to discuss questions they may never hope here to begin to comprehend. Infinity! Boundless space! How small, indeed, we are! The poet well said, "The undevout astronomer is mad!"

and he could have included every other genuine scientist as well.

An omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient Deity we comprehend even less; but still we accord these attributes a warm place in our beliefs, and rest upon them in unquestioning content. Yet His omnipresence and omniscience, especially, are practically doubted, because uncomprehended, by every one of us in our every-day living. "The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God"—simply because "the fool" could not see Him, or hear Him speak. Our dense unconsciousness of His presence is charmingly illustrated in a little poem by Minot J. Savage, entitled "Where is God?"—

The lark flew up in the morning bright,
  And sang and balanced on sunny wings;
And this was its song: "I see the light,
  I look o'er a world of beautiful things;
    But, flying and singing everywhere,
    In vain have I searched to find the air."

We do not comprehend how the great All-Father—the All-in-all—can be everywhere present throughout the universe He controls, from farthest suns and planets even to the grieving sparrow and to the hairs of our heads; how every breath we draw is full of God;—the explanation is,—God is pure Spirit, immanent, invisibly pervading everything, thus managing, controlling, and directing the minutest affairs of His infinite empire,—even as electricity, that absolutely unknowable element in the kingdom of God's forces, pervades everything in the universe,—the leaf on the tree, the wood and leather of the table on which we write, every fiber of our bodies and every drop of our tumultuous blood, the thunders and lightnings of Sinai and the every-day storm-clouds and tempests, and the music of the whirling worlds in illimitable space. The air is "viewless," but electricity is far more subtle and infinitely more powerful and incomprehensible, and "it rides on every passing breeze." Place your dynamo in a hermetically sealed subterranean room, and bid its wheels go round: they may turn forever and ever, and the supply of "the unknown" will never be lessened.

But because it is beyond the grasp of the keenest of our senses, except as it finds expression in the luminous voice on the grim mountain peaks, or in "the still, small voice" from one's finger-tips, are we to assume that this mighty force does not exist? Electricity is as infinite as space. So God—Spirit—is everywhere. He is absolutely omnipresent in his boundless universe—*in matter* everywhere, but not of it—as distinct from it as electricity is distinct from the rock or the tree it inhabits—and therefore, as Supreme Intelligence, omniscient. He is the All-*in*-all.

Had the great Tyndall comprehended these truths, which he did not, then twenty-six years ago, before The British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Belfast, he would have been justified in saying, as he did, "Abandoning all disguise, the confession that I feel bound to make before you is, that I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of experimental evidence and discover *in matter,* which we, in our ignorance and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of every form and quality of life"; for he would have hastened to explain that "the promise and potency of every form and quality of *life*" are found in matter *because* God—Spirit—Supreme Intelligence—the omnipresent and omniscient Creator—pervades all things. As it stands, he builded better than he knew, and makes evolution, Christianly qualified and interpreted, logical and satisfactory to the devout mind. Tyndall's God had become to him a mere abstraction. So it is with many scientists and professional men to-day. When God becomes to them a concrete Being once more, as He will, then will the intelligent world take a long stride forward and upward: for of all men, the true scientist should be a Christian. No man should be better fitted than he to "walk with God."

The Creation of Man.

Man, as a high-grade animal merely, was quite possibly in process of construction, creation, or evolution for ages before Adam, but the *real man* was not completed until the human body was furnished with soul, mind, and spirit. Then *man* was *created.* I am not an evolutionist, so far as his spiritual origin is involved,—an evolutionist only so far as pertains to geologic growth and vegetal life, and to animal life distinct from any combination with mind, soul, and spirit. I have too much respect and loving regard for myself, as such a combination, to admit among my beliefs, for a single moment, that I am descended, mentally and spiritually, from any mere animal lower than myself in the scheme of creation, too much regard for my Father, and too high an estimate of His creative power and Fatherhood.

> "I hold a middle rank, 'twixt heaven and earth,
> On the last verge of mortal being stand,
> Close to the realm where angels have their birth,
> Just on the boundaries of the spirit-land!
> The chain of being is complete in me;
> In me is matter's last gradation lost,
> And the next step is Spirit—Deity!"

Complete and satisfactory as is the general theory of evolution, it proves nothing, and it must necessarily stop short, in every Christian mind, with the material development of the universe, unless the omnipresent God—Spirit—is recognized as pervading and controlling everything. So far as the origin of the principle of *life* is involved—animal life, vegetal life, spirit life—the Christian cannot discover, *in matter* alone, with Tyndall, "the promise and potency of every form and quality of *life.*" That "discovery" was an absolute necessity to him, and hence a foregone conclusion: without it the theory of evolution comes to an abrupt and disastrous tumble, when only half way to the desired goal. It was an easy, if an audacious, settlement of the whole great question! But the mystery of *life* remains a mystery still, except as we refer its origin and control to one great Creator, Artisan, Law-giver, Supreme Intelligence—the Fountain of Life—who gives it at will, and takes it away at His pleasure. "I see as great a miracle in a drop of semen, passing through endless progressions till it flowers in sense and soul, as in the creation of all things at the fiat of an omnipotent personal God and Father."

The logic of evolution, as generally taught and understood, utterly fails when it attempts to embrace man's spiritual nature. To the non-scientist, the dapple-gray scientific four-in-hand—imagination, speculation, investigation, and theorization—in this respect seems to be running wildly mad. So I fall serenely back upon divine revelation, and hold as of little worth the pitiful theoretical maunderings of the evolutionist pure and simple, as he discusses The Relation of God to Naturé, The Relation of God to Man, The Relation of Evolution to the Idea of the Christ, and The Relation of Evolution to the Problem of Moral Evil—all based on "the origin of all things, even of organic forms, by *derivation*—of *creation by law*." Samples: The human spirit was "derived from God, but not directly; created indeed, but only by natural process of evolution; pre-existed, but only as embryo in the womb of Nature, slowly developing through all geological times, and finally coming to birth as *living* soul in man." "I believe that the spirit of man was developed out of the *anima*, or conscious principle of animals, and that this, again, was developed out of the lower forms of life-force, and this in turn out of the chemical and physical forces of Nature; and that at a certain stage in this gradual development, viz., with man, it *acquired* the property of immortality precisely as it now, in the individual history of each man at a certain stage, acquires the capacity of abstract thought:"*—and so on and on, through innumerable pages of equally lucid and soul-satisfying excursions into the chaotic and limitless fields of theory and speculation!

It matters little whether the Bible story of creation is an allegory, a poem, or a succinct statement of historical facts; nor does it militate against its general accuracy to say that the principal ideas of creation, as recorded in Genesis, had their origin in Babylonian and Chaldean sources centuries before they became a part of the Jewish literature and cosmogony. I am quite content to consider it logically and practically true, whatever its source, and to base my faith upon its general accuracy unwaveringly. There must have been, somewhere and at some time, a beginning of the race, as represented by Adam with "a living soul." The Genesis account of it is brief, but it is enough. Volumes could not have made it better, or clearer, or more beautiful.

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* See Joseph Le Conte's "Evolution, and Its Relation to Religious Thought," published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Soul is the eternal, immortal, self-existent, central element of God. *Mind* is the omnipotent and omniscient element—the executive member of this great triumvirate. *Spirit* is the omnipresent element—the eye that never slumbers nor sleeps. Combined, the ALL-*in*-all,—God the Father Almighty—Jehovah. Like Father, like son.

Carefully speaking, *man* means the triune combination of soul, mind, and spirit (the "image" of Him who is without bodily form or visible personality). The body is simply an incident, a convenience—quite unlike the body of the mere animal, which is the principal thing, practically the whole creature.

In the account of the making of man, the body, or man's visible form, is necessarily included. The body, however, is but the house man lives in, and in the scheme of the working and visible and material creation is an indispensable adjunct to the real man. At the end of life (mere animal life) the body is deserted by the *man* who occupied and used it, and it is left desolate and goes to decay,—like the deserted farm-houses on a hundred New England hills. No light shines from its windows, no cheerful voice rings through its abandoned chambers, no life-fire burns on its cold hearthstone. It rapidly disintegrates, and mingles with the common dust, and is henceforth nothing to the man. It has served its mechanical purposes. The body, as a body, is dead (although its constituent elements survive and are eternal), but the man is not. The real man, then, is not subject to Death. Life is the one thing that interests us—and Life never ends. What we call Death is but a transference from the old home to the new—to "a better country." Precisely what we are here we shall be after "death" (subject to progression, or to retrogression), less our clogging humanity: "when this mortal shall have put on immortality." "We spoke about dying just before we parted. 'Dying!' replied Tolstoi; 'what about "born again"? I am ready to be born again.' "

Theories prove nothing, and pure speculation were vain and unsettling to the common mind. In religion, therefore, metaphysics and so-called philosophy—foundationless dream-castles—should be remorselessly relegated to uninvaded obscurity. Such questions should find no welcome in the sacred desk; and speculations concerning the details of the life beyond the veil are more than likely to be stale and unprofitable. We may well rest content on Paul's familiar words (and Isaiah's), "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," etc.

The first chapter of Genesis, the Master through all his ministry, and indeed all Scripture, teach us that in God's great creative plan three distinct species of life were established or recognized. First and foremost, *spirit* life—the principle of conscious spiritual existence. Second and third, *animal* life and *plant* life. This trinity of life seems to be in beautiful accord with the wonderful triple combinations that run through so many created things—and logically, too, from the triune nature of God the Creator.

"And God said, Let *us* make man in our own image, after our likeness." "So God created man in His own image; in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them." "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground [made him from material ready to His hand], and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." And He pronounced His finished work "very good." Adam and Eve were the crowning glory of His six days' work —His own children. At the end of their lives, when their houses were no longer needed, "dust returned to dust," and their spirits to their Father.

"For it is as I say: and now the man
Lies as he once lay, breast to breast with God."

This is the beautiful story of the final work of the combined Fatherhood and Motherhood of God, as illustrated in the production of these first children of His love. He made them "in His own image," "male and female." How persistently the account insists upon saying they were made "in the image of God"! And how every devout and loving soul glories in this one grand fact, however far he may have fallen below that exalted standard in the cycles of the centuries! So He—the Father of our first parents, and hence the Father of us all—started the completed and perfected race down the course of time.

And these children were absolutely sinless—perfect except for certain limitations involved in their material bodies, the houses of their abode, which were necessary to the Almighty plans—limitations which the Father emphasized in His first prohibitive command; and He endowed them with mighty self-consciousness, and with an individually independent strength of will ("free will"), thereby giving them tremendous individuality. They were (limitedly) perfect because they were God's immediate offspring, and because they were each a portion of Himself—endowed with a spark of His divinity. Each descendant of Adam has been equally perfect and sinless *at the start*, each inheriting a greater or lesser spark—"as one star differeth from another star in glory"—of that divinity which can never die. Each of us was a part of God before the foundation of the world—from all eternity. "He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Hence our certainty of immortality, because we are living souls—the image of our Father, who is (as we shall all be by and by) eternal, immortal, and invisible—pure Spirit;—and *we* shall remain so until such time as we shall be "fashioned like unto his glorious [astral? "celestial"?] body,"—visible, but, humanly speaking, intangible substance, as shown by Jesus after the resurrection. No other living creature, even though endowed with a feeble modicum of mind, like the elephant or the dog, became "a living soul" through the creative act—hence cannot inherit immortality. Mind, of itself alone, cannot be immortal: it is only when linked with soul and spirit, the three God-like elements in one, a perfect triune whole, that the mind partakes of immortality.

And because God's large family of children were each a part of God before the world was, and eternally continue so to be, we must entertain no fear, on that account, of any lessening or curtailing of the august majesty and completeness of the Infinite One. "There is that scattereth, yet increaseth," even as the magnetized bar of steel may be used to charge with magnetism other bars indefinitely, and yet lose none of its own mysterious power, but, rather, grows stronger and stronger with each draft upon its apparently insubstantial resources.

The Scriptures throughout abundantly confirm a belief in the material universe, as that term is usually understood; and the senses (imperfect as they admittedly are) with which our Father has endowed us—the windows, the speaking-tubes, and the electric bells of the house we live in—also confirm it, while pure logic comes promptly to the aid of common sense. Without matter, "creation" were a myth! Without it, the phrase "the power of mind over matter" were meaningless, and Christ's miracles (so called) a snare. Without matter, Christ healed no suffering humanity, and held no stormy winds and waves in check. As, logically, the Fatherhood of God involves of necessity a coördinate Motherhood, finding their legitimate counterpart in man and woman, so Spirit *must* find its coördinate in matter—both eternal and self-existent.

Sin—Evil.

Good is positive, because God is positive and real; evil (moral evil) is negative. God is unmixed Good—the All-Holy; evil, or sin, is the absence of Good—a powerful and effective negation. God could not possibly be the author or creator of evil, or sin: were it possible, then He could not be God. Sin is theoretically non-existent: it is a negative incident, or corollary, of Good. The possibility of so-called moral evil, or sin, came into the world contemporaneously with our first parents, and has persistently followed man, like his shadow, to the very end. And let it not be forgotten, in extenuation of the frailty of Adam and Eve, that the first temptation—the first violation of divine law—came through the beautiful bodies God had given them and through the medium of the senses. "When the woman *saw* that the tree was good for food, and that it was *pleasant to the eyes,"* is the pathetic record. Shakespeare calls the splendid human body "this mortal *coil"*—an insidious and sinuous tempter; and Moore says, "The trail of the serpent is over them all." Sweep man from the earth, and there would be no sin, or evil, remaining (Matt. xv. 19). Banish every ear from the universe, and there would be no "sound," as the word is usually understood.

Adam and Eve were made perfect—sinless—and were commanded to remain so, and were instructed in the how and the why. The test was simple, and comparatively easy. But they allowed their thoughts to run riot, and evil (disobedience) bowed himself in at the garden gate. They became gods unto themselves. "Govern your thoughts, and your sins will take care of themselves" is true now, and was true then. It were cowardly to ascribe our waywardness to malign "satanic" influences. Those influences are primarily from within; and one evil thought, unresisted, but blazes the path for innumerable eager followers. Jesus said, "Get thee behind me, Satan," and he (the evil thought) slunk abashed away. So would the tempter (the errant thought) have done in the garden;—but Eve was but an inexperienced child; she knew nothing of life; she was not Jesus. It is surprising how resolute resistance to an evil thought or suggestion will vanquish it. If in one case, then in all. Jesus conquered every temptation. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." "Keep thy *heart* with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life."

If evil is a positive force in the world (as many profess to believe) instead of a mere negation, then it must have been created by "the Creator of *all* things,"—God—Love—Supreme Good,—which is illogical and incomprehensible; or it must be a self-existent force, coeval with God from all eternity—a belief that must task our credulity to the utmost, especially as we can find no possible theater of action for evil until man appeared upon the scene; and especially, again, as God is omnipotent.

Let it be carefully borne in mind that a negative, a pure negation, a nothing, cannot have been created.

Light is positive—a *substance;* it is the child of a luminous body (as the sun), and comes pulsating and undulating in waves through the illimitable ether, dispelling the world's deep gloom. *Darkness* is simply the *absence of light*—a *condition:* it is a pure negation;—it is not a thing: it is intangible. Still we call it "darkness," because, in the poverty of human speech, we cannot discuss *nothing* without giving it a name. And most persons seem to regard darkness as real as light. But "there shall be no night *there*"—nor any other recognized negation. Theoretically, and in fact, there is no such *thing* in the universe as darkness; but practically there is, and we govern ourselves accordingly.

Heat is positive—the twin brother of light. *Cold* is simply the *absence of heat;*—it is not a thing: it is a mere negation.

Health is positive—normal. *Disease* is the absence of health—abnormal; a condition, not an absolute existing entity. Unhealth is but a difference of potential, that must be brought into a state of equilibrium to produce health. To use strictly accurate language, *disease* is never *cured,* for a disease cannot be sick; the suffering man is cured instead. When a man is *cured,* the disease (humanly speaking) has disappeared—is eradicated—has ceased to exist—and he is "every whit whole" (John vii. 23). His tissues are restored to their normal perfect state; his bodily condition is no longer abnormal. But we are compelled by stress of circumstances to give these varying conditions names—more's the pity—and so raise them in the popular thought, unfortunately, to the dignity of respectable and perpetual entities.

Theoretically there is no such thing as *pain:* practically there is, because the house we live in is furnished with telltale nerves—electric wires that run to all the principal offices of the great brain trust to convey instant and urgent information of a hurt; and we govern ourselves accordingly. The diseased tree, to use the ordinary form of phrase, has no nerves—hence no pain; but, unconsciously to the tree, unhealth remains, and eventually dominates all its fibers until it shocks the stillness of the forest in its fall. Were there no nerves in living bodies or organisms there would be no pain, but disease (under present moral and physical conditions) and broken limbs would exist just the same. The conveyance to the brain, by the nerve-system, of the information (called pain) of an accident or the existence of a diseased condition is for our good;—hence, a blessing, though seemingly a curse. Without this nerve-system and the information it imparts we might not know of injury or disease, and therefore might not seek relief. So the wire of the electric fire-alarm conveys information of a burning dwelling to the central station, and precisely where it is. When (ah, when?) in Christ "all" shall be "made alive" once more,—"born again,"—and the halcyon first days of Adam and Eve shall dawn on the world as of old, then the office of our nerves will be to minister to our pleasure in a thousand sweet ways, and pain, except in accident, and then but temporarily, will be chiefly a ghostly memory. "Neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things have passed away."

Jesus healed all manner of diseases, and restored the sin-sick souls and bodies of men to their normal perfect condition. Singularly enough, while there is abundant record in the Gospels of the diseases and sicknesses of others, there is no record that Jesus, or his disciples, were sick a minute during all his ministry.

Theoretically, then, while there are no such *things* in the universe as cold, darkness, disease, pain, and sin (evil), we must meet their practical existence with protective measures. Darkness and cold we can manage: how about sin and disease? Here we have to call in Jesus, the divine Healer, and follow closely his teachings and example, and trust his promises. And it is a significant fact that in the Anglo-Saxon of three or four hundred years ago, "Jesus" is usually translated Hælend, literally "healer," that is, Saviour. If one read the Gospels carefully with reference to this question of healing disease, he will be struck, perhaps for the first time, with the prevalence in Christ's public life of this method of ameliorating human suffering. One of the chief objects of his whole ministry seemed to be to teach mankind that death from disease was not a physical necessity, but that man should live out his naturally allotted days and then "fall asleep." Indeed, he would have done so had it not been for that unfortunate slip in the Garden of Eden. God had said very plainly to Adam, "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." But the "serpent" said to Eve, "Ye shall not surely die." Here was an apparent conflict of authority, and certainly a juggling of the meaning of the word "die" on the part of the "serpent." He knew these inexperienced children could not possibly understand its full signification. God had practically said—In the day that thou eatest thereof, disease shall make its abode in your bodies and sin in your souls; and sin and disease are the beginning of death in those bodies before their time.—Had they kept faith with their Maker and Friend, they, and each and all of their progeny, would have lived out all their beautiful days without disease and with little experience of pain, and would at the end have "fallen asleep" like an infant in its mother's arms. "The sting of death is sin." But the "serpent" practically said (and his argument closed the discussion, and so had the greater weight with his listeners, especially in the absence of counsel on the other side)—Your bodies shall not surely die in the day ye eat thereof: instead, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall know good and evil;—and so, indeed, they were, and so, indeed, they did! The "serpent" was not altogether untruthful: he "beguiled" them by an adroit and deceitful use of words. In that day they did die to purity and holiness, and disease and pain racked their poor bodies to the end;—but they did not "die" physically; they were not laid in the grave; and so the "serpent" made good his statement to their unsophisticated minds. They were not equal to the spiritual interpretation of their Father's words, nor did He suppose they were: their duty was simply to obey.

Christ seems to have healed ten times where he preached once (showing that practise is more than preaching). And no fact of gospel history is more familiar than this, that he delegated his wonderful healing power—God-power—to his Apostles and the Seventy, and to his followers everywhere and for all time, with the most extraordinary and emphatic and specific promises—which somehow we hesitate to believe. And the Christian Church, for two or three hundred years, in this respect "followed" Christ. Then came a falling away, till the Church settled back into spiritual lassitude, and into the passive belief that the "days of miracles" were ended, that the healing of disease through the Christ-power and the Christ-love had vanished from the earth, that the seed of the woman had no longer the strength or the disposition to bruise the serpent's head and to restore man to his pristine purity, and that thenceforth specific and earnest prayers for specific things need not expect specific answers;—and for fifteen hundred years the Church has faithfully followed this doubtful trail. Jesus said, again and again, that earnest prayers for specific things should be as specifically answered. Did he mean it, or was he indulging in "glittering generalities"? Shall we take him at his word, or shall we deliberately discredit his promises? Woe worth the day! What shall we do? How shall we get back to Christ?

Because I believe in occult science and philosophy, I am sure there must be wonderful things yet beyond the pale of natural human knowledge that the twentieth century will reveal,—things mysterious and sublime "that are not dreamt of in our philosophy,"—which some "dreamer of dreams and seer of visions" will herald, only to make himself for the time being the laughing-stock of unthinking and empty heads, or of those who already "know it all." But, in this first year after the close of the most pregnant century since the glory of Christ burst upon the world, may we not sing, with Tennyson—

"Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring in the thousand years of peace!"

It were well to glean truth from any field, and take it to our hearts wherever we can find it. So far, then, as Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy teaches the necessity of returning unequivocally to the practise of divine healing as exemplified in the life of Christ and his immediate followers, she is right. "In Christ shall

all be made alive." It is a subject well worth careful study (in a devout spirit) by every one who professes to be a follower and lover of Jesus. It cannot be sneered into obscurity, nor smothered in ridicule, nor cavalierly waved aside by a contemptuous motion of the hand. It is vital. I believe every genuine Christian Scientist, no matter of what denomination or church he has been a member, is the better and nobler for his belief. It brings Christ, the great Healer and Saviour of the world and of individual sinners, nearer his heart than ever before. The church everywhere, of "whatever name or sign," should hasten to incorporate that feature of Mrs. Eddy's teachings into its body and life, if upon a careful and exhaustive and earnest examination of the subject it finds it is really the "lost chord" of the Christian Church come to life again. To do this it is not necessary to become Christian Scientists: indeed, that would seem to be impossible with many minds, because Mrs. Eddy's philosophy, or metaphysics, or science, apparently makes havoc of logic and antagonizes every scholar renowned as physicist or philosopher. But this great truth, if it be truth, apparently just now uncovered from its burial of ages, is free to all. I do not say, in view of man's spiritual infirmities and obvious limitations, that every sick man and woman can be raised to health again by the Christian Science healer—for even Jesus had his limitations (see Matt. xiii. 58; Mark vi. 5); but I believe that just in proportion to the measure of his faith, love, self-abnegation, and consecration to Jesus and to sinful and suffering mankind, the mantle of the great Teacher and Healer will surely fall upon his shoulders. I believe this because Jesus has said it. Should Christians believe less?

Mental therapeutics, now almost universally recognized by thoroughly equipped physicians as a handmaid to successful practise, must not be "cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd" to the influence merely of one strong mind upon another, or to appeals to the imagination through brown-bread pills or colored water, or through drugs preposterously diluted or attenuated. It should sound far deeper depths—nothing less than the divine. The tremendous power of mind over matter—a meaningless phrase to many because uncomprehended—a subject, however, well worth careful and independent investigation by physicians at all interested in psychic research, because of the superiority of the creative mind over the material of the creature or thing created—should be given its full significance. Faith on the part of the sufferer unquestionably facilitates his recovery, but it should not and must not be considered a necessary prerequisite to healing. The Christ-love—the Christ-power—divine love and power—was distinctly the curative agent two thousand years ago; and that same power (in feebler hands) is the curative element to-day. It is the fashion now for physicians who have allowed the unvexed dust of decades to embellish the covers of their mothers' Bibles to doubt the beautiful Christ-story. Would it harm them much to familiarize themselves once more with those "old wives' fables"? The story has remained unchanged for eighteen hundred years, and for all that time has been leavening (raising) the world; and it has grown more and more beautiful as more and more loving hearts have sanctified it with the incense of human love and trust.

The Christian minister especially should be the healer of his own flock, not necessarily exclusively, but in proportion as the measure of his consecration and nearness to Christ exceeds that of the members of his congregation. He should "feed [and lead] his flock like a shepherd." How sweet when he can show, in his life and leadership, all the characteristics of the Great Shepherd!

A distinction between the treatment of diseases, which are subject to the curative power of Mind through Christ, and the treatment of the results of accidents that require surgery, must be kept clearly in view. Jesus concerned himself chiefly with the cure of *disease*—not with broken bones or crushed skulls. Surgery itself is an illustration of "the power of mind over matter,"—skill and common sense in an emergency,—as shown in the quick use of an extemporized tourniquet to control an excessive hemorrhage, or by the surgeon on the battle-field. When the man who fell among thieves was rescued, Christ says the Samaritan bound up his bleeding wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and then provided for his competent nursing.

From time immemorial the disagreement of doctors in the diagnosing of obscure or complicated cases has passed into a proverb. With all the advancements of science, it is measurably the same to-day. Will not the twentieth century give us something better?

Of course, a personal devil, a personification of evil, disputing with the Almighty the government of the universe and the possession of souls, with a fiery kingdom of his own, is the product of darkest ages, and of the wildest imaginings of morbid brains. Think of the devil's reaping a rich harvest of precious souls which a loving Father has created! What a signal triumph of the devil over the Almighty! Were it so, then the credulous believer in so horrible a "doctrine" must find himself hopelessly impaled on one of the horns of this dreadful dilemma,—either God is not *Almighty,* or if so, He is *willing* a malignant devil should capture and endlessly torture a vast majority of His own offspring!

This idea was always illogical and absurd, and always subversive of the reign of love. There never was room enough in the universe for positive Good and positive Evil—for a positive and responsible personal God and a positive and malicious personal devil. No such belief is now held by the wisest and best of the Christian Church. When the spirit of evil ("the devil") went out of human beliefs, a purer Christian living came in. The world grows better without him.

It is related, in Barry's "History of Massachusetts," that while some of the doctrines taught the red men by Eliot (the doctrine of innate depravity, for instance, which they never could comprehend) were puzzles to them, some of the questions asked by these "children of Nature" must have been hard for him to answer to their satisfaction and his own. For instance, "Which was made first, the devil or man?" "Why did not God give all men good hearts, that they might be good?" "Why did not God kill the devil that made all men so bad, He having all power?" "Where do children go when they die, seeing they have not sinned?" It is fair to conclude that had the great missionary lived until to-day, some, at least, of his teachings might have been materially modified.

Jesus Christ. Prayer.

Jesus Christ, "the only *begotten* of the Father," is the center and circumference and whole substance of my religious belief, faith, and hope. He is the keystone of the Christian Church, the Divine Ideal, the dream and glory of the human race. The story of his birth and life, and the record of his teachings, as contained in the Gospels, are of themselves sufficient, as a divine revelation, for the salvation of all mankind. All the other books of the Bible,—the slow and independent moral accretions of the mid-world centuries,—while extremely interesting and valuable as prophecies and commentaries, and as history and religious literature, full of poetry and romance and wonderful spiritual teachings,—are but the setting for the one great jewel for which all thoughtful mankind prayerfully waited for four thousand years; and so far as they seem to contradict, or to add to or take from, the great facts and teachings of a personal Christ, they should be given a secondary place in Christian thought. The "inspiration" of Paul, Peter, Timothy, and others, valuable as their writings unquestionably are, must be considered far inferior to the teachings of the Master. Christ was the ripened fruit of the ages, and on him alone must the nations feed. When the Christian Church builds firmly and only on the Rock Christ Jesus; when it harks back to the teachings and example of the chief Corner Stone,—then we may hope for substantial Christian unity in a broader Christianity, regardless of sectarianism, and not till then.

Christians must not only believe in Christ, but they must believe what he says, instead of taking seemingly infinite pains to fritter away the wonderful strength, simplicity, beauty, and significance of his words and promises—notably his instructions and promises concerning prayer, as contained in Matt. vi. and John xiv.—because they cannot comprehend, in the poverty of their own faith and understanding, how those promises can possibly be fulfilled; because they are not willing to leave the how and the wherefore to the Infinite One. Only the very spiritually minded can thoroughly comprehend the full significance of Christ's oft-repeated injunction concerning effectual prayer, that petitions must be offered "in my name"—not empty and pretentious and well chosen words, but those deeply rooted in the firmest spiritual faith and holiest love and trust, because the petitioner knows Christ will do what he asks "that the Father may be glorified in the Son"—a sure guaranty that nothing will be asked by the devout soul inconsistent with the character of his Heavenly Father to grant. "What man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?" The obedient and loving son will never ask of a loving father anything outside of his power to grant, or inconsistent with a loving father's disposition toward his son. This firm belief in Christ's promises concerning earnest specific prayer makes God far dearer to His child than does the usual orthodox seeming belief in the efficacy of a partially perfunctory general and aimless prayer, usually in mass, that expects no specific answer in return—a prayer, in fact, that is never thought of afterward with reference to a hoped-for answer. The standard orthodox reply to a confident assertion of belief in an answer to specific prayer (for the healing of a sick person, for instance), is,—No prayer can change God's changeless purposes; and no prayer can infringe upon or set aside God's natural laws. The principal use of prayer is to bring us into closer relations and sweeter communion with God. Answer (in brief):—Who knows God's purposes? How much do we actually know of His natural laws, or what they are? Do not be wise above what Christ has taught us: that is dangerous ground. If God is unchangeable in His purposes (as we usually understand the term), and has placed on the divine statute-book natural laws that cannot be set aside, then Christ the Divine could not have performed miracles—could not have healed the sick, raised the dead, cast out devils (cured the epileptic and the insane), or held the reins of the raging sea in his hands;—he could not have changed God's changeless purposes, nor set aside, even through his divinity, unchangeable natural laws. But these are his sweet words: "He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater than these shall he do—because I go unto my Father. And whatsoever ye shall ask, in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son." "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you." What business have we, as professing Christians and lovers of Jesus, to doubt these promises? If we may not believe these simple and exquisite words of the Master in that last touching interview with his disciples,—his farewell directions for every important thing—his last will and testament to the faithful few who loved him so,—what may we believe? If not, then the world becomes a blank, darkness again settles down upon the face of the great moral deep, and we grope helplessly in the gloom and cold that envelop us like a shroud. Christians must understand the full significance and sacredness of prayer as it was taught by Jesus, or it becomes a dead and comparatively meaningless service, barren of spiritual power, a mere belching forth of magazines of empty words into ears that will not and should not hear.

Prayer is a sacred thing—a "live" electric wire that leads from man to his Maker (which outsiders may not safely touch), and keeps them in constant fellowship;—or, rather, it is like wireless telegraphy, in that the suppliant resembles the delicate instrument on shipboard, which to convey its message to the far-off land must first be perfectly adjusted or attuned to its counterpart upon the shore. A thousand equally fine instruments on land would be powerless to catch even a whisper from the deck of the great battle-ship without this previous careful adjustment to a perfect sympathy or unison. Without prayer in a prayerful spirit there would be no obvious connecting link between the human and the divine, and man would be simply a lonely wanderer on unknown seas, without chart or compass or guiding star.

Public prayer (oral) is indefensible, as a rule, on the principle laid down by Jesus. Prayer is, or should be, a confidential soul interview between the loving subject and the great King, unheard by mortal ears. The sixth chapter of Matthew contains Christ's full and explicit instructions to his disciples concerning prayer; and they should be followed to the letter, because they are characteristic of the simplicity and sweetness of the Master, and are full of spiritual significance. "Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder." Even the Lord's Prayer, brief as it is, was not intended as a public prayer, but for private and closet use; but because it is so brief, so innocent of "vain repetitions," and because it is "the Lord's prayer," it may well be used in public, in concert, that each individual may make it his personal petition to the Father. Jesus said the publican stood "afar off"—perhaps in some obscure corner of the temple, possibly behind a pillar—when he prayed, "God be merciful to me a sinner:" not so the Pharisee. I cannot find in the Gospels any directions for public prayer; nor is there any record that Jesus himself, in all the years of his young life, or during his ministry, ever uttered an oral prayer, in any family, morning or evening, in the synagogue or in any public place or gathering (his prayers at the tomb of Lazarus and on the cross were in no proper sense public prayers), or before eating, except on a few very special occasions—unless, perhaps, as is related in the seventeenth chapter of John's Gospel, just before he was betrayed, —that most touching petition ever offered by lips human or divine; nor is there any record that the Twelve, during Christ's ministry, ever attended a "prayer"-meeting, or ever indulged in public prayer. Their prayers were between each individual and his God.

At the unveiling in London recently of the statue of that corrugated old Puritan, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Rosebery, who delivered the commemorative oration, said:

"The day before Marston Moor, Cromwell rode with his staff to Knaresborough. While there he disappeared, and they searched for him for two hours. When they had failed altogether to find him, a little girl remembered a room at the top of the tower where no one ever went. There, looking through the key-hole, for the door was locked, they saw the Protector on his knees before his Bible, wrestling, as he himself would have said, in prayer, as he *had* wrestled for the two hours that he had spent in Knaresborough. Was there anything to be gained by thus locking himself up in a deserted chamber in order that he might implore the blessing of the God of Battles on the contest in which he was to engage next day?"

When Jesus came to Nazareth, "as his custom was he entered into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read." Did he say, "Let us pray"? On the contrary, he opened the book of the prophet Esaias, and began to preach. There was no long or short public prayer, but it may be presumed that his hearers were in a prayerful mood when his sermon was done. And so it was during the whole of his ministry. Public prayer, on every possible occasion, was grafted on to the Church by his followers—an improvement on Christ's individual practise and teachings! The fact that in all our churches so much time is spent in long prayers seems to suggest that almost every denomination of modern Christians, in arranging their public religious exercises, thought, almost with one consent, that, in order to eke out a reasonably extended service, long and many prayers were an absolute necessity—the longer the better, if, indeed, the minister were "gifted in prayer."

When Christians can live their thankfulness in their daily lives, and make their petitions known only to their God, then will prayer become a sacred thing once more; then will the long public addresses to Jehovah, freighted with specific instruction and general information and abundant verbal floral offerings, be abolished, and simplicity and directness in the private chamber take the place of painstaking public elaboration; then will the ever-the-same prayers at the "prayer"-meeting be hushed in the presence of silent petitions to the ever-present God; then will the morning and evening prayers at the "family altar" (36,500 of them in a mature life of fifty years as the head of a family) give place to a simple reading of the Book divine; then will the "blessings" at meals (54,750 in one life) be superseded by bowed heads with silent communion for a minute,—and the horror of an almost necessarily empty and perfunctory form of words, words, words—"vain repetitions, as the heathen do"—find its appropriate burial in the sweeter and deeper and more productive soil of silent and secret prayer.

For years I lived in a family of Friends, the atmosphere of whose dwelling was redolent of the spirit of prayer, and yet no sound of prayer-words was ever heard within its walls, except behind closed doors "where none but God could hear." Such is the belief and practise of the Quakers;—and I suppose John G. Whittier, whose exquisite hymns we sing in our churches, never once uttered a petition in the hearing of his fellows; and yet his whole life was a living prayer. O for a return to the sweet and simple teachings of Jesus!

The Trinity.

Of all the dogmas of the Christian Church, none is more unsatisfactory to me than that of The Trinity—the coëxistence in the Godhead of three distinct Persons or Beings. The word *trinity* is not found in any of the sacred writings; nor did Jesus use it, or anywhere express the idea as we understand it to-day. It seems to have had its basis in the formula, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost"—Holy Ghost and Holy Spirit being interchangeable terms—a formula used only once by Jesus—Matt. xxviii. 19. On that combination of words the doctrinaires of the third and fourth centuries succeeding Christ hung the dogma of The Trinity. It was the child of seemingly endless unchristian disputations and unseemly wranglings for many weary years, and finally became an accepted doctrine of the Church by vote of the Councils of Nice (325) and Constantinople (381)—Councils whose membership was composed of exceedingly human creatures, but who claimed to be under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit!

The division of God (if I may use the phrase) into three distinct Persons must almost necessarily relegate God the Father into a cold and benumbing background of belief—into a sort of spiritual seclusion, a banishment from the hearts and lives and haunts of men—to some high and remote Olympian throne, where He can look down upon his groaning and struggling children with a critical and sleepless eye, judging them with a justice that never falters and a heart that never melts into love and tenderness,—compelling them to find all their comfort in this life and their hope for the next in God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, with whom they are supposed to be more intimately acquainted; forcing them to dismiss the unapproachable God the Father almost altogether from their thoughts of Home and Heaven and an eternity of sweet companionship. Not thus, surely, should we be tempted to think of "Our Father which art in heaven."

In the light of the Scriptures themselves, the dogma seems to me to be wholly illogical and unreasonable, with no substantial basis to be found in the Gospels. I am therefore compelled to place it in my cabinet of curiosities of belief, and in my collection of personal non-beliefs. It seems to me to be in some way a legacy from the gross heathen worship of ancient days, when gods with numerous heads and compound bodies were the rule rather than the exception, and so was accepted with comparative ease by men themselves not so very remote from heathen orgies. So far as Christian belief in one Supreme Being or Intelligence, without complication or unnecessary mysticism, is concerned, the doctrine of three distinct Persons or Entities in one God seems confusing, and altogether gratuitous and unnecessary.

That God consists of three great elements—Mind, Soul, and Spirit, all Infinite—there should be no doubt;—so does each one of us—less infinity. Whatever God is, in characteristics and constituents, as the Supreme Being, that also are we, His children; for are we not made "in His image," "after His likeness"? When He breathed into Adam "the breath of life," and "man became a living soul,"—His first son—the very first offspring of the Fatherhood of God,—a spark of the divine—Himself—(which included immortality) was transmitted to and became a part of the perfect son; and this divine fire was the grandest legacy of Adam to his children. Had this son remained sinless he would have been divine—like Jesus except in degree;—differing, however, in this, that God, after the lapse of centuries, desiring to reveal Himself, as Love, to suffering man in all the beauty and glory and sweetness of His character in a way he could understand ("God manifest in the flesh"), chose Mary

> "from the maidens there
> To be the one beloved of all the earth,"

and *begot* Jesus—"the *only begotten* of the Father" (the full significance of the word "begotten" must be carefully kept in mind)—thereby making His son perfect and divine (not God, however, for the human element in him would necessarily subject him somewhat to human limitations) to a degree far overshadowing the divinity in God's first son Adam, who was to be the *human* pregenitor of the *human* race. It must be remembered that Adam was "made," not *begotten.*

The miraculous birth of "the last man Adam" would seem to be no more inscrutable than the birth of the first man Adam. Huxley says:

> "I am unaware of anything that has a right to the title of an 'impossibility,' except a contradiction in terms. There are impossibilities *logical*, but *not natural.* A 'round square,' a 'present past,' 'two parallel lines that intersect,' are impossibilities, because the ideas denoted by the predicates round, present, intersect, are contradictory of the ideas denoted by the subjects square, past, parallel. But walking on water, or turning water into wine, or procreation without male intervention, or raising the dead, are plainly not impossibilities in this sense."

To carry out God's scheme of salvation it seemed to be necessary that there should be an emphatic union of the divine and the human, in order that the Son should dwell visibly among men, and be tempted in every conceivable way, "yet without sin"—not too much of the divine, nor too little of the human. So, while Jesus embodied in his character a divinity beyond any knowledge or conception or dream of man, he was not God: rather, he was God's vicegerent or vice-king, acting for Him and in His stead, with abundant positive delegated powers.

And because God revealed His wondrous character to men through Jesus in human form, brought Himself within easy reach of their comprehension and personal companionship and unbounded love, made Jesus to all intents and purposes like themselves, to live and enjoy and suffer and die and be buried, and to rise from the tomb with a visible but unmaterial (spiritual) body, we know (it is not a matter for speculation) that somewhere beyond the green sod that covers us we "shall see his face," and, logically, other faces that we love. God we shall not see—only "His glory": the face of Jesus will stand for the visible personality of God, and will be our inspiration forevermore.

So with the Holy Ghost: In all the twenty-five times in the Gospels where "Holy Ghost" is used, the Holy Spirit, or God's Spirit, or the Spirit of God, or My Spirit, would have done equally well. The Holy Spirit—the Comforter—the Dove—in its soothing, brooding way, like a dear earthly mother, might well personate that loveliest feature of His Being, the sweet Motherhood of God. "O Jerusalem . . . how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" So wept the mother heart of Jesus: and when he went away, the Holy Spirit—the Comforter—his own sweet nature—God's Spirit—came to take his visible place. "Lo, I am with you always," Christ said.

> "Yes, in my spirit doth Thy Spirit shine,
> As shines the sunbeam in a drop of dew."

The simplest and most beautiful, the sweetest and holiest, conception of God lies in His combined Fatherhood and Motherhood—the loving Head of the great family of man.

Conclusion: The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are but the three forms in which God reveals Himself to men—a mystical union of Mind, Soul, and Spirit—as expressed in the exquisite benediction of St. Paul, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost." Precisely what God is in His composite unity, that are we, His children—differing only as The Infinite differs from the infinitely finite.

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THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH.

THE harvest of ballots has been gathered and now we come to the gleaning.

Behind the immediate results of our Presidential election just closed there is an after-crop that must not be overlooked, and which, if neglected, may put in peril much that has been gained. The interests involved in our recent campaign cannot be estimated simply by the number of votes cast, nor by the magnitude of our majorities; for these but partially reveal the deep underflow of sentiment and feeling that inspired the voter. Now that the political pulse has settled down to its normal condition, and the fever-heat of excitement has subsided, we can better form an intelligent judgment of the verdict rendered.

In the excitements that usually attend our national elections there are but few men who are not so much influenced by their preferences and prejudices that they can form an unbiased opinion of good or evil results; and the danger is that in our devotion to party, and in our zeal to promote the success of candidates, we lose sight of the principles involved and the character of the methods we employ. No valid objection can be made against a distinctly pronounced preference; but when preferences pass into prejudices by which our better judgment is dominated, then are we wholly unfit to act intelligently. Denunciation and abuse will never pass as argument save with the biased and ignorant; and he that presumes on their acceptance does himself no credit and pays a doubtful compliment to the intelligence of his hearers. Men who are broadest in their opinions and conscious of their own honesty are less liable to accuse opponents of deceit and falsehood than are those who annually migrate from party to party as they deem one or the other most likely to win, and the prospect of position seems most favorable.

When a man insists that his candidate is the only one who has the courage of his convictions and the wisdom to administer the affairs of the nation—that his platform contains the only safe policy—honest-minded men distrust the sincerity and intelligence of such declarations.

In the campaign just closed we had abundance of candidates, each one of whom was held to be the only safe and thoroughly competent man, who, for all the interests of the people, could redress their wrongs and successfully administer our national affairs. It is to be deplored that no great reliance can be placed in many of the statements made as to the character and qualifications of men and measures. One of the most humiliating and dangerous facts in our political methods is the virulence with which both press and platform assail the motives and character of opposing candidates. By these methods both press and platform become educators in falsehood, and engender in the public mind a low estimate of personal honor and a suspicion of the integrity of those who occupy positions of trust. The only exhibition of talent many of our popular campaign orators exhibit in their harangues is the dexterity with which facts are jumbled and the skill with which the positions of opponents can be misconstrued. If one had no knowledge of the men and measures assailed, and knew nothing of our political methods, he would conclude that each party had selected as its candidate the most ignorant and dishonest men as leaders. Character and long and valuable experience count as nothing in the judgment of prejudice; and the more potent these render the candidate the more virulent is likely to be the assault.

It requires no great sagacity to foretell results that will follow these efforts to degrade the character of those who occupy our positions of trust. By just so much as their integrity is discredited are the dignity and authority of Administrations weakened and government and law put in peril.

That there is a growing disrespect and increasing disregard for authority in high places, mobs and acts of violence from time to time testify. How far these deplorable conditions may be due to the inflammatory denunciation of demagogues and place-seekers can be determined by their effect upon the combustible material to which these appeals are usually made. The wholesale denunciation of those in authority, and the frequent attacks made on the integrity of our courts, begat in many—not always included in the vicious class—such a disregard for legislation and law as makes their sympathy with law-breakers easy. Plans and plots to overthrow authority and defeat the aim of the government may be the borrowed ideas that the vicious have caught from the disgraceful utterances of political ranters. Any encouragement given the lawless by pen or platform is a menace to the public safety, and merits the intolerance and contempt of all loyal citizens. If press or platform advocate a resort to violence when the result of an election is not satisfactory, or if an apology for political disturbance is offered, then may the corrupt and vicious interpret these into an approval of lawlessness. Any disposition from any source to interfere with the rights of a voter is a prophecy of danger to our system of elections; for conditions or power may change, and those who now are the victims of violence may hold the political reins in their own hands. If the conditions of citizenship seem not conducive to the public good, the remedy is not in fraud and violence, but in submission to authority till existing conditions can be changed. The right to the ballot is guaranteed under specified conditions, and does not depend on personal opinions as to the propriety or fitness of the law; else each individual becomes a judge in the matter, and in the conflict of opinions is concealed the dangers that threaten a free ballot and an honest count. Every citizen should recognize himself as a special police, to guard, not only his own right to vote, but with equal zeal to guard the rights of others.

Any party or candidate that would accept an election, even by one fraudulent vote, is an enemy to our system of free government. If fraud under any condition is allowed to secure the success of a party or candidate, then may the results of our elections depend on those who are the most skilled in methods of trickery. If the verdict of an election does not represent the will of the majority, then are our elections a cheat, and success but the expression of the skill of political gamblers.

In our national elections there is much more involved than simply who shall be the successful candidate: the more serious considerations are what principles and policies will best promote the personal welfare and public good. Every loyal man will hold above all other issues his country's honor, both as regards its own integrity and the maintenance of its relation to the other powers of the world.

It must be admitted that the large sums of money required successfully to carry on a campaign affords ground for the suspicion that at least a part is used for illegitimate purposes; yet it has been rarely shown that money is so employed, and especially on so large a scale as to vitiate the results of a national election. A scheme of fraud so far-reaching as to include tens of thousands of votes in almost every State is a fearful suspicion of the integrity of a majority of voters upon whom party success depended, and who have been held as political and moral reformers.

It is noticeable that expressions of indignation and horror because of the frauds of the ballot-box are seldom expressed before the defeat of candidates. It is barely possible that it is not so much fraud as a political practise to which objection is raised, as to which antagonist will prove the successful political juggler.

If it is believed that wholesale vote-buying has become the usual practise in our elections, and that so extensive has become the fraud that a whole party can be kept out of power by gambling in votes, then ought honest men in all parties to join in untiring effort so securely to guard the ballot that such political iniquity cannot be repeated.

It seems strange that those who claim to have suffered defeat by the fraudulent manipulation of votes should refuse to unite in a ballot reform. The fact remains that as often as efforts have been made in this direction they have been met with violent opposition by those who, when defeated, have been the first to raise the cry of fraud.

As a nation we are not so much threatened by the power of monopolies and the tendencies of Imperialism as we are from the secret plottings of ambitious and designing men, who, having failed in their political ambitions, are resorting to questionable methods to defeat the government in the legitimate exercise of its powers. When the spirit of loyalty transcends the ambition of men and the strife of parties, then will opposition that tends to degrade and disrupt the government cease to be, and Administrations will meet with the loyal support of all citizens—even when measures do not meet with hearty approval.

The second harvest of our aims and methods may not come to their ripening immediately, for here as elsewhere the divine law is the same: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The spirit of freedom is self-generating, and, although it is sometimes strangled by tyrants and wounded by false friends, it will rise, and the field on which it fell will be the scene of its greatest triumph.

If it is dangerous for a Republic to harbor a vast number of the ignorant and vicious, it is vastly more dangerous to withhold from them the means of intellectual and moral elevation; for the day may come when, maddened by oppression and galled by humiliation, they break forth like a cyclone and the ignorance we have fostered becomes the source of barbarous revenge.

When it is decided that any class is unfitted for the duties of citizenship, the policy of the government should be to secure to them the means necessary for their moral and political elevation. It is not only unpatriotic but unchristian to deplore the unfitness of millions born under our flag and held amenable to our laws, when, by our legislation, we consign them to degradation.

We will wait with patience and hope for such an aftermath of our recent election as will enlarge the circumference of personal freedom and secure to our new wards the benefit of our American institutions.

The smoke has rolled back from our political battlefield, and, although it is strewn with fallen champions and defeated hosts, the loyal of all parties are animated in anticipation of results that shall exceed the highest hopes of those whose aim was realized. Intelligent men of divergent views need not be enemies, and the antagonisms of the ballot-box should never be allowed to ripen into personal hostilities.

The battle was bravely fought and honorably won, and all men of all parties have reason to expect the after-harvest will be abundant in good results to our common country.

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THE MERCHANT SEAMAN AND THE SUBSIDY BILL.

NO question now, or recently, before the public has created wider interest or inspired a more pronounced demand for settlement than that of rehabilitating the foreign-going merchant marine of the United States. For at least thirty years the subject has been under discussion as a feature of party platforms, Presidential messages, and legislative measures. Congressional committees, appointed by both House and Senate, have investigated and reported upon this or that method of procedure. The total rusults so far achieved are represented in the enactment of several minor laws, the effect of which has been merely to alleviate the defects of previous legislation.

Proceeding upon the theory that the backward state of our over-sea shipping is due to the "greater cost of operation," the earlier of these measures granted shipowners the privilege of engaging crews in foreign ports, thus to some extent equalizing the rate of wages paid to seamen on American and foreign vessels. Another act, based upon the premise of "greater cost of construction," removed the tariff on imported shipbuilding material, in order to lessen the disadvantage of the American shipbuilder in the construction of metal vessels to compete with the modern products of foreign shipyards. A third measure admitted to American registry certain foreign-built steamships, under terms ostensibly designed to stimulate the building of similar vessels in the United States.

"Free Ship" bills and amendments, looking to a general application of the policy of admitting foreign-built vessels to American registry, under certain limitations, have been introduced in Congress from time to time. It has also been proposed to levy a "discriminating duty" upon all cargoes imported in foreign bottoms. Neither of these latter measures, however, has received more than a perfunctory consideration.

The action thus far taken has left the principle of our shipping legislation untouched and its tendencies unaffected. The condition that it was intended to change, or at least to modify, has continually grown more and more acute during an extended experience under the attempted reforms. Individual interests have undoubtedly benefited to the extent that they have been exempted from the operation of the general law. But that fact simply accentuates the failure of the means so far adopted when it is considered that the merchant marine, as a whole, has steadily declined.

The experience under past efforts and the conclusions drawn therefrom are embodied in the measure popularly known as the Hanna-Payne Shipping Subsidy bill. In substance, this bill proposes to pay $9,000,000 a year for thirty years to American shipowners as an equivalent of the greater outlay incurred by the latter in competing with shipowners in other countries. The theory of the bill, as specifically stated by its authors and advocates, is that American foreign-going shipping has fallen behind that of other countries because of the "greater cost of construction and operation" incurred by the former and the more liberal government aid accorded to the latter. The payment of subsidies equal to this assumed difference in the terms of competition will, it is confidently declared, place the American shipowner on an even footing at the outset. The result will be left for business enterprise and ability to decide.

It is at once evident that the Shipping Subsidy bill makes no departure from the policy hitherto pursued toward the merchant marine. On the contrary, it distinctly reaffirms the protectionist doctrine that trade prospers in proportion as it is restricted. In effect it declares that the division of labor is an economic fallacy, and that, to increase American shipping, every man must become his own shipbuilder. It seems reasonable, therefore, to predict that the Shipping Subsidy bill, if passed, will affect existing conditions (assuming that it will not prove positively repressive) only so far as the power of money may give force to a statute so obviously in defiance of the axioms of commerce.

If the results that may reasonably be expected of the bill are to be measured by the objects embraced in its provisions, its failure will be the more marked in proportion as its scope is wider than that of its predecessors. In all previous efforts to improve the merchant marine the subject has been considered in its purely commercial aspect. Measures have been devised in the interests exclusively of the shipper and shipowner, the public welfare being concerned only incidentally and by implication. No provisions have been made with the specific object of conserving the natural relations between the mercantile and naval services; that phase of the subject has been disposed of by tacit agreement as a subordinate matter that might safely be left to adjust itself. In this respect the Shipping Subsidy bill is original, since it regards the merchant marine in an essentially public capacity—as an arm of the naval defenses. It is, in its main provisions, a measure, not of private business interests, but of public safety.

The economic feature of the bill—*i. e.,* the provisions for the advancement of the merchant marine, as such—being merely a means to the end of strengthening the naval service, a judgment of its merits must be based upon its probable effects in the latter regard. In view of the avowed objects of the bill, any results that are limited to a mere increase in the number of merchant vessels must be considered proof of its failure.

By its terms, as well as in the conception of its advocates, the main purpose of the Shipping Subsidy bill is "to provide ships and seamen for government use when necessary." To be proved a success the bill must provide ships and seamen useful not only for mercantile but for naval purposes. Moreover, the ships and seamen thus provided must be more useful for these purposes than those obtainable in the present circumstances. It will be seen upon a moment's reflection that these objects—ships and seamen—cannot be attained by one and the same means. In their essence, one is a physical and the other a moral question. During the long discussion of the subject this important and necessary distinction seems to have entirely escaped general notice. The omission is the more remarkable in the case of those who have opposed the pending legislation on principle, since it is in the promiscuous association of different and opposing elements in that measure that its principle is most vitally at fault. It is possible, of course, by the simple payment of subsidies to increase the number of ships; hence, the disagreement between those who favor and those who oppose subsidies for that purpose is, properly speaking, merely a difference as to policy. The transaction involved is in the nature of a purchase; therefore, as applied to the end of "providing seamen," the payment of subsidies implies the difference in principle between buying ships and buying men. In the former case, the issue lies between the order of statesmanship that draws its inspiration from an affluent Treasury and that which guides and conserves the individual activities. In the latter instance, the question to be decided is between conscience and politics, honor and turpitude, sincerity and empiricism.

In respect both of the services to be rendered and the means of securing them, the question of "providing seamen" is the most important feature of the Shipping Subsidy bill, as it must be of any measure for the creation of a naval reserve. The relation of the merchant marine to the navy is chiefly as the nursery of seamen. In that view the character of the merchant seaman is a potent and ever-present factor in computing the strength of a naval establishment. Important as is this question under the most favorable circumstances, it has assumed abnormal proportions in the case of the United States Navy, by reason not only of the scarcity of seamen for the immediate needs of that service but also by the fact that the merchant marine has ceased to afford a source of supply for the present or future.

The number of Americans, native and naturalized, in the merchant marine of the United States at the present time is not more than twenty-five per cent. of the whole number employed in that calling. In by far the greater part, the crews of American vessels are composed of Scandinavians. But an even more suggestive feature of American ships' crews, especially when considered in their relation to the public service, is their continual deterioration in point of skill and personal character. The man of seamanlike qualities, whether of American or foreign nativity, is giving way to an element inferior in every respect to that in the service of other countries. This fact is significant, as showing that the problem involves not merely a matter of nationality but also a consideration of the rules that govern mankind in general in the choice of employment.

Obviously, the remedy for this condition must lie in a measure based upon a knowledge of these rules. The remedy proposed by the Shipping Subsidy bill is contained in a provision that subsidized vessels shall carry a certain proportion of Americans in their crews. This stipulation implies, of course, the inability of the shipowner to employ Americans under existing circumstances, owing presumably to a difference between the American and the foreign rate of wages. The purpose of the subsidy is, by offsetting this difference, to make possible the employment of Americans without disadvantage in the terms of competition. In a word, the theory of the Shipping Subsidy bill, in this particular matter, resolves itself into a mere question of adjusting wages. But one inference can be drawn from this method of dealing with the effect—namely, that the scarcity of American seamen is caused by the prevailing low rate of compensation.

This reasoning, in view of the known inferiority of American ships' crews, is inconsistent with the shipowners' claim that they are even now paying higher wages than their competitors. If the character of the seaman were dependent upon the rate of wages, the higher wage paid to the seamen now employed on American ships would naturally command a quality of service at least equal to that of foreign crews. In reality the same general rate of wages prevails among all seamen in any given trade, irrespective of the nationality of the vessel upon which they may be employed. It is the wage rate of the port in which the seaman is engaged, not the flag of the ship, that governs in the case. It is evident, therefore, that the cause of the low estate of our merchant marine *personnel* must lie deeper than any purely material circumstance of sea life.

To find a sufficient explanation of the American's aversion to the American ship (for he is still to be found in considerable numbers on the ships of other nations), it is only necessary to consider briefly the position of the seaman in the United States, in his legal, moral, and social relations to his fellows on land. In the theory of admiralty law the seaman is incapable, irresponsible, and irredeemable. The necessarily humiliating effect, upon the seaman himself, of this characterization is aggravated by its effect on the public, who are compelled to accept the seaman at the low estimate thus authoritatively placed upon him. The whole theory and practise of the law has been aptly summed up by Justice Harlan, of the United States Supreme Court, who, in a recent case, said: "Their [the seamen's] supposed helpless condition is thus made the excuse for imposing upon them burdens that could not be imposed upon other classes without denying them the rights that inhere in personal freedom." This condition has its logical counterpart in the customs and traditions of the trade. In the system under which the seaman is employed, and in the treatment accorded him by those in authority at sea, every canon of justice, decency, and even humanity is frequently outraged.

The details of the evils thus barely hinted at are familiar to every one having the slightest acquaintance with maritime affairs. The effect is doubly repellent. It operates through the personal feelings of the seamen and those who may contemplate a seafaring career, and through their regard for the feelings of the public. In the final analysis, it is the public, not the individual judgment, that determines the character of the man following the sea or other calling. It is not what the seaman suffers under the law and custom of his profession, not how he stands before his own conscience, but how he stands before his fellow-men, that ultimately governs his course.

The case of the seaman is an instance of the law of progress, which has been defined as "association in equality." In obedience to that law men choose, so far as they may, between those vocations, which equally typify usefulness, respectability, and honor in the community. The ratio between the land and sea workers of the leading maritime countries bears out this statement. Whether regarded as cause or effect, the fact is significant that in Scandinavia and the United States, in which countries the seafaring classes represent, respectively, 3.55 and .35 per cent. of the population, the social standing of the seaman is proportionately high in the former and low in the latter instance. Taking for granted, as we must, that public sentiment toward the seaman is formed upon a judgment of the nature and circumstances of his calling, not merely upon a consideration of the numbers engaged therein, the conclusion is inevitable that to this sentiment is directly and primarily attributable the fact that the Scandinavian follows the sea by choice, while the American shuns it by necessity.

Any steps toward changing the general make-up of the crews employed in our merchant marine, either in respect of nationality or individual character, must aim to elevate the profession of the sea in the view both of the seaman and of the public. This can only be done, first, by changing the practical conditions of sea life, so as to conform them to the ordinary requirements of honesty and decency, as understood by the man ashore, and, secondly, by changing the principle of maritime law, so as to raise the seafaring class, in the public estimation, from a condition of practical outlawry to one of equality, in point of personal freedom, with other industrial classes. Admittedly, it will require intelligence, earnestness, honesty, and probably some courage to achieve these ends.

The qualities at present being devoted to the ostensible object of improving the caliber of American seamen may be fairly judged by the provisions of the Shipping Subsidy bill and the reasoning to be inferred therefrom. To say, as does that measure, that Americans may be attracted to sea life, as matters now stand, by the offer of a share, large or small, of the subsidies to be paid under its terms is, in effect, to suggest that they may be induced to adopt any dishonored mode of living for a monetary consideration. In point of immorality, there is no difference between the actual and the supposed case. In both there is the same affront to virtue, the same insult to conscience. Both aggravate evil by the suggestion of a pecuniary compensation; both contain the same moral proofs of futility.

If the testimony of facts be needed to demonstrate the inadequacy of the measures proposed by the Shipping Subsidy bill, it is to be found in abundance in the long and prolific history of movements analogous to the latter in their general purpose and method—*i. e.*, the creation of naval reserves by arbitrary means and without reference to the practical details of life in the navy or its kindred service, the merchant marine. The experience of Great Britain in this connection is ample, and its lessons conclusive. Dating from the reign of Edward the Confessor, numerous efforts have been made to augment the naval forces by the establishment of reserves composed mainly, or exclusively, of landsmen. Of these the most important are the "Sea Fencibles," organized in 1798 and disbanded in 1810; the "Naval Coast Volunteers," organized in 1853 and disbanded in 1873, and the "Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers," organized in the latter year and disbanded in 1891. The casual reader of naval history must be impressed by the seemingly fateful results that have befallen these efforts. Naval officers, critics, and historians are unanimous in ascribing their failure to the fundamental error of attempting to substitute the external forms of organization and training for the practical qualities that can only be acquired by application to the every-day affairs of the sea. The *personnel* of these bodies, originally composed of landsmen, retained the characteristics of that class to the end. As a consequence, their influence was degrading in its moral and weakening in its physical relation to the service. Such a system must at all times be open to the objection, long since realized, that inheres in the system of the press-gang—namely, that the incorporation of considerable numbers of landsmen in a ship's crew is necessarily demoralizing to discipline, and consequently to efficiency.

The schoolship is another feature of the same general plan. As an institution designed primarily to meet the needs of the merchant service, the schoolship may be regarded as a practical experiment upon the lines laid down in the Shipping Subsidy bill. These vessels have been established for many years at the leading ports in Great Britain and the United States, distinctly apart from the floating reformatory or naval training ship. In London, Liverpool, New York, and Philadelphia, the schoolship affords an opportunity, sufficient for all practical purposes, of acquiring the rudiments of the seaman's trade. Considering the adaptability of the schoolship for educational purposes, the relatively small number of seamen added by that means to the permanent service exemplifies, in corresponding degree, her failure as a recruiting source. So far as may be inferred from results, the conclusion is that the education received by the pupil represses rather than encourages his inclination toward sea life. The claims of success so frequently made on behalf of the schoolship can be justified only by a consideration of the numbers that enter for the course of training. In this view much may be said for the schoolship—as much, perhaps, as may be said for any other school of technical training. The success or failure of the schoolship is to be judged, not by the numbers who join her for the latter purpose, but by the numbers who leave her to become seamen.

That the public regard the schoolship solely from the educational point of view, and base their opinion upon the results in that respect, is well shown by the report on the "Jamestown," made by the supervisors of San Francisco in 1878. This vessel, a United States sloop-of-war, was established at that port in 1876. The reasons for her discontinuance are thus set forth in the municipal reports of the city:

"Every effort was made by the Committee on Training Ship of the Board of Supervisors to encourage parents and guardians of boys of good character, who might be wayward and impulsive, to send them to the training ship for the purpose of subjecting them to such a system of discipline and training as would, while inducing habits of subordination and neatness, insure good health and a high physical development, in addition to giving them a nautical education, combined with such instruction as might be necessary to fit them to become good officers in the marine or naval service. . . . Notwithstanding the exertions of the Training Ship Committee and the commander of the 'Jamestown,' the parents and guardians of most of the boys seemed to look upon the training ship as a vessel on which it was convenient to place wayward and capricious boys, who by their course of conduct would not brook parental control, for the purpose of merely subjecting them to a course of discipline for a few months, in order to render them tractable and subservient. The main object, that of fitting the boys by education to be good seamen, was lost sight of, the best evidence of which was the almost universal, persistent application for the discharge of the boys after a service of only a few months."

The career of the "Jamestown," as a schoolship, was ended by her return to the Navy Department in 1879, after three years' service. The official observations on the case lose none of their pertinence by age, but are fully applicable, so far as the attitude of parents, guardians, and the general public is concerned, to the schoolships of New York and Philadelphia, established under similar circumstances and maintained to the present day. The explanation of the failure in the former and the success in the latter instance lies mainly in a difference of opinion as to the real purpose that the schoolship is intended to serve.

The greater success, in the practical sense, of the schoolship in Great Britain, being proportioned to the better conditions prevailing among the seamen of that country, enforces rather than weakens the rule that the condition of the seaman is the determining factor in the usefulness or otherwise of the schoolship in general. Perhaps the most striking proof of the relations existing between the merchant and naval seaman, and of the law under which alone those relations can be cultivated, is to be found in the British Royal Naval Reserves. This large and efficient body, founded in 1859, is composed exclusively of British seamen actively engaged in the merchant service of the country. It is the only organization of its kind that has so far demonstrated soundness in theory and efficiency in practise. The Royal Naval Reserves have been erroneously compared with our own Naval Militia corps, now maintained by certain States. In view of the essential difference in these bodies—one being composed of seamen, the other of landsmen—the fallacy of any conclusion based upon such comparison is too obvious to require more than a mere suggestion.

The claim of the Shipping Subsidy bill that it will increase the number of Americans in the merchant service, premising, as it does, the virtue of patriotism in that class, is an admission, particularly significant when its source is considered, that sentiment is, after all, a factor in any properly conceived scheme of utilitarianism. The value of the seaman of American birth or naturalization lies not so much in the material service that he may render in his daily life, whether in the merchant or naval marine, as in the moral strength that he gives to the nation. A people governed in its maritime policy by care for the character of its seamen may rest assured of ample returns on the part of the latter in their keener sense of responsibility for the defense of the common interests.

On the other hand, a maritime policy based upon the premise that the ship and the shipowner are the only factors that need be seriously considered—that these are an object of proper and obligatory public concern—and that the seaman is merely an item of cost, like coal or canvas, which must be cheapened, economized upon, and so far as possible eliminated, is a policy distinctly mercenary in character and destructive of the vital forces that make for strength and permanency.

It is because the latter policy has been followed by the United States and Great Britain that the question of finding seamen who can be relied upon for national defense has become a momentous issue in the politics of both countries. Other maritime nations have pursued the same general policy, but their different circumstances afford them remedies peculiarly their own. While the laws of commerce have developed similar tendencies in the merchant fleets of the world, the basic institutions of the English-speaking nations preclude recourse to similar remedies. Germany and France have in their systems of compulsory service a means of supplying whatever demand may arise for native seamen in the public defense. But that which these countries may do by force the United States and Great Britain must accomplish, if at all, by persuasion, invitation, and example.

It is significant, as well of the relatively larger place occupied by sentiment in the opinion of the British public on all national questions as of their greater interests and more extended experience in this particular matter, that questions concerning the treatment of seamen, and the improvement that may be made in that respect, are given more prominence in England than in the United States. Naval authorities, as well as laymen, who have investigated the growing decrease in the number of British seamen describe the situation as a "physical struggle for national existence." They quote, as applicable to their own race—as the warning and portent of the greatest epoch in the history of maritime enterprise—the words of Admiral Monson, a seventeenth century authority: "Notwithstanding the necessity they have of sailors, there is no nation less respectful of them than the Spaniards, which is the principle cause of their want of them; and till Spain alters this course, let them never think to be well served at sea." Does not this "sentiment" of the Elizabethan day contain a special significance for the present generation of Americans? That the British public at any rate have not failed to note the lesson taught by the fate of Spain is evident.

But, while in the general discussion of the subject British public opinion leads that of the United States in point of intelligence, the practical—the legislative—phase of its treatment is in both countries marked by the same fatal defect. For reasons not far to seek the measures now before Congress and Parliament are designed to encourage the shipowner, not the seaman, on the theory, presumably, that the benefits conferred upon the former will in some way, and of necessity, encourage men to accept service under him; in other words, that the shipowner will, of his own volition, divide his gains with the seaman. This reasoning, while pleasing to the altruistic sense, is opposed to all the facts and forces of the present economic conditions. But, as has been shown, such a plan even if practicable must fail, for the reason that it does not deal with the real question at issue.

Any legislation, to be effective for the purpose of increasing the number of Americans in the merchant marine, must be addressed directly to the seaman, actual or prospective. It must deal, in the first place, with those circumstances of the seaman's life which, having their origin in the needs of the past, have become the reproach of the present. The causes that deter the American from following the sea being mainly a matter of public opinion, with the public rests the obligation to remove them. A vital point to be considered by legislators in this connection is, that it is to themselves, as representatives of the whole people, that they must apply the law—that the question involves their personal responsibility for the discharge of a public duty, not merely their regard for the interests of the shipowners or other class.

This much is recognized by members of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House, who, in two minority reports on the Shipping Subsidy bill, point out the inadequacy of that measure for the purpose of "providing seamen." One of these reports lays special stress upon this defect in the bill, and urges, as a prerequisite to its success, the enactment of certain provisions, contained in another bill now before Congress, for the improvement of the general maritime law in its relation to the seaman's personal welfare.

It is to be noted that the Shipping Subsidy bill does not, even in its strict letter, require an increase in the number of Americans, either relatively or positively to the total number of seamen now engaged in the merchant service. By provisos here and there, the carrying of a certain number of Americans—men and boys—in each ship's crew is made purely optional in effect. It is provided that the requirement of a certain number of American seamen may be waived if they "cannot be reasonably obtained," and that American boys shall be carried only "when required so to do by the Secretary of the Treasury or the Secretary of the Navy." As, in the bill, the provisions for the carrying of Americans are purely declaratory, not mandatory, so, in practise, they would perpetuate the present method of engaging crews with reference solely to the question of wages. This, of course, would mean the continuance, unmodified in any perceptible degree, of those characteristics, racial and personal, that distinguish the American ship's crew of the present day. In a word, the general terms of the bill are made nugatory by qualification.

This objection, however, is but one of a number, equally pointed, which, although constituting a morally convincing charge against the motives of the subsidy promoters, raise no question against the principle of the bill itself. As regards the question of "providing seamen," the implication contained in the objection to the details of shipment is that the defects of the bill are mainly incidental, not fundamental—that the bill will fail to "provide seamen" simply because of a negation in its terms, not because of a radical defect in its general method of treating the subject. In this article the writer takes the broad ground that the Shipping Subsidy bill will fail for the reason that it ignores the causes of the conditions that it assumes to remedy.

In this view the question of motive or of terms is immaterial to the final object sought. That object is, to "provide seamen for government use when necessary." In the end, then, it is the quality of the seamen provided by the bill—their adaptability to the specific purpose set forth—that must be considered the criterion of success or failure. It would make little or no difference in the ultimate judgment if the bill, by a mandatory provision, effected an increase in the number of Americans in the merchant marine of the country, unless it thereby increased the usefulness of that service to the government. Neither would it make any difference what the nativity of the seamen provided by the bill might be, if only they were fitted for the purpose in question. The demand for Americans in the merchant marine is based upon a presumption of their greater usefulness to the government, and is limited by the degree in which that presumption holds good. In other words, nationality complements, but in no sense supersedes, personal character and skill in a correct estimate of the seaman's usefulness, whether to the government or the shipowner. The passage of the Shipping Subsidy bill in its present form, although it might increase the number of Americans in the merchant marine, would not, by that fact, accomplish anything for the effectiveness of the naval service. On the contrary, by its failure to deal with the causes that have led to the present condition of American ships' crews, it must fail to increase their usefulness as a reserve force. It would leave the Navy in its present anomalous state—most vulnerable where it should be strongest. From any point of view, the Shipping Subsidy bill, so far as it treats of the *personnel* of maritime affairs, appears to be a repetition of that history of disaster which has been made in the fatuous conceit that invincibility consists in a brave showing of ships and men.

It were well if the men to whom that measure is now intrusted would reflect that the enduring strength of a nation, in peace or war, is proportioned to the moral rectitude with which it is governed, and that no nation need hope to be well served at sea whose government of its seamen is immoral, and consequently demoralizing.

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PREPARE THE WORLD FOR PEACE.

WOULD it not be well now to reverse the oft-repeated maxim and say, "In time of war prepare for peace"? Whether or not the nations are, technically, at "war," they are certainly in bloody conflict and a dark war-cloud threatens the peace of all the world. With this storm in sight the great heart of humanity moves in anxiety. Men are forecasting the future with great misgivings. And now, more than ever, is the time for leaders of thought to direct the movement toward better methods of protection. Men now stand with bated breath and wait for leaders. Human government is possible without this bloody method. War is not the way to Christian progress. The prelate who counsels it betrays his Master.

It is time now for the wisdom of the age to be concentrated upon this problem. Let statesmen come to the front with studied plans for a civil government of the world that will adjudicate the conflicts between nations as civil courts do between individuals. Such a proposition would now impress itself with favor upon many men of every nation. If it were carefully considered and wisely presented, it might lead to the abolishment of war. Only thus can the world realize a truly Christian civilization.

In this question are involved the deepest interests of the human race. Every consideration of humanity, of economy, and of morality demands that better methods be found; and that life, liberty, and property be made secure from the ravages of war.

We cannot now see just whither we are drifting. We are told that history repeats itself—that the past is an index to the future. But this must be taken only in a very general way. Conditions are always changing and new factors entering into the problem, so that anything like a scientific forecast, from the historic viewpoint, is always impossible. But men see the future along the line of present movements rather than in any light of history. The proverb, "Coming events cast their shadows before," expresses the spirit of our prophetic inspiration.

Never, since historian wrote or prophet spoke, was there a time when the future appeared so pregnant with momentous consequences as at the present hour. Every thinking man must view with seriousness the "mad'ning maze of things." Perhaps most men are hopeful, and amid the dark clouds discern the rainbow of promise.

We see in almost all productive and commercial activities a tendency toward coöperation and consolidation—an abandonment of destructive rivalry. These new methods have added immensely to production and development. The introduction of like methods in the world's government would be a blessing beyond estimate. Is it not a coming necessity? Every nation now feels a profound interest in the movements of every other nation. Our wonderful century has brought the peoples of all the earth so near together that it is hardly possible for war to be made between any two nations without, in some way, inflicting damage or inconvenience upon all other nations. The whole world is rapidly becoming one great family. So intimate have commercial and social relations become that a discordant note struck anywhere vibrates around the world.

It will be the great work of the new century to devise some way to adjust international differences and abolish wars between nations. There is no more reason for nations settling their disputes by violence and blood than there is for individuals choosing the same methods. Really, individuals have the better reason for violence. In their case the parties aggrieved become the combatants; whereas in war men are made to slay those who have done them no wrong. We cannot claim to have reached a high civilization until the taking of human life is forbidden to nations as well as to individuals.

We may not hope that the Golden Rule or any principle of ethics will immediately be brought forward and made to end all the strife between nations. Men in authority are not generally actuated by Christian ethics. They look more to precedents and say that they may do what others have done. Only in adversity do nations appeal strongly to the principles of justice and equal rights. The same people, when made secure, may become less scrupulous. It was in an hour of danger that our fathers so earnestly declared that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. But, having secured a place among the nations and become a world-power, we attach less importance to truths considered so vital in the time of our weakness. The republicans of South Africa and the Philippines cherish these high ideals and confidently appeal to the conscience of mankind for their correctness. But England and America, with their efficient armies and established power, give but a second place, or no place at all, to these sentiments. In a carefully prepared paper, giving an opinion as to what rules should govern Great Britain in dealing with the subjugated republics of South Africa, Sir Sidney Shippard said:

"Altruism is all very well in private life, as an exhibition of Christian virtue; but in a struggle for existence between States, in what is called higher politics, enlightened selfishness is and must be the only guide. A statesman's first duty is to safeguard the interests of his own country, and if this cannot be done without hurting the feelings of another, *tant pis pour les autes.*"

These are the words of a representative Englishman, a judge of the supreme court at the Cape of Good Hope. They are words of authority. The man that makes this statement speaks from the front rank of the most powerful Christian nation of the world. He will be quoted as giving a rule accepted by the Christian world at the end of the nineteenth century—"Enlightened selfishness is and must be the only guide." No Golden Rule; no question of justice, nor of the rights of others. The statesman must safeguard the "interests of his own country," and if others suffer—so much the worse for the others!

This position is not at all peculiar to English statesmen; it is the highest morality that belongs to the code of power. Our own nation is not up to this standard. We are afflicting others where it is not necessary to the interest or safety of our own country.

If we hear Sir Sidney further we may learn more of how the future looks to one standing on vantage-ground. Speaking of Britain's future as a world-power, he says:

"Our first care must always be to keep our navy in a state of perfect efficiency, able at any time to vanquish the strongest combination of hostile navies likely to be brought against us; and if, in view of the increase of the navies of Russia, Germany, and France, it becomes necessary for us to double or treble our present naval force, we must double or treble it as the case may be."

Here is a clear statement that may, perhaps, be taken as the English view of the situation to-day. That government must, at whatever cost, continue to maintain a navy able to vanquish any probable or possible combination of navies that can be brought against her. Viewed from any point except that of her own ambition, this position is monstrous. From an economic standpoint it is a menace to her own people; for, although England as a creditor nation has made practically the whole world tributary to her people, yet she cannot continue the course here pointed out without sooner or later oppressing her industries and disturbing the income of her ruling classes. And to other nations she becomes a double menace. She threatens them with impoverishment by the continual necessity of increasing navies and multiplying armies; and she also threatens them with utter destruction, singly, if they should ever neglect or fail to maintain an effective defensive combination.

Statesmen cannot look upon this as a settled condition. So to declare would be to pronounce the human race a failure. Such a condition is one of very unstable equilibrium, and cannot long maintain its poise. Our civilization must soon find a broader foundation. It may settle down upon the absolute supremacy of England, or that empire and all present governments may be superseded by one civil government of the world. Such a government, under a written constitution and with a court having full and final jurisdiction over all differences arising between nations or States, and no further, would at least abolish international war.

With such a civil compact of nations, each reserving the right to choose its own form of government without let or hindrance, no rights would be sacrificed but all made more secure. And nations could not then encroach upon one another any more than citizens can now appropriate or despoil the property of their neighbors. Either this or the strong arm of Empire must yet restrain the ambitious rivalry of aggressive nations.

The Empire method is doubtless a favored dream of English statesmen. For three generations England has cherished an ambition to spread her mantle over the entire human race. That ambition is vigorous; and, but for an unruly member in her own family, she might have now been nearing the goal. The loss of her most valuable colonies, in the last century, checked the growth of British power. But now, to some, the recovery of that loss appears almost in sight. They believe that with the return of the American prodigal British authority will soon be made supreme. If that should come, and be accepted so that the nations would learn war no more, it might be a step forward. There is much to admire in English institutions and English law. Some of her methods might suggest improvements to our own lawgivers. But in the government of her conquered provinces she furnishes an object-lesson that no nation will accept save under compulsion. Perhaps if English rule had been as gentle and as just everywhere as in Canada and Australia, many of the nations might have gladly accepted the shelter of her power. But, while India and Ireland remain as they are, other nations will prefer the storms without to the pressure within.

There are no longer any geographical reasons why the world should not be ruled under a single management. It has grown very much larger than it was under the Roman rule; but improvements in transportation and communication have gone very much beyond the expansion of territory and the increase of population. In improving these facilities more has been done in the last century than was done before in the whole history of man. Distance has been annihilated. The whole world is now smaller, measured by present means of intercourse, than England alone was at the end of the eighteenth century. We can now reach almost any part of the inhabited earth in the time required for President Jackson to go from his home in Tennessee to his office at Washington. We can hear from every part of the world more quickly than Jefferson could hear from an adjoining county.

Mere extent of territory presents no obstacle to England as a world-governor. If she is barred from that high mission it is not by the growth of the world, but by the growth of ideas. Only the gift of prophecy can predict the final effect of this growth. The American thought, so far as it has tended to weaken the dogma of the "divine right of kings," has lessened the immorality of conquest. It perhaps also tends to give respectability to forcible control, by the enlightened, of less civilized nations. And it may appear to justify strong governments in extending authority over weak ones—under the plea of better protection to property.

But there is another American idea to be reckoned with—an idea that has spread through many countries and does not favor the world-empire. It is the doctrine of the unalienable right of every people to choose its own form of government. And upon these two lines of thought the great battle of all the ages appears ready now to be fought out. If America shall now abandon this, her central thought, which she has proudly championed for a century and a quarter, and under which she has grown to unexampled greatness, then the chances are that free government must perish from the earth.

Should America withdraw from active sympathy with nations struggling to maintain independence against encroachments, then the weaker nations might abandon the struggle as hopeless. This, from an economic point of view, would be best; and the trend of the age is toward economy. That is now the hope of the world.

But the greatest uncertainty is in the situation in our own country. Our wealth and capital will generally favor the Empire, and they will have a large following of the people; but there is a powerful element that will oppose this to the death. With many Americans our Fourth-of-July document means much more than a separation from England. It is a solemn declaration of the absolute right of every people to choose its own form of government, and, with this, the right to change its form at will. With many this is the central spirit of their patriotism—the one feature that inspires their love of country. And when any power attempts to deny this right to the American people there will be a political earthquake.

It is not only all over our continent that the principle of the people's right to choose finds friends. It has become almost a part of our civilization. Every Englishman, whether on the island in the North Sea or anywhere on the broad earth, feels that the right of Britain to govern him rests upon his consent to that government. Even in Russia the strength of the monarchy rests in the fact that it is the people's choice.

The principle has nothing to do with the form of government. It claims only the right of every people to choose for itself. Our fathers, in their Declaration, did not declare for a Republic. The form of government had not then been determined or even considered. They declared the colonies (States) free "to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principle and organizing its powers in such form as, to them, shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This they proclaimed as the right of all men, collectively, as States and nations. They were not treating of individual rights or freedom. This appears from the fact that they were themselves slaveholders, and so remained.

Whether or not it is a correct principle of natural law that every country belongs to its inhabitants, we have proclaimed it to the world for four generations. It has now an immense following. Possibly this principle is now declining; yet evidences are not wanting of a powerful incentive to economy in its preservation. It will inspire an ambition that will not like to waste it in war. Better methods will come. Destructive rivalry between nations cannot continue. Some method of peaceable consolidation will be found, and a higher civilization will thus be made possible. It may be that a deluge must come first; the war spirit now raging may once more drench the world with blood. But let us hope that better counsel may prevail.

In our own history we have given more than a hint of the practicability of a civil government of the world. We have furnished an object-lesson of a multitude of States in immediate contact, growing populous, rich, and powerful without any hostile rivalry between their rulers. It would be possible, by a conference of the nations, to establish a civil tribunal—a high court—to settle all differences arising between States or nations. Under such a court, restrained by an organic law, giving to each nation the unrestricted right to choose its own form of civil government, but no right to encroach upon another, all nations would then be equal. Small countries would be protected as well as large ones. Nations could then divide into smaller States, when their local interests would be better served by such division. Now they dare not do this because physical force is the final arbiter between nations; and to divide is to weaken. Hence, every nation is striving to increase its own power and to weaken that of others.

We see a shadow of the court here proposed in the "Concert of the Powers" in Europe, which, since the fall of Bonaparte, has done much toward maintaining peace among the nations in spite of the threatening navies and armies. This, of itself, is encouraging; but it has been limited, both in its scope and in its purpose. It was not the object of the powers to prevent wars between the nations, but only to guard the results, and not permit a disturbance of the "balance of power." But it has been a check on the ambition of rulers; for nations are slow to go to war without hope of increasing their power or of destroying rivals.

It will be very easy to suggest objections to this High Court of the world. But it is not easy to imagine any judicial proceedings as unjust and destructive as the fire and sword. That method is unworthy of our age and civilization. Coming generations will look back upon it with wonder and pity.

The time is ripe for the consideration of world questions. The nations are now brought together, and statesmen must find some method of preventing destructive friction. We are confronted by a great moral as well as economic question—a question that ought to enlist the churches and should be considered in the schools and the homes everywhere. No nobler missionary work can be done than the forming of societies to work for a higher civilization—a civilization that will apply the same rule of morals to nations as to individuals, and institute the same law for king and peasant. Let the motto be: "No Christian civilization is possible while war is tolerated and the slayer of men is honored!" Let this be proclaimed among men. The nineteenth century made slavery disgraceful; now let the twentieth make war intolerable.

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LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A HIGHER CIVILIZATION:

A SURVEY AND A FORECAST.

Introductory Note.

THE nineteenth and twentieth centuries—what shall be said of the record of the one, what of the promise of the other? Standing on the threshold of the new century, it is fitting that we survey with retrospective vision the last hundred years and from its story seek to form a fair estimate of the value of its gifts to the human race and also to note the promise which its achievements offer to the dawning age.

The last hundred years has been at once the subject of extravagant glorification and severe criticism. To many its record consists of a series of dazzling successes and undreamed-of triumphs. Some view its splendid achievements as of far less importance than the promise of greater things which its attainments have rendered possible and probable in the new century; while still others incline to regard it as a tragic period, dominated by a brutal spirit—a period during which civilization has turned her gaze from the light on the heights and, lost in self-absorption, has moved downward along the pathway trodden by Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Rome, when, clad in external glory, each civilization successively passed to its doom. This wide diversity of opinion, though due in part to the temperamental differences of the onlookers, is chiefly the result of the various points of view from which the age is regarded. In our survey we shall seek fairly to consider the views, mingled with their hopes and fears, of the different groups of thinkers; for there is enough of truth in the conclusions of each to call for serious attention.

MATERIAL PROGRESS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The nineteenth century has gone down into history as the most luminous period in the ages, when considered from the standpoint of material progress. In inventions and discoveries of practical utility all former ages put together cannot compare with it, while in the progress of physical science it is alone in its splendid preëminence.

Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, in his admirable work entitled "The Wonderful Century," when estimating the achievements of the last hundred years, thus groups the great inventions and practical applications of science which "are perfectly new departures, and which have so rapidly developed as to have profoundly affected many of our habits, and even our thoughts and our language":

1. Railways, which have revolutionized land travel and the distribution of commodities.
2. Steam Navigation, which has done the same thing for ocean travel, and has besides led to the entire reconstruction of the navies of the world.
3. Electric Telegraphs, which have produced an even greater revolution in the communication of thought.
4. The Telephone, which transmits, or rather reproduces, the voice of the speaker at a distance.
5. Friction Matches, which have revolutionized the modes of obtaining fire.
6. Gas-lighting, which enormously improved outdoor and other illumination.
7. Electric-lighting, another advance now threatening to supersede gas.
8. Photography, an art which is to the external forms of Nature what printing is to thought.
9. The Phonograph, which preserves and reproduces sounds as photography preserves and reproduces forms.
10. The Röntgen Rays, which render many opaque objects transparent, and open up a new world to photography.
11. Spectrum Analysis, which so greatly extends our knowledge of the universe that by its assistance we are able to ascertain the relative heat and chemical constitution of the stars, and ascertain the existence, and measure the rate of motion, of stellar bodies which are entirely invisible.
12. The use of Anesthetics, rendering the most severe surgical operations painless.
13. The use of Antiseptics in surgical operations, which has still further extended the means of saving life.

But this summing up of the inventions and discoveries that are "perfectly new departures" conveys little idea of the changes which during the last century have vitally affected civilization in all its ramifications, or of the improvements which in rapid succession have followed all the great inventions of the past and present and which in many instances have increased manifold the practical value of the original discoveries and inventions. It matters not in which direction we turn in our comparison of the material conditions of society during the closing decades of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we will see everywhere changes of the most astounding and revolutionary character.

Take, for example, man in his wider relations of life. Here, largely through the discovery and utilization of the subtler elements of Nature, the improvements in locomotion and the transmission of thought have been such that all the world during the last hundred years has been bound together, and the remotest regions have been brought into the closest communication. The steam railway, ship, and boat, the electric car, the automobile, and the bicycle have so improved where they have not revolutionized the means of locomotion and transportation that it is difficult to conceive of the civilization of former centuries, when sails and horses were the swiftest couriers and carriers.

It was in 1825 that the first English railway was built. It ran between Stockton and Darlington. In 1830 the more important but short line between Liverpool and Manchester was opened. In our country the first engine that turned a wheel was on the property of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. The maiden trip was made in the spring of 1829, and the speed attained was six miles an hour. In 1833 the South Carolina Railway was opened. It was the longest iron road in the world, being 136 miles in extent. To-day there are over 355,000 miles of railroad in the world. The cost of these roads and their equipments is between $29,000,000,000 and $30,000,000,000. The history of the rise and development of steam navigation on rivers, lakes, and oceans is almost as remarkable and even more interesting than that of the railway;

while the story of the street-car, a nineteenth-century innovation, is marked by the same successive stages of development which we see the world over in the inventions and practical applications of important discoveries. From the slow-moving horse-car to the swift electric coach, generating its own light and heat, we measure the march of progress. Then came the bicycle, ushering in the dawn of the good-roads movement, followed by the automobiles, or mobiles run by petroleum, naphtha, steam, electricity, and compressed air, which are so rapidly supplanting the horse and giving a renewed impetus to the good-roads movement that will prove an incalculable blessing to the whole people, but most of all to the agrarian population.

No chapter in the history of material progress is more essentially marvelous than that which deals with the discoveries and inventions of the nineteenth century relating to the transmission of sound. In 1837 Samuel Morse commenced his memorable experiments in telegraphy, but it was not until May 26, 1844, that the first message, "What hath God wrought?" was flashed from Washington to Baltimore, and an amazed and skeptical world was compelled to accept a discovery that most men had refused to concede as possible. To-day a network of wire, aggregating more than 1,000,000 miles, stretches over the civilized world.. In 1866 Europe and America were bound together by an ocean cable, and at the present time on the beds of the oceans there are over 150,000 miles of cable in active use. In 1876 the telephone was patented—an invention that taxed the credulity of a generation that had almost ceased to wonder at the miracles of science which had blossomed along the highway of the century. I well remember the natural skepticism we all felt at the news of an invention by which it was claimed that the human voice, with its familiar tones and inflections, could be readily recognized when speaking in an ordinary tone at a distance of from fifteen to twenty miles; yet to-day messages are frequently sent in this manner a distance of over a thousand miles, while a large portion of the business daily transacted between the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington is carried on by means of the telephone—and though your friend may be two hundred miles away you hear every intonation of the voice as if he were but twelve feet from your chair. Wireless telegraphy, though in its infancy, has been brought to such a stage that its practical utility is no longer problematical.

Again, take light. The nineteenth century found man in humble conditions striving to read and work by the dim and uncertain light of the pine log, tallow dip, or lard lamp, while the wealthy enjoyed candles, or lamps that were little better than candles. Matches were unknown, and the starting of a fire was no easy task. In 1830 the improved Argand burner was brought within the reach of the people, and in 1858 petroleum was discovered, bringing with it a revolution in lighting. The first public use of gas for outdoor purposes was in 1813, when the Westminster Bridge was thus illumined, despite the frantic outcry of the timid, who expected to see all London wrapped in a fierce conflagration. Many years elapsed, however, before gas came into general use. Its introduction was followed by the discovery and utilization of electricity for illuminating purposes.

The story of scientific discovery and inventive progress of the nineteenth century is a record of wonders, among which photography, color photography, the phonograph, the kinetoscope, and the telediagraph—by which a picture sketched in Chicago is reproduced in New York, Boston, and St. Louis with the same speed and facility with which a telegram can be despatched—and the wonderful Röntgen ray are only a few marvels that far surpass the old-time fairy tales which in bygone ages were woven from the rich imagination of the poet's brain.

Turning from the consideration of life in its larger relations to the narrower view as seen in the homes of the people and the shops of the nation, we behold present the same revolutionary changes. From the sewing machine down to the Reece invention for working button-holes, by which one girl is able to make 5,000 button-holes a day, we find invention after invention aiding the housewife and the manufacturer and enabling work to be performed with a degree of ease and despatch that would have been inconceivable to our fathers. Everywhere there has been a steady march of improvement. Thus, for example, the open fire and brick oven of the eighteenth century gave way to the stove, and it in turn to the improved range, which already appears cumbersome and antiquated when compared with the still more marvelous electric stoves, with clock attachments, by which the housewife can place her entire dinner on the stove, setting the clocks so that the heat will be generated at the proper time, whether it be three hours for a roast or three minutes for eggs, after which she can repair to her room, knowing that the dinner will be cooked to a turn at the appointed hour. With the cheapening of electricity, so that its general introduction into the urban homes will be practical, these stoves, which have already been thoroughly tested, will doubtless as rapidly supplant the present range as did the stove supplant the brick oven in former generations. And should one desire to know how the dish-washing of our new century in great coöperative kitchens will probably ere long be performed, he has only to repair to some hotel kitchen, like that of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, and see how quickly and well immense crates or racks of dishes are washed and dried.

From the urban home let us turn to the farms of the land. Here again we are met by changes almost as radical and revolutionary as elsewhere. Take, for example, the great invention of Cyrus McCormick in 1851—the harvesting machines. This, as has well been observed, marked "the substitution of mechanical for muscular power in agriculture"; and the labor-saving and comfort-giving machines that have followed the advent of the mower and reaper are only equaled by the numberless improvements that have been made in these inventions. In the old times the sickle, the scythe, and the cradle were man's only means of harvesting his grain; while the flail and the fan were laboriously worked to liberate the grain from the stock and separate the wheat from the chaff. With the harvesting machine came a revolution the labor-saving character of which was enormously increased when the self-binder was invented. But it remained for the closing decades of the nineteenth century to witness a still greater advance step in the practical introduction of the combined mower, reaper, and thresher, which is now being extensively used in the great wheat-fields of the West, and by the employment of which two men can easily cut, thresh, and sack from ten to twelve acres of wheat in a single day.

The great mills, factories, and foundries, with their multitudinous devices and arrangements for the utilization of energy and the saving of labor tell the same story of the triumph of man's skill and ingenuity in the laboratory of Nature and the realm of invention; but space forbids any extended notice in this field of activity. I will merely mention one invention of superlative importance and of far-reaching beneficence, which has already done much to make possible the greatest achievements in the manufacturing world. I refer to the dynamo-electric machine, which Mr. Charles Duell, United States Commissioner of Patents, characterizes as "the greatest achievement of the century in invention." "The dynamo," observes this authority, "provides a cheap and efficient means of converting mechanical energy into electrical energy, so that laboratory experiments are turned into commercial successes. The dynamo has rendered possible the utilization of almost incalculable amounts of waste energy and its transmission to long distances, thereby adding untold sums to the world's wealth. As a natural sequence, we see Niagara's vast forces converted into electric energy, furnishing power, light, and heat at reduced cost miles from their point of generation. Other waste water-powers are being utilized, and the forces of the tides will yet be compelled to produce electrical energy. The dynamo made electric lighting a commercial success, and every one of the millions of arc and incandescent lamps, turning night into day, illumines the glory of the dynamo itself. Its invention was naturally followed by that of the electric motor, for the latter is the converse of the former. The dynamo, therefore, solved the problem of rapid transit by means of electricity. The benefits flowing from that are also incalculable, and he who runs may read them. It enhances the value of suburban property, provides homes of comfort and health for those of moderate means, and affords added facilities for cheap, convenient, and rapid communication between distant urban points and between rural communities."

To realize how revolutionary have been the changes wrought by discoveries and inventions during the nineteenth century, one has only to call to mind the following concise summary of innovations that have given us a changed world, as recently set forth by Professor A. E. Dolbear:

"Suppose that a hundred years ago some prophet had predicted that within the century mankind would be able to travel with comfort and safety a thousand miles a day on land, and five hundred on the ocean in vessels of iron seven hundred feet in length yet guided easily with one hand; that the products of the most distant parts of the earth would be prevented from decay and distributed quickly over the widest reach of territory, so that famine would be impossible because foods could be carried over a continent before any one could starve; that everybody might know what had happened the day before all over the world; that one could talk with another a thousand miles away as if they were face to face; that scholars could live fifty miles away from their school and attend every day; that the heating, cooking, and lighting of houses of a city would be done without a fire; that houses would be built twenty stories high, yet no climbing of stairs required; that sugar and other food stuffs would be manufactured in laboratories without dependence upon vegetation; that machines would talk and sing better than some men and women; that admirable portraits and pictures of the most complicated kind, containing details to the last degree of refinement, would be made in the hundredth of a second and afterward duplicated by the million, every one better than the best which the majority of mankind had ever seen; that daily papers would be made and distributed by the million; that there would be hundreds of colleges in the land, every one of them better than the best then in existence; that every town would have better schools and school-houses than the best then to be seen anywhere; that cannon would be made capable of shooting a ball twelve miles; that the coming of storms and of cold would be known in advance so as to be prepared for; that means for the prevention of diseases would be known, and cholera, small-pox, and fevers would no longer be a terror on the earth; that the body could be made so transparent that broken bones, foreign bodies, and diseased tissue could be actually seen and treated as intelligently as external parts; that irreparable organs could be removed without danger, and some which had been thought to be absolutely essential to life, as the stomach, would be removed without fatal results; that pain would be absolutely prevented in some of the most serious crises of life, so that one might have an arm, a leg, an eye, or tongue removed and be utterly unconscious during the process; that mankind would know, not only the life history of the earth, but the composition and condition of the stars, the sun, and the moon, as well as their directions and motions, and knowledge be increased a hundredfold beyond all acquired in the previous history of the race; and that there would be well-endowed institutions for the care of the insane, the blind, and deaf, and hospitals for the immediate treatment of emergency cases, where the most skilful surgeons and doctors were to be had without delay."

Surely the man who had presumed to predict such changes as those outlined by Professor Dolbear would have been accounted an irresponsible visionary; yet not only have all these things come to pass, but tens of thousands of other changes have been wrought which have influenced life in all its various relations.

That our new century will eclipse or even equal the nineteenth in its material progress I think is extremely doubtful; but that the oncoming age will leave a legacy of general happiness, resulting from a higher and nobler civilization, I believe is highly probable, and when that time shall come we shall see in what a real way the material progress of the nineteenth century laid the foundations for the nobler civilization that shall come as the blossom of the dawning age.

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VIBRATIONS, WAVES, AND CYCLES.

A UNIVERSAL and most essential law of Nature is that of *vibration*. A stationary point is impossible. "Absolute rest is death." The finer movements we call vibrations, or waves; the larger movements we call oscillations. The paths of planets we call orbits, and the epochs of history we sometimes call cycles. Everything has a cyclic or undulatory motion: waves of air, waves of ether, waves of aura, waves of water, waves of earth, waves of cloud, waves of nebulæ, waves of thought, waves of emotion, waves of prosperity, waves of adversity—waves of everything imaginable. The law is universal on all planes and in all relations.

There are certain slow and coarse waves in the air and ether, and we call them sound. Other waves of ether, immensely finer and quicker, cannot affect the drum of the ear, but impinge upon the retina of the eye—and we call them light. If the finer waves could affect the ear, the ear would see; that is, it would be sensitive to a flash of lightning. If the coarser waves could affect the eye, the eye would hear; that is, it would be sensitive to a roll of thunder. But each organ is adapted to its own vibration. Evidently the coarser wave caused the ear to evolve to hear it, and the finer wave caused the eye to evolve to see it; and both the waves and the evolutions were excited by the inconceivably finer vibrations of a spiritual atmosphere.

Though a ray of light can be dissected and analyzed and its motions and elements defined, yet its waves are so minute and their movements so rapid as to baffle all human conception. The different colors in a ray of light are due to the different sizes of the ethereal waves, and their motion is so uniform that their size and rapidity can be exactly determined. In the red ray, which is the slowest, 39,000 waves succeed one another in a single inch. As we move toward the other end of the spectrum we find the waves growing smaller and closer together until we come to the violet, where 57,000 motions succeed one another in an inch. When we remember that light travels at a speed of 186,000 miles per second, we are led to the astounding fact that 672 millions of waves of violet light strike the eye every second. But in a ray of white light there are seven different kinds of waves—seven colors—striking the eye simultaneously, making altogether about four thousand millions of millions of waves of visual light impinging upon the eye each second. When we consider the harmonious interplay of these vibrations, and the facility with which they pass through one another in trillions of directions at the same moment, we are confronting one of Nature's mysteries that at present seems beyond the reach of solution.

Other ethereal vibrations produce heat-waves, which are much larger than light-waves, being related to them somewhat as generals are related to particulars. The X-ray, on the other hand, is said to be formed of undulations much finer and subtler than those of ordinary light. We know not how many more species of undulations may be playing through the ethers around us, which we have neither senses nor powers of investigation to detect.

According to Swedenborg, there is another atmosphere, the "aura," interpenetrating the ether, and whose "tremulations" form the basis of attraction and cohesion, and their opposites, repulsion and disintegration. Also that the three natural atmospheres—air, ether, and aura—are the correspondents respectively of three spiritual atmospheres, being related to them as body to soul, and that the finer vibrations of the spiritual atmospheres are the hidden cause of the coarser vibrations of the natural atmospheres. But this is beyond the ken of natural science.

Water-waves, though larger and slower and of a very different type, are nevertheless formed in obedience to the same universal wave law. I have stood upon a bridge spanning a wide river when the water was but slightly agitated by wind, and observed distinctly no less than five different kinds of waves moving through one another in as many different directions. Why are such waves formed at all? Why does a current of air sweeping over the water cause the water to rise in one place and sink in another?

The clouds, as they float across the sky, betray the same subjection to the undulatory law. The collection of moisture into minute globules in the upper air; the segregations that form the "mackerel-back"; the cirrus streamers that form the "horse-tail"; the larger groupings that develop thunder-clouds with clear spaces between them; the still larger groupings that constitute stormy days with fine days between them; the tendency of frozen vapor to segregate into flakes, and these again to divide into spokes; the tendency of falling rain to form into drops;—all are manifestations of the same law. If we watch a driving storm, looking at right angles to the direction of the wind, we will notice that the falling drops sweep by in waves. It reveals the same law that governs the waving wheat-field, the waving forest, the successive puffs of wind in a storm or on a windy day, the swells that follow in the wake of a steamship, or the wavelike groupings of sand on the seashore.

The law reveals itself in the rolling prairie, in ranges of mountains, in the elevation of certain portions of the earth's crust into continents, and the corresponding depression of other portions into oceans, and also the periodic rising and sinking of the same portion through long ages, forming at one time a continent and again an ocean. The same law appears in the canals of Mars, the belts of Jupiter, the rings of Saturn, and the spots and faculæ of the sun.

It is evidently the same law that causes the axial and orbital revolutions of planets, producing days, seasons, and years, and thus causing light and darkness and heat and cold to succeed each other like waves. Such revolutions also produce the regular ebb and flow of the tides. And in harmony with the alternation of day and night is the alternation between the state of waking and that of sleep. Thus man oscillates between subjectivity and objectivity, while trees, plants, grasses, insects, and hibernating animals alternate between the dormancy of winter and the activity of summer.

Regarding the planetary movements, it is a remarkable fact that no planet can move around the sun in a perfect circle. An orbit is either an ellipse like that of a planet, or a parabola like that of a comet; and thus a body perpetually oscillates between its perihelion and its aphelion. Why a planet cannot move in a perfect circle about the sun (and it evidently would if it could) is a matter of conjecture. It is most likely due to a law of repulsion blending with the law of gravitation. Let us suppose that the sun is positive and the earth is negative. Then they will attract each other, like the magnet and the needle. When the earth is farthest from the sun it is most negative, or most open to the sun's attraction. The result is, it begins to approach the sun; and as it does so it becomes more and more charged with the sun's electricity, and accordingly becomes more and more positive, until it reaches its perihelion. As two positives fly apart, it now begins to recede from the sun; and as it recedes it gradually loses its electricity and becomes more and more negative until it reaches the point of aphelion, when it again feels the solar influence sufficiently to return. It is never entirely positive to the sun's attraction; it is simply less negative when nearest, and being less negative its own momentum overbalances the solar attraction and carries it off. Thus do all planets and comets oscillate between their perihelia and aphelia through untold eons of time.

Nature holds in her bosom two subtle forces that are as inscrutable as they are familiar. These are magnetism and electricity. The former is warm, the latter is cold. The former attracts, the latter repels. It is evidently the mysterious interplay of these forces that generates all the vibrations, undulations, and oscillations that pervade the realms of Nature.

No scale of magnitude can escape the influence of the undulatory law. Here and there in the illimitable depths of space are nebulæ not yet formed into star-clusters. They are called fire-mist. They appear in all sorts of shapes, but generally more or less segregated into waves or curdles, with dark "lanes" between them. They are sometimes seen in spiral form, with long, wavy streamers, indicating a slowly rotatory motion.

They are in the path of a long line of ethereal evolution whose goal is a sun, or perchance many suns. In its perceptible beginning a fire-mist is so rare and transparent that if we could be situated in the midst of it we could not see it. Some mysterious force operating upon it causes it to segregate into waves or coagulations. These again may segregate into smaller waves. Each wave or sub-wave gathers around a nucleus, which becomes a center of attraction and repulsion. It increases in heat and brilliancy, revolving on its axis and moving through space, absorbing or repelling everything in its path, until after the lapse of countless ages a sun is formed. Millions of suns, in clusters like our Milky Way, may be formed out of an original patch of fire-mist. Each sun, obedient to the laws of repulsion, throws off an atmosphere, which groups into waves or rings. Each ring condenses around a nucleus, which develops into a glowing sphere. This hot mass, following the example of its parent sun, may throw off rings that develop into moons. Saturn, I suspect, is not through with moon-making yet. The hot globes, of course, condense and cool into planets, all the while following strictly the laws of attraction and repulsion in all their movements.

If the law that manifests itself in waves is universal—and *every* law is universal—then each great nebula is itself one of a larger group of nebulæ, and the larger group in turn is one of a still larger group, and so on *ad infinitum.* If this be true the wave principle ranges from infinite divisibility to infinite immensity.

The law governs time as well as space. Its manifestations range from the most rapid tremulations to cycles of immeasurable duration. Two theories have been in vogue among the ancients, which may be designated the circle theory and the spiral theory. The circle returns upon itself; the spiral describes a progressive movement. The advocates of the circle theory held that current events have transpired exactly as they are now occurring in the immeasurably distant past, and that they will be exactly repeated in the immeasurably distant future, involving the progression of all possible events around the same cycle again and again forever. The theory is supposed to have arisen from the imaginary memory of certain events having exactly occurred before. It is possible that the circle theory is now extinct; but the spiral theory still prevails and has many intelligent advocates. They hold that, while former conditions are approached, they are never exactly repeated. The human race has its cyclic periods of rising and sinking, in moral, intellectual, and spiritual conditions, but is always in advance of any former point, thus describing a spiral progression. All observations show that this theory is true. We know that the earth, in its journey round the sun, never returns to the same point in space, for the sun has been journeying in its larger path, carrying the earth with it. The earth's path is therefore a spiral, and such movements in space correspond to cycles in time.

The law of periodicity in history has often been recognized. A nation is born; it grows, and develops a high civilization; at length it declines; the forces that produced it are spent, and it returns to dust. Such civilizations have appeared in Egypt, Chaldea, China, Greece, Rome, Spain, and other portions of the globe, flashing out like temporary stars, then fading and disappearing in darkness. Races, too, like individuals, have their life-period, though a very long one it may be. All churches, all political parties, all movements for the good of humanity have their periods. They must die that new movements better adapted to new conditions may take their place. Waves of prosperity, and waves of adversity; waves of religious zeal, and waves of religious apathy; waves of altruism, and waves of egoism—these mark the "ups and downs" of human progress.

In examining into the causes of vibrations, waves, and cycles we may be aided by the philosophy of Swedenborg. One of his positions is, that every natural object is an expression and correspondent of a spiritual principle, and that that again is an expression and correspondent of a Divine principle; hence, that all natural vibrations are excited by inconceivably finer and subtler spiritual vibrations, and these again are excited by vibrations of the Divine life itself. Another position he held is that everything in Nature is dual. Man, for example, has two fundamental properties—volition and intellect. These two are as fundamental as the right and left halves of his body. All other mental faculties are appendages of these. They are the two sex-principles of his nature, and of their union are born all the activities and uses of life. Again, man is a likeness and image of God; therefore, God Himself is dual. His fundamental principles are Divine Volition, or Love, and Divine Intellect, or Wisdom. These two principles blend like heat and light, like magnetism and electricity. Divine Love and Wisdom are partners in eternal wedlock, and of their union are born the first finite vibrations and radiations, which encircle Him with a sphere of ineffable glory—called the Spiritual Sun. Out of its bosom proceed the dual vibrations that thrill through the spiritual universe, and thence through the natural universe, giving existence and vibratory motion to all things that are.

According to certain German and Eastern philosophers every object is a form of vibration. The difference between a tumbler and the water within it is a difference in the kind or rate of vibration of the one primal Substance. In a stone the vibration is coarse and slow, while in a thought the vibration is inconceivably finer and quicker. But with this aspect of the general subject we are not at present concerned.

Finally, what are the uses of the vibrations, waves, and cycles that we have been considering? For it is a recognized law of Nature that nothing can exist without a use. Evidently the fundamental use to man is the production of consciousness on all planes. We know that if there were no ethereal waves total and universal darkness would reign, and not a sound could be heard, nor would there be eyes to see or ears to hear.

But could there not be consciousness abstracted from the senses? Certainly not without vibrations of the spiritual atmospheres—thought-waves. It can hardly be doubted that spiritual light-waves are as essential to thought as natural light-waves are to sight, and that spiritual heat-waves are as essential to love or affection as natural heat-waves are to feeling. All our power to love, will, desire, think, perceive, reason, and act depends on the vibratory activities of the atmospheres of the soul world.

The value of Nature's undulations will perhaps the more readily appear in those larger undulations which affect our daily lives—varying experiences, vicissitudes, or whatever we may call them. We could not possibly appreciate joy, goodness, love, truth, justice, sunshine, peace, or harmony except by contrast with their opposites. The ancient word to Israel, "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore, choose life," is a law for all ages. We cannot choose life unless death is present; nor can we even think life without some knowledge of its opposite. John Fiske, in his admirable book, "Through Nature to God," says:

> "If we knew but one color we should know no color. If our ears were to be filled with one monotonous roar of Niagara, unbroken by alien sounds, the effect upon consciousness would be absolute silence. If our palates had never come in contact with any tasteful thing save sugar, we should know no more of sweetness than of bitterness. If we had never felt physical pain, we could not recognize physical pleasure. For want of the contrasted background its pleasurableness would be nonexistent. And in just the same way it follows that without knowing that which is morally evil we could not possibly recognize that which is morally good. Of these antagonist correlatives, the one is unthinkable in the absence of the other."

In our untutored aspirations we are prone to build castles in the air that bathe their towers in eternal sunshine. It is easy to dream of unalloyed bliss, if not in this world, at least in the world to come. But such condition would be neither possible nor desirable. If heaven should be granted unvarying bliss the denizens of that realm would ultimately lose all consciousness of joy; their intelligence would fade; their love would grow cold, until their life disappeared in the shadows of death. Swedenborg tells us that the angels are continually passing through changes of state, corresponding with morning, noon, evening, and again morning, and that such variations of light and shade in their experiences are essential to the perpetuity of their happiness. If he had added that they also pass through larger variations of experience corresponding to the seasons of the year, I should have believed even that. Wherever we are, life is "a wheel within a wheel." We may thus rest assured that man's experiences of joy and grief, of peace and combat, of labor and rest, in all their multifarious forms, are essential to his highest and broadest development.

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THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

II. Southern Conditions that Influence Negro Criminality.

1. *Domestic Life and Training.*

EMPHASIS is now being placed upon the prevention of crime. The most promising field for the accomplishment of this result is found in the domestic life and training surrounding the child. There is no race outside of barbarism where there is so low a grade of domestic life, and where the child receives so little training, as among the negroes. In slavery, the negro knew no domestic life. The continuance of family life depended upon the will of the master, and his attitude favored immorality. His desire was to secure as many slaves as possible regardless of family ties or obligations. The negro has had not quite forty years to recover from this condition—in which to *create* and establish all the sound principles and practise of domestic life.

There are those who decry the influence of education and declare that it has failed to enlighten or reform the negro. But we have not educated the negro. Only in a small degree has he been shown the example and the need of morality, sobriety, and fidelity in his domestic life. In matters of cleanliness, sanitation, prevention of disease, etc., he has been left to look out for himself. Where from five to ten persons cook, eat, sleep, and die in one or two rooms, what can the moral effect be? The environment of the Jukes family was not worse than this; yet upon this fragile domestic basis is placed the mental training. Instruction in reading and writing, history, arithmetic, theology, etc., is given, and then we marvel that the negro is not more moral. The result is often a mental comprehension of things without their having any personal value or practical application; for the sympathetic and moral instincts often remain undeveloped, or are warped.

There are other reasons for the loose domestic relations of the negroes. The whites during slavery, and even to-day, set no example for them. Often it is jealousy of a white man's relations in the home that destroys its peace. Negro women yield to white men quite as readily as in slavery. Until there is greater respect for the negro home, the morals in that home will be lax. The mutual training of the children, with educational and cultural interests and pursuits, often makes domestic relations more durable. These are often lacking in the negro's life. Possession of property and its entailment are also influential but almost unknown to the mass of negroes. Marriage is more of a religious ceremony and does not give them the consciousness of new legal and social obligations. The fact that so few women are virtuous when they enter matrimony must lower the standards. Further causes appear under other heads.

If the home life lack the interests, comforts, and integrity that are deemed so essential, what is the training of the child? What can one mother accomplish for each child, when there are from five to fifteen to be trained, disciplined, and taught? Often she is also a laborer, and is lacking in even rudimentary education. I ask the Northern mother, with her smaller family and with trained assistants in the home, school, and church, what the possibilities are for individual training. We deplore and comment upon the mortality of the negro. What care and necessities can one sick child have in the midst of such numbers, and in such squalor and want? Think of the cost and attention often required to save one child in the North! During slavery the whites were interested in the life of the negro child. It had a cash value, and all efforts were made to save it. It was often taken into the mansion itself and carefully nursed. Now all the knowledge and means required for such care devolve upon parents that have had but little preparation. The child has no labor value now, for the adult market is often overstocked. I do not mean that the whites are disloyal to their old slaves, or deny help when it is asked; only that there is no interest in the condition of the masses. With this lack of supervision over its associates, knowledge, and habits, the child passes into the school. There are no kindergartens to serve as a medium. The labor of the negro child often begins early. When many white children are entering the kindergarten, the negro child is beginning her duties as a nurse-girl, or his duties as bootblack or at street jobs about stations. The one class in the North with which the negro child is comparable is the laboring class crowded in tenement districts. The habits, training, and opportunities are somewhat alike. In the North it is from this class (whose training is largely in the street or in depraved homes) that the children in reformatories come.

One of the primary needs of the South is enlightenment and ideals in domestic life, together with such knowledge as will secure training and discipline for the child. In the absence of other agencies, free public kindergartens are desirable for both mothers and children. Kindergartens will assist in supplying this need, because the children are particularly deficient in the sense of responsibility. They are not taught it; they are not placed in responsible positions. This sense is necessary to successful functioning in the world. Slavery deprived the negro quite effectually of this sense, if he ever had it; for he was required to be imitative rather than initiative. Responsibility can be developed under a directorship, but only with difficulty under a mastership. The negro is said to be a "petty thief by nature." This may be true, but at least one of the reasons lies in the fact that in slavery his master's property was his own; he was never held strictly accountable. He protected the property against outsiders, but not against himself. There are many former slaves still living, and the atmosphere has not greatly changed. Neither is the child taught respect for property, as is the Northern child. This respect is not a born trait, and often the capacity for its acquirement varies. It has to be taught the infant, and the offense is rigorously punished during childhood. The negro child has but few possessions with which to develop the property instinct.

Aside from these conditions in the home, little assistance comes from the whites. They have come to expect, justly, undoubtedly, thieving and immorality in the negro. If he is honest, he obtains little recognition for it. It is difficult to reach an ideal of self-respect if no one has faith in that ideal for you. Many men are moral and honest because they prize the respect of their fellows. The restraining power of others' opinions is often underestimated. At home the negro is seldom taught the value and dignity of self-respect, and in the world about him he understands that it is not accorded him. It is easier to succumb to the standard held for you than to surpass it, especially when less than 50,000 in a race of 7,000,000 have attained such a standard.

2. *Education.*—In the preceding paragraphs I have touched upon education. The present education of the negro is both illogical and impracticable. I refer chiefly to the common schools, for *they* reach the masses. First, the time given to education is inadequate, averaging about four months a year in the country and perhaps six in the towns. Secondly, the instruction is inferior. The negroes prefer negro teachers, but the instruction given by them cannot, in quality or quantity, approximate that given by white teachers. There is the further difficulty that there is social prejudice among the whites against white teachers of negroes. Almost no use is made of libraries, and the supplementary work so well developed in the North is unknown. The negro in many instances is being fitted for vocations in which there is but little opportunity for him. Agricultural and industrial eras precede those of commerce and professions. The negro cannot omit these, simply because he is transplanted in the midst of a race that has experienced them. They were essential in developing that race. In the North how many generations of fathers identified with agricultural and industrial interests have laid the foundation for their sons' professional careers?

Economic independence must accompany enlightenment. The negro race is not trained to meet successfully the demands of the occupations open to it. Romans were not trained for merchants when warfare was the commerce in use. Latin, Greek, and French must have but a superficial influence when a race has no literature of its own, and the cultural influence of a moral and educated family life is unknown. I am not opposing higher education; I am speaking for the mass of the race, and asking for an extension of time and rationalizing of the studies in the common schools. The training needed is one that will put the child in conscious control of himself. That the system of education is not accomplishing this is shown by the fact that negro teachers and ministers are frequently the most immoral of their race. This is true because the educational system gives so much knowledge of facts, while the moral and sympathetic sensibilities, the perceptions of domestic, social, and political life, in relation to the negro himself, are neglected. The result is a mental equipment that puts the individual in the place of a leader—a place that he uses to degrade his race. The criminal who has good mental capacity is always the most dangerous because the most capable. In training capable intellects a corresponding stress should be placed upon the developing of the moral, social, and sympathetic side, because the range of influence is greater. The ability, sagacity, and energy of the newsboy hold more promise of a good business career or of an astute criminal than do the feebler intellect and inactive body. The capacity may be due to heredity; the channel may be determined by environment. I have shown that the education of the negro is not such as to prevent crime. It does not meet the needs existing in the race, and when these defects exist it is not reasonable to attribute to education failures that may be due to the system rather than to its application.

3. *Financial and Economic Conditions.*—The possession of sufficient of this world's goods prevents many from committing crime. Often when finances are inadequate to the demands of the individual's vanity, love of luxury, or avarice (qualities under some circumstances quite as capable of inducing only fastidiousness and esthetic tastes), he becomes a criminal. Money often prevents the criminal from becoming a convict burden to the State. The negro is almost without this aid, and,

once arrested, he is reasonably certain of conviction. In the North this greater ability to provide for one's self reduces theft; in the South, shiftlessness and the lack of knowledge as to the use of money induce it. If a negro is economically independent and has his own farm or trade, what is the necessity for theft? Few criminals steal without an incentive, even though it be the simple one of demand exceeding supply. Property interests create responsibilities and broader interests, and often deepen self-respect. Property raises the standard of the class possessing it, and this is one essential way in which the Northern small landowner differs from the negro. With the acquirement of small farms, and with the financial and commercial standing that goes with it, he will more nearly attain to the condition of the whites. To-day the huts in which many negroes live existed in slavery days, without more air, light, cleanliness, and furniture than then. The sense of possession and property is not much more developed.

The extent of this low financial standing is better understood when it is known that the negroes have few or no banks, no loan associations or building organizations, and no credit system. There are few or no ways in which they can assist one another. How important these are to the white man! The negro must be taught their value and use. The negroes are much imposed upon by the whites in whom they have faith. High rents, high-interest mortgages, and the purchase of whisky, cheap jewelry, useless ornaments, and unnecessary articles are among some of the results. There is but little knowledge of the true value of these things and of the extent to which money will go, so they become easy dupes. On the river-boats, employers will often pay the negro his salary in advance and encourage gambling with "craps," advancing money for stake during the voyage; so that at the end of the trip the negro is bankrupt and must reship with him. These are conditions attending untrained and unaccustomed minds, and are otherwise peculiar to the negroes, in that they possess artistic and musical and emotional natures rather than practical ones.

4. *Religion.*—This is a very grave subject. The negroes possess a religious form, emotionally conceived and having but little moral or ethical basis. Practical Christianity is known only to the few. Their services, sermons, and prayers are intended to arouse sentiment and superstitions, but not thought resulting in improved action. Religion as a growth through childhood is unknown. They must experience the definite consciousness of seizing it in some revival meeting, or else they doubt its existence in themselves. Their religion is characteristic of an undeveloped race. This must be so, for slavery did nothing to change it. The slave's religion was not rational. The life of the future world was emphasized, and but little stress placed upon daily living. It was not desirable that slaves should discuss practical things, and there has never been the application of religion to them. In the North, Christian influences and training are a restraint; in the South these are largely negative or else predisposing to crime. Religious gatherings are not infrequently the scene of many quarrels and crimes, and during the excitement of "revivals" many acts occur that are both degrading and immoral. There are no restraining white influences; for the negroes are excluded from the white churches, have their own organizations, and control their own affairs. The Catholic Church is an exception in this; but very few negroes are Catholics. There can be no question that the negroes' religion is inferior, and stands in the way of progress. It also prevents a closer identification of the interests of negroes and whites, and a harmonious solution of the present problem demands a closer sympathy and affiliation rather than estrangement. Contempt for the negroes' religion must be changed to respect. The negro's strong tendency to church affiliations can be used as a great educational and cultural agency. His nature is highly susceptible to religious influences, but these must be wholesome and permanent, rational and not hysterical, constructive rather than destructive, civilized instead of barbarous, educational and cultural as well as "spiritual." This is not an impossible change.

While my problem does not deal with the poor whites of the

South, there still exist conditions among them calling for the warmest sympathy and aid. I would urge those who contribute to foreign missions—to the civilizing of races of whose ideals, habits, and beliefs they know little—to make these contributions ultimately useful and far reaching, by having the funds more directly under their control, and by aiding a class having few comforts and luxuries; for education, culture, opportunities, would mean these. It is principally from this class that the white criminal comes. These conditions, together with the neglected guidance and assistance which the negro needs, should bring a blush of shame when money is sent abroad, and when well-trained educators desert their country. Judged purely in terms of dollars and cents, the same amount of money expended at home would insure a greater return in each individual life. The passage abroad alone would keep one child at the Tuskegee Institute a year, and Tuskegee contributes no criminals. It matters not to God if the soul be negro or Chinese; but it *does* matter to *us* if the race is an integral part of our domestic and national life. If we have taken them from an environment in which they were functioning successfully, and placed them in the midst of our own, which they as yet barely comprehend, there is a national duty added to the Christian duty. Every dollar that goes abroad, with this great struggling mass at home, robs the State and nation of so much progress and sets aside a probability in favor of a remote possibility. Until the negro's domestic life and religion are more intelligent, he must fail in the highest duties of manhood and citizenship.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

CITY OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION OF STREET RAILWAYS.

BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.*

Q. You favor public ownership of street railways and other municipal monopolies, I believe?

A. Yes.

Q. For what reasons mainly?

A. Because the great franchises and monopolies whose value is created by the people should be administered for the benefit of the people and not for the benefit of a few. Public ownership means a change of purpose, from private profit to public service, union, coöperation, removal of the antagonism of interest between owners and the public, economy, coördination with other services, increase of business, lower rates, better service, better treatment of employees, no strikes, no stocks to water or gamble with, profits for the people instead of the speculators and monopolists, less fraud and corruption, larger civic interest and improved citizenship, better government, less aristocracy, more democracy, diffusion of power and benefit, better organization of industry, and advance in civilization.

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* NOTE.—Professor Frank Parsons has for many years been a member of the faculty of the Boston University School of Law. He has also been a leading text-book writer for the largest legal publishing house in New England. He has served with conspicuous ability in the Chair of Political Science and History in the Kansas State Agricultural College. He is president of the National Public Ownership League, a member of the American Social Science Association, and a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His influence on social, political, and economic matters has been rendered nation-wide through his many valuable works, the most important of which to students of social problems is a volume, recently issued, entitled "The City for the People," which is by far the most valuable contribution to municipal literature that has yet appeared in America. Two new works by him have also appeared within the last few months, one entitled "The Telegraph Monopoly," the other "Direct Legislation." These works, although not very large, are sufficiently complete to give all readers a thorough understanding of these extremely important subjects. Professor Parsons also wrote some of the most important chapters in "Municipal Monopolies," one of Professor Ely's series on economic subjects. We know of no student of social problems in this country better qualified to discuss municipal ownership than Professor Frank Parsons.—B. O. F.

Q. Do you really believe government ownership means all that?

A. I did nof say government ownership means that; I said *public* ownership means that.

Q. The same thing, is it not?

A. Not by a good deal. Government ownership may be public ownership, or it may not. It depends on whether the people own the government. Russia has government ownership of railroads, but there is no *public* ownership of railroads in Russia, for the people do not own the government. Philadelphia has not had real public ownership of the gas works, because the people do not own the councils. If the government is a private monopoly, everything in the hands of the government is a private monopoly. The public ownership of monopolies requires the public ownership of the government; for two reasons: first, because the government is itself a monopoly, and, second, because the public ownership of other monopolies is not possible without public ownership of the government. Public ownership of the government requires fair nominations and elections, direct legislation, and the merit system of civil service; wherefore these measures must form a part of any thorough plan of public ownership.

Q. You would not advocate the transfer of the street railways, then, until the people have full control of the government, through direct legislation, etc.? You would not advise government ownership until it would be public ownership also; is that your idea?

A. No; that is going too far the other way. I would not advocate *government* ownership unqualifiedly; for a transfer from a small body of stockholders, or a corporation owning the roads, to a small body of politicians owning the government, *might* be a jump from the frying-pan into the fire. But, on the other hand, such a transfer *might* be the very means best calculated to destroy the rule of the politicians. It is a question of the degree of civic spirit in the community. In a city of reasonable intelligence and freedom the municipalization of great industries will rouse the people to demand good government as the only means of accomplishing the purpose of the industrial transfer. The attempt to establish public ownership of street railways and other monopolies in a thinking community must lead to public ownership of the government as the only means of securing the public ownership of industrial monopolies. In a reasonably decent community, therefore, under our form of government I would advocate government ownership of industrial monopolies as a step toward real public ownership of both industry and government.

Q. Would not the transfer of the street railways increase the corruption already far too prevalent in our city governments?

A. Not unless the removal of the chief cause of corruption would increase corruption. It is the street railway companies and other corporations that buy up our councils, corrupt our legislatures, and manipulate election machinery so as to nominate and elect men whom they can control; and when we demand the abolition of these very corporations that create this trouble, they say, "You'll have a terrible time if you get rid of us. See how rotten your government is." We reply, "You made the government rotten, and you keep it so. Get out of the way, and we can easily secure good government." It is not the post-office, or the public streets, or water-works, or schools that corrupt our governments, but the pressure of *private* interests. Every great monopoly that is transferred from private to public ownership is one more force compelling the people, rich and poor, to demand good government, in place of a force impelling a body of rich and influential men to try to corrupt the government. Professor Commons says: "I maintain that nine-tenths of the existing municipal corruption and inefficiency result from the policy of leaving municipal functions to private parties." Professor Ely says: "Our terrible corruption in cities dates from the rise of private corporations in control of natural monopolies, and when we abolish them we do away with the chief cause of corruption." Dr. Albert Shaw says: "The pressure that would be brought to bear on the government to produce corruption under municipal ownership of monopolies like gas, electric light, transit, etc., would be incomparably less than the pressure now brought to bear by the corporations." Governor Pingree says: "The corporations are responsible for nearly all the thieving and boodling from which our cities suffer."

Q. But what about the patronage? One may admit that the purchase of legislation would diminish with the abolition of private franchises, but the patronage would vastly increase, and the temptations to use official power for private gain would be greatly augmented.

A. That is true, but the forces restraining the abuse of official power would be augmented in still greater ratio. At present a large proportion of the richest and most influential men in the community—managers and stockholders in the street railways, gas, electric, and other monopolies—are interested in the election of men who are willing to use their offices for private purposes instead of for the public good. They want men who will work for the monopolies instead of for the people, and the same men are likely to abuse the patronage, of course. But make the great monopolies public, and these same rich and influential men become intensely interested in the election of good men, who will honestly administer these great properties that affect their lives so intimately. Abolish private monopoly, and the rich will have nothing to gain and everything to lose by bad government—no franchises to get from "boodle aldermen," but inefficient street cars, poor gas, blinking electric lights, etc., and accentuated taxes by abuse of patronage. They will therefore join with the common people in the demand for honest and efficient civil service and for the nomination and election of competent and reliable men. Make the street railways, etc., public property, under a provision that they shall not again become private without a referendum vote of the people to that effect, and the interest of our leading citizens as investors in municipal franchises will give way to their interests as consumers and taxpayers. As part owners in private railways and gas works their financial interests are opposed to good government, but as part owners in public railways and gas works their financial interests would demand good government. As stockholders their money interest is a class interest, largely antagonistic to the public interest, but under public ownership their money interest in the railways would be identical with the interest of the rest of the community—their private interest would coincide with the public good. Few matters are more important than this change of interest and civic relation in men of wealth and power; for, as Mayor Swift of Chicago told the Commercial Club of that city, December 28, 1896, it is precisely those men of wealth and power who are responsible for the corruption of municipal government. "Who bribes the Common Council?" said the Mayor. "It is you representative citizens, you capitalists, you business men." And they not only bribe the councilmen but secure or permit the election of men who will use their power for private gain instead of for the public good, and so debauch the civil service. To annihilate abuse of patronage we must adopt a thorough system of civil service, based on merit and efficiency, and nothing can more surely bring this to pass than a great increase in the weight and importance of public business. Not only will the public ownership of monopolies compel the rich to stand with the poor for good government, but the people in general will be stimulated to new effort for better administration. They will say, "With these great properties in our hands the public business has become far too important to trust to rascals. We'll elect the best man we've got to manage these great interests." It has worked that way across the sea, the increase of municipal ownership being recognized as one of the chief influences in purifying the government in Birmingham and other English cities, and the logic of the situation clearly indicates that public ownership must operate in the direction of political purity.

Q. Why not sell the railway franchises at auction, tax the companies a good per cent. on their incomes, and regulate them thoroughly instead of attempting to own and operate them? I understand that New York follows this plan with good results, bids of 20 to 45 per cent. of the gross receipts having been secured, and in some cases much higher bids.

A. I do not think those very high bids have materialized. One road in New York bid over 100 per cent. more than the total receipts for a franchise connecting two of its lines, and then refused to pay anything. It made no charge for carrying passengers over the track, and any number of times 100 per cent. of no receipts is still nothing. There is no doubt, however, that Toronto, Baltimore, and some European cities have received large returns on this plan of taxing the railways. Such methods are an improvement on the usual plan of giving the franchises away (for a slight consideration to the legislators perhaps) and taxing the people for the benefit of the companies; but public ownership would be better yet. Tax the railways, and you benefit chiefly the well-to-do, who pay most of the taxes. Make the roads public and reduce the rates, and you benefit the great mass of the working-people who most need benefiting. Moreover, regulation of these big city monopolies has proved a failure. The railways control the commissioners and regulate the regulators. Even at the best you cannot fix the law so that regulation will equal public ownership. A business owned by the people and operated by their agents is a good deal more apt to be run in the interests of the people than a business owned and operated by a Morgan syndicate. As long as you leave the railways in private hands they will be run for private profit; the owners and managers will have enormous power linked with a business interest antagonistic to the public interest, and they will seek to evade or nullify any law that stands in their way. Nothing but public ownership can identify the interests of the owners and the public, and so remove the antagonism of interest which is the fundamental cause of all the evils of private monopoly.

Q. How great a reduction of fare would you expect under public ownership of street-car lines in our leading cities?

A. After thorough investigation of the subject I think a three-cent fare with free transfers would cover all costs, including depreciation and interest, in such cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Buffalo, Detroit, etc. Responsible capitalists have offered to run the street railways of Chicago and Detroit on a uniform three-cent fare, and these men expected to pay costs and make a profit on watered stock besides. A three-cent fare has proved remunerative, even on one of the worst lines in Detroit, although the experiment was made under very disadvantageous circumstances and against the strenuous opposition of the main companies, who did all in their power to defeat the scheme and throw discredit upon it. There used to be a three-cent fare for school children in Boston. The Highland Company, running its cars from Grove Hall into town, sold one hundred tickets for three dollars. Buffalo cars carry children for three cents now, and the average of all fares is only 3.6 cents, yet a good profit is made. In Glasgow 35 per cent. of the fares are one cent each, and the average fare is below two cents (1.78 cents average). The payment——

Q. You don't think we could reduce the fare as low as that?

A. Perhaps not. I was going to say that the payment of employees is lower in Glasgow, and business is denser than in our cities—the distances shorter and more passengers to the car mile: twelve in Glasgow, and only seven in Boston, six in Buffalo, two in Chicago, and seven, nine, and twelve on the principal roads in New York. Low fares in Boston or Chicago would probably increase the traffic even beyond the twelve per car mile, and the difference in wages is largely offset by the difference between the horse power in use in Glasgow at the time of the report just quoted and our electric traction, which is twenty to fifty per cent. cheaper than horse power, according to the experts, presidents, and general managers of our roads. The reports of nearly all our city companies show an operating cost of ten to fifteen cents a car mile with electric traction, and four or five cents would cover depreciation, so that, *if our cities owned the roads free of debt*, a two-cent fare would cover all costs on the reasonable supposition that a reduction to two-fifths of the present rate would increase the traffic to ten and twelve per car mile. Gov. Pingree thinks that a two-cent fare in Detroit would cover all costs, including interest. But as a general proposition I believe it would be safer to build on a three-cent fare under municipal ownership until the roads were free of debt.

Q. Your speaking of horse traction in Glasgow suggests that the service on the public tramways there is inferior to the service on our private lines. Is that so?

A. Yes.

Q. Doesn't that upset your argument for public ownership then?

A. I think not. The difference in service is not due to the difference in ownership, but to the difference in the two countries. Private tramways in Great Britain are still more inferior to ours than her public tramways. The Glasgow lines are admittedly superior to the private systems in the same country, and, what is perhaps still more to the point, they became at once superior in every way to the former private systems in the same city. When Glasgow became the owner and manager of its street-car lines in 1894 the consequences were—

(1) A reduction of 33 per cent. in fares—a voluntary movement in the direction of cheap transportation.

(2) The hours of labor reduced from 12 and 14 to 10 per day, and from 84 and 98 to 60 per week; wages raised two shillings a week, and two uniforms a year to each man free—a voluntary improvement of the conditions of labor.

(3) A great improvement in the service. An editorial in the *Progressive Review*, London, November, 1896, says: "The tramways of Glasgow have been made the finest undertaking of the kind in the country, judged both by their capacity to serve the public and as a purely commercial enterprise." Glasgow is one of the first cities in Britain to take steps toward

replacing horse power by mechanical traction. She sent a committee all over the civilized world to study the best methods, and an electric system is now being introduced while even London contents itself with horses.

(4) The traffic was greatly enlarged, doubled in two years, by low fares, good service, and the increase of interest naturally felt by the people in a business of their own.

(5) Larger traffic and the economies of public ownership have reduced the operating cost per passenger to 1.32 cents, and the total cost, including interest, taxes, and depreciation, is 1.55 cents per passenger. When the private company was collecting 3.84 cents per passenger it declared that only .24 of a cent was profit. Now the city collects 1.78 cents and still there is about a quarter of a cent clear profit, and this is with horse power, which makes the cost per car mile at least 20 per cent. more than with electric traction.

(6) The profits of the business do not go to a few stockholders, but into the public treasury, to the tune of $200,000 a year above all operating cost and fixed charges, interest, taxes, depreciation, and payments to the sinking fund.

Q. You have admitted, however, that the conditions in Great Britain are very different from those that obtain in America. How, then, can any fair inference be drawn from Glasgow's success?

A. I think we may fairly infer that public ownership of street railways here would cause a movement *in the same direction* as in Glasgow. If jackscrews worked ten hours beneath a house in the valley lift it three feet, we may not conclude either that the house will after such lifting stand as high as a house built upon the side of a hill, or that jackscrews worked ten hours under the hill house would raise it three feet, but we may fairly conclude that jackscrews properly placed and worked under the hill house *would lift it* SOME.

Numerous facts prove that public ownership here *does* produce effects similar in kind to those we have noted in Glasgow. In public business here, as elsewhere, the workers are freer, get more pay and work fewer hours than the employees of the great private monopolies. The public service is good, the charges are very low, and the profit, if any, belongs to the people. Nobody dreams that our roads and schools would be free, or letters carried for a two-cent stamp, if streets and schools and postal service were private property. Our water works and electric plants also make it clear that public ownership tends to lower rates, better service, and diffusion of benefit. The law of cause and effect is not dislocated by crossing the ocean.

The change from private to public ownership of a great monopoly means a *change of purpose* from *dividends for a few* to *service for all.* This change of purpose is the source of the improvement under public ownership in respect to cheaper transportation, a better paid and more contented citizenship, a fairer diffusion of wealth and power, etc. This change of purpose will accompany the change to public ownership here as well as in Europe or Australia, and, therefore, public ownership of the railways here will cause a movement in the same general direction as in Glasgow: Fares will be lower than they are now; wages higher; hours shorter; service better; traffic larger. And all the profits and benefits of the railway system will go to the public instead of a few individuals. The change may not be the same in *amount* as in Glasgow in respect to any item, but it will be a change *in the same direction.*

Q. If it would be so greatly to the city's interest to own and operate the railways, why are so many of the great daily papers either hostile or indifferent to municipal ownership?

A. Because the men that own and control them are stockholders in the street railways or other monopolies, or dependent on those interested in such monopolies for a large part of their profits.

Q. Why are the public, and especially the taxpayers, so indifferent to a question that so intimately affects their own pocketbooks?

A. Lack of specific information, partly. More largely lack of confidence in government and absence of hope and insight as to the means and prospects of improving it. More largely still, the submergence of public spirit, Christian altruism, and even intelligent self-interest, beneath the struggle for existence and the rush for individual wealth and mastery.

Q. What methods do you believe should be employed to inform the people of their rights and to impress upon them their duties in regard to this question?

A. Direct discussion of public ownership in newspaper, magazine, and book, pulpit, platform, and convention cannot fail to do good. Leading examples, such as the Glasgow tramways, New Zealand railroads, Wheeling gas works, Detroit electric plant, etc., add new vigor to the movement. The rapid growth of municipal ownership and sentiment favorable to it in Europe and America proves the potency of such influences. Over 500 cities own their gas works. In America alone about 400 municipalities operate electric plants, where in 1882 there was but one. Our public water works have risen from 1 in 16 in the year 1800 to 1,690 in 3,179 in the year 1896, or from 6.3 per cent. to 53.2 per cent. of the total. Besides the plants built public from the start, 205 have changed from private to public ownership, while only 20 have changed the other way. In Massachusetts 29 plants out of 67 have changed from private to public, and 75 per cent. of the water works are now public property. From 100 per cent. private to 75 per cent. public in less than a century is a very decided change. There was only one public tramline in Great Britain before 1893; from 1893 to 1895 four cities entered upon the operation of their street railways; from 1896 to 1898, inclusive, ten cities began to operate their tramways, besides a short line in London.

Nevertheless, powerful as discussions and examples in the direct line of public ownership have proved themselves to be, I do not regard them as the deepest or strongest influences at work. The tendency to union, organization, coördination, is irresistible;—the same power that builds the trusts, to get rid of one set of antagonisms, is establishing, and will establish, public ownership to get rid of another set of antagonisms. Increasing organization and widening coöperation are the test of advancing civilization, and it cannot be complete in any department of industry till it reaches the all-inclusive coöperation of public ownership, or of universal voluntary federation; and for *monopolies,* the simplest and easiest, and often the only practicable, way to attain the final union is through public ownership.

Deeper even than this industrial gravitation that is drawing us toward economic harmony lies the soul-gravitation that is drawing us toward the still richer harmony of sympathy and brotherhood. Deeper than any economic discussion or movement is the effort to make men realize that loving service makes life far richer than conquest, either military or commercial; that honor and happiness are measured by what we give the world, not by what we take from it; that love and brotherhood are the true solution of all social problems. When men are really brothers and love their neighbors as themselves, no private monopoly will be possible, no advantage by which a few may hold the many in subjection and live in luxury while others toil will be tolerated. Ennobled manhood will necessitate equal rights and privileges and the public ownership of all monopolies. Deepest of all lie the teaching and training of the young, so they shall not only understand the movements of their time and the difficulties and dangers that surround them, but shall be so filled with the power of love that they will not merely render it lip-homage one day in seven, but obey it with all their faculties every moment of their lives. The fundamental work is to implant in the mind of youth the ideal of loving service in place of the ideal of commercial conquest, and to register in their nervous systems the law of love till obedience to it becomes reflex. Back of every economic problem lies a moral question. Progress in either reacts upon the other. Every advance in real public ownership or coöperation eliminates antagonisms and helps the development of sympathy and brotherhood; and every advance in sympathy and brotherhood necessitates a further movement toward public ownership and coöperation. A nobler manhood is at once the richest result and the mightiest cause of public ownership and the transformation of mastery and servitude into fraternal partnership.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

FREEDOM AND GROWTH THROUGH CO-OPERATION.

I. The Warfare of Two World-Ideas.

Periods of unrest and revolution are usually dominated by some one idea, which becomes the key-note of progress for the hour. The Reformation had for its talismanic word, freedom of thought, the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience. The American Revolution was dominated by the wider idea of liberty as applied to government. It demanded primarily that there should be no taxation without representation, and asserted that liberty and self-government were fundamental and inalienable rights. The economic revolution in England in the forties had for its key-note, freedom in trade; and the civilization-wide social agitation in the opening years of the twentieth century has for its magic word, co-operation, or industrial freedom.

During the darkest hour of the war for American independence, when after a lengthy and earnest discussion our patriotic fathers in council had reached a memorable decision, some one said, "Now, brothers, we must all hang together;" and I think it was Benjamin Franklin who replied, "Yes, or if we do not we will all hang separately."

There are everywhere evidences that the more thoughtful labor leaders, as well as the far-seeing friends of social progress, realize that commercial feudalism has now reached such a stage that unless prompt measures are taken we will soon be struggling with a despotism in which the machinery of government will be used to further a system that shall month by month increase the enormous wealth of the few, and as surely, though less rapidly, serve to push the millions of the wealth-creators to a condition of absolute dependence upon "the masters of the bread." The drift of the age is so strongly toward coöperation and combination that he is blind indeed who fails to see that the old competitive system is dead beyond resurrection. The one economic question which the immediate future must meet is whether our vast resources are to be operated by a few individuals for the benefit of a few, or whether they shall be operated so as to yield a just and equitable return to all who create wealth, and thereby abolish uninvited poverty and create environments that will favor free men and women and enable them to possess a stake in the land, while growing in body, mind, and soul, without the ever-haunting fear of poverty through withdrawal of opportunities to earn a livelihood. To-day it lies in the power of the thoughtful among the wealth-creators to inaugurate a coöperative movement that will speedily spread and carry with it not only the promise but the realization of that economic freedom without which the shell of our republican institutions must become as much a mockery as was that of Florence under the de Medici family, Milan under Sforza, or Venice under the Council of Ten. The present seems to mark the advent of a reign of trusts and monopolies, which, if unchecked, will soon result in a despotism of capital quite as real and galling, even if less obvious, than the rule of an absolute despot. But, side by side with this seeming ascendency of the self-engrossed and materialistic commercialism now rampant, there are innumerable signs indicating the awakening of the conscience of hundreds of thousands of our most intelligent and thoughtful citizens and a growing realization of the peril that confronts not only free institutions but also the rising generation which now clusters around the hearthstones of the Republic. Men are looking in all directions for some way out, for some door that opens onto the highway of progress and through which the people may pass without the ruin, the misery, and the wanton destruction which mark all revolutions of force. And many of the clearest-sighted among these thinkers see in an intelligent coöperative movement among the workingmen of the urban and agrarian regions the promise of a peaceful revolution which will at once save to the Republic the proud heritage of progress while doing much to reinstate her in the position which she held for more than half a century as the leader of freedom's hosts—the pioneer in the advance guard of civilization. The drift of the age is toward combination; hence, little is to be hoped for from any movement at war with the mighty onward-sweeping current of the time. In the field of coöperative work England has shown the way, as she has led in many things since our Republic began to lose the power of initiative.

II. Co-operation In Great Britain.

In England, as has been shown by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, the coöperative factories, farms, gardens, and distributing stores have in a single generation assumed commanding proportions. The membership of the coöperative associations of Great Britain is one-seventh of the entire population, and it is further stated that the business and manufactures now carried on amount to over $270,000,000 a year. They have their own banks, the deposits of which amount to over $16,000,000, and they are turning over $200,000,000 a year. More than this, they are opening the windows of hope for hundreds of thousands of toil-ennobled men and women. They are establishing libraries, reading-rooms, schools, and are carrying on an educational propaganda of inestimable value. Only the other day a clergyman of the Church of England, who has recently returned from a summer visit to the old country, said to me in the course of a conversation: "If you wish to see real social progress, you must go to England. The growth of sentiment in favor of municipal ownership and control of public utilities is something wonderful, and the progress the people are making in coöperative industries was a revelation to me."

The victory won by the coöperative associations, which have in recent years become so powerful, was preceded by many disheartening defeats. Indeed, success was only attained after a succession of failures at which commercialism heartily laughed, and the prophets of night croaked gleefully at the verification of their confident predictions. To-day the foes of coöperation have ceased to cry, "I told you so." The workingmen of England, or rather such noble and unselfish pioneers as John Jacob Holyoake and his associates, who sank all thought of self and gave their lives to what was called a Utopian idea until they wrung victory from defeat, have actualized for all future generations the dream that conventionalism insisted could never be anything but a chimera. What England has done America will do. And more than this, when our people once become imbued with the spirit of coöperation; when they come to see how it will ennoble our millions and give again to the bread-winners of America that hope which gilded the life of earlier generations, when all men found opportunity for success in the vast and undeveloped resources of our virgin land; when they come to see that through coöperation and combination for mutual benefit the happiness of the whole people can be conserved without the shock and ruin of revolution, we will see hundreds of our leading thinkers and a large proportion of our young men and women uniting with the thoughtful artisans in a great concerted movement which will awaken a degree of moral enthusiasm not seen in this nation during the last generation and which will make success inevitable.

III. A Significant Meeting In Faneuil Hall.

Signs are not wanting which indicate that the spirit of coöperation is already taking root in the imagination and reason of our people. Early in last December a very significant meeting was held under the auspices of the Workers' Coöperative Association in Faneuil Hall. The night was exceedingly inclement, but several hundred thoughtful men and women gathered in the old Cradle of Liberty. There were addresses by a number of prominent men, among whom were the eminent Unitarian divine, Rev. Edward A. Horton; Mr. Edwin D. Mead, the scholarly editor of the *New England Magazine;* Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd, whose "Wealth Vs. Commonwealth," "Labor Co-partnership," and other authoritative works have made his name a household word in America; Mr. George F. Washburn, the president of the Boston Bryan Club, and the Rev. Hiram Vrooman, president of the Workers' Coöperative Association. The Rev. George C. Lorimer, the distinguished Baptist divine, had promised to address the meeting, but illness prevented his attendance. He sent a letter, however, expressing his hearty sympathy with the work;—something that was hardly necessary, inasmuch as Dr. Lorimer has long been an outspoken champion of coöperation. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale also sent a letter expressing his sympathy with the enterprise.

There is in Boston, as in all great cities, a large number of the members of the various trades organizations who are from time to time out of employment, either for a few days or perhaps for weeks and sometimes months at a time. The Workers' Coöperative Association is composed very largely of members of the Building Trades Union, and it is proposed to inaugurate the movement by arranging for the employment of builders, or workmen acquainted with building, who would otherwise be out of employment. The laborers will be paid the current union scale of prices for the work done, but they will receive, in lieu of cash, checks representing shares of ownership in the building erected. In this way the members of the Association, instead of being idle, will be securing a permanent interest in a great building whose rental will earn them a handsome per cent. and which will be a certain source of revenue. In the course of an earnest address Mr. George F. Washburn not only heartily indorsed the plan, but offered in the name of his clothing firm to accept $10,000 worth of these labor checks for full face value at the Washburn clothing store. He expressed the belief that other firms would also be glad to accept these certificates in exchange for groceries and other needed commodities. In his address the Rev. Hiram Vrooman spoke as follows concerning the present situation and the immediate purposes of the Association:

"The president of the Ruskin hall movement of Oxford, England, who is now establishing educational centers in the various parts of this country, has proposed that this Association construct for the uses of Ruskin hall a building which Ruskin hall shall permanently lease, paying a rent sufficient to insure us six per cent. interest on our capital invested. As most of you know, Ruskin hall is a labor college, and the only college officially indorsed and recognized by organized labor in Great Britain, and by the coöperative movement of England, which does an annual business of $300,000,000.

"Perhaps the special thing that you want to know from me to-night, as president of the Association, is the definite things we contemplate doing, and how we are going to do them. We have a magnificent offer from Mr. Washburn to redeem our labor checks at their par value in merchandise. We have this other offer from Ruskin hall, guaranteeing a splendid dividend upon whatever capital we may invest in the erection of a building suitable to its needs. Furthermore, several men prominent in the ranks of organized labor here in Boston have requested our Association to erect a large labor temple in the center of the city. They have told us that for some years the question of erecting a labor temple has been agitated among the various unions. The various labor organizations of the city combined are now paying annually in the form of rent for accommodations, which in many instances are unsuitable for their purposes, something like $30,000. This rent is sufficient to pay interest upon a capital that would erect a magnificent edifice, in which all the various bodies of organized labor in the city might have commodious offices, rooms, and halls.

"In this city there is also great need for a central employment bureau, to be conducted honestly and to be commensurate with the needs of the public. The conducting of an employment bureau of this nature would be eminently fitting for this Association. I feel that I may safely say here to-night that the first building operations which this Association will undertake will be the erection of a Ruskin hall and labor temple. Both buildings can be merged into one, and the labor college and this Association can be of great mutual help. In this labor temple commodious apartments for an ideal employment bureau can be provided; and, furthermore, store rooms on the bottom floor can be built which can be very profitably rented, or, if so desired, can be used by the Association at headquarters for its work in coöperative distribution, such as the conducting of coöperative stores.

"In carrying on building operations the Association will buy with cash the necessary land and materials for building. It will utilize the surplus labor on the market in the erection of its buildings, paying the prevailing union scale of wages in the form of labor checks, but with the understanding that all the profits accruing from the building enterprise are to be distributed in addition to wages proportionately among the holders of these labor checks. Thus, the workingmen of the city of Boston who participate in the erection of this Ruskin hall and labor temple will themselves own the equity in the building; thus, it will be built by workmen and owned by workmen. I predict that the higher class of workmen in the city of Boston who spend their otherwise idle days upon the building of this Ruskin hall and labor temple will work with an enthusiasm equal to that of the old-time Jews when they were building the walls of Jerusalem.

"The cash that the Association will need for purchasing land and building material will be borrowed partly from the membership fees of active members, partly from labor unions, partly from workmen who have money in the savings banks, and from others interested in the enterprise, and partly from loaning corporations. The Association will pay for the use of this borrowed capital the market rate of interest, and give the building as security for these loans.

"There are many other undertakings which the Association is contemplating as soon as these just mentioned are successfully under way, such, for instance, as erecting model workingmen's homes and cultivating idle lands adjacent to Boston."

Perhaps the ablest address of this meeting was made by Henry Demarest Lloyd, who is one of the best informed thinkers on coöperative affairs of our time. Mr. Lloyd insisted that coöperation is no longer an experiment. On the contrary, he asserted among other things that—

"It is our most successful social movement outside of politics. . . Its development in the stores of England, the People's banks of the continent of Europe, the Farmers' selling and buying associations in Germany and France, the creameries and other agricultural societies of

Ireland, is the marvel of the times, and the latest reports show the growth to be now greater than ever before. . . .

"'Failure is the road to success' is a lesson the coöperators have learned by heart. The world belongs to those who can combine, and in an age of universal combination, from international to industrial, the workingmen and farmers and other producers must combine or perish. . . .

"If coöperation continues to accelerate its growth in the stores, factories, banks, and farms of the world as it has done in the last fifty years, it can be but a question of a few generations when it will occupy practically the whole industrial, commercial, and financial field—it will own the earth—and it will be an equal figure in human affairs with the government of the world. It has, in fact, already been styled by a great English statesman, 'The State within the State.' The workingmen—the common people—have proved themselves capable of furnishing all the business ability requisite for business, and the political economy of coöperation is proving itself in vital ways superior to the political economy of the competitive system.

"Best of all, in this effort of coöperation to realize a world of wealth and brotherhood within the warring world of poverty and competition all classes are laboring together, workingmen and large employers, trades-unionists, socialists, great dignitaries of the Church like the clergymen here to-night and the Bishop of Durham of England, secularists like John Jacob Holyoake, earls, countesses, commoners, all coöperating in a work which avows its purpose and hope to be the establishment of a new social order in which all men shall be workers and all workers shall be partners."

IV. WHY CO-OPERATIVE EXPERIMENTS HAVE FAILED IN THE PAST.

Enemies of coöperation often urge that, whatever may be the success of coöperative associations in England or other foreign lands, there is no reason to hope for success here, because various attempts in the past have failed. There is, however, no real ground for this assumption. In England the wonderful success achieved was only gained after successive failures of the most discouraging character—failures that would have dismayed even the stoutest hearts, had the leading spirits not been philosophers enough to discern that the trend or current of modern life was in the direction of combination and the socialization of industry and business. At first the coöperators failed, but they possessed faith based on knowledge that the great triumphs of the age rested on combination, and that here lay the way to victory; and they persevered until they have won a degree of success that challenges the admiration of the world, though they recognize that the victories are as yet small indeed compared with what they will be in the course of a few years.

In America there have been a number of sporadic attempts at coöperation, some of them of a paternal character, in which philanthropic and idealistic philosophers sought to realize the dream of a better social order, based on brotherhood,—as, for example, Mr. Robert Owen's noteworthy attempt to establish a social community early in the nineteenth century at New Harmony, Ind., and the Brook Farm experiment at Boston. In recent years there have been several efforts to establish communal or socialistic colonies by groups of workers. Here, however, the colonists have gone away from the markets. They have attracted men and women of strenuous and inflexible ideals, many of whom aspired to be leaders and most of whom had fallen into the unhappy habit of criticizing and condemning almost everything in life. These elements have carried with them the seeds of discord and discontent, which, when added to the other disadvantages—the poverty of the community, the inexperience in business on the part of the leaders, and the distance of the communities from available markets—were quite sufficient to explain the failures. Then, again, we must remember that they were made while the competitive age still prevailed and before the tide of coöperation and combination had practically won in the hard-fought fields of commerce and business. To-day it is no longer a warfare between competition and combination. We have passed that stage. The question is whether or not the world's business shall be controlled by a few and for the benefit of a few—whether we are to have a feudalism of capital—or whether the business of the world is to be conducted by all for the benefit of all. On the one hand are vassalage, poverty, and misery for the millions, a lower standard of morality, a disappearance of the spirit of independence, a weakening of the intellectual development of the masses, existing by the side of a commercial oligarchy far more arrogant than were the barons of the Middle Ages or the autocratic council in the so-called republic of Venice. On the other hand, under coöperation, or mutualism, the work of the world can be done and well done in such a manner that all who toil shall be independent and prosperous, while liberty shall mean far more than a name, and all citizens shall have ample time and the necessary opportunity for the development of the best that is in them.

THE STAGE OF YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

Not long ago a friend, a representative of that class who live largely in the mystic past, expressed his regret that our stage had deteriorated so much that it was no longer an inspiration or the source of pleasure to him. "Ah!" he continued, "think of the old days, when Edwin Forrest, Charlotte Cushman, and Charles Fechter walked the boards, and later, when Edwin Booth, John McCullough, and the elder Salvini made the stage an education for theater-goers. Whom have we now, and what is there to be seen?" Such criticisms, with slight variations, are continually heard; nor is it altogether surprising. The human mind is prone to magnify the glories of other days. Distance lends enchantment, and all literature bears testimony to the fact that "there were giants in those days." Even old Homer scored the pygmies of his time. In speaking of one of the feats of the heroes around the walls of Troy, he says:

> "Not ten strong men th' enormous weight could raise,
> Such men as live in these degenerate days."

And so it has ever been. The giants lived in the yesterday of the world, the pygmies in the to-day.

This peculiarity of the human mind in part explains the popular criticism of the modern stage. It is only just, however, to observe that during the last sixty years there were many interpreters of the greatest classic rôles who were in the truest sense of the term masters of their art; and yet, taken as a whole, the general standard of excellence in the interpretation of the rôles, other than that assumed by the star, is incomparably better than it was even eighteen or twenty years ago. I remember seeing Edwin Booth play a round of his great characters in the early eighties, when, aside from the delight which I derived from his splendid interpretations, I can candidly say that nothing afforded me more pleasure than the frequent taking off of the leading members of the cast, whose wretched interpretations outraged the artistic feelings of the spectators and robbed the play of all pretense of being a great piece of art work. And what was true of the support of Edwin Booth's company, before Mr. Field and the late Lawrence Barrett managed our greatest Shakespearian interpreter, was measurably true of the casts of most of the other stars.

Now, to-day, with a large cast of almost uniformly excellent artists, it is doubtless true that the really great work of the leading actors does not impress the average theater-goer so much as it would should the star be surrounded by less competent actors; but the audience would lose the satisfaction now enjoyed by a splendid piece of well-rounded art work which adds in a real way to the culture of the auditor. And what is more, the American stage to-day boasts of a large number of young men and women who I believe are destined to rank with the foremost artists of the olden time. It was my fortune to witness more than two-score performances of Edwin Booth, the actor who in my judgment towered above all other interpreters of Shakespeare. I also enjoyed seeing in their principal rôles John McCullough, Lawrence Barrett, the elder Salvini, Sir Henry Irving, Mary Anderson, and many others of the great stage favorites of yesterday. Hence I feel I am warranted in comparing the work of the past with that of the present; and while nothing is further from my purpose than seeking to minimize the splendid achievements of the great actors of the last generation, I feel that not only does the stage to-day represent a higher degree of general excellence than ever before, not only are there more true artists and more performances that are in a real sense works of art, capable of affording genuine delight while adding materially to the education of the spectator, but the standard of manhood and womanhood, the general culture and the ideals of the dramatic profession are as a whole higher than at any previous time in the history of the drama in America.

Nor is our stage as weak as those who mourn the poverty of dramatic genius in "these degenerate days" imagine. In another generation the elder theater-goers of the New York and the Boston of to-day will be saying: "Ah! if you could have witnessed Minnie Maddern Fiske in 'Becky Sharp' you would have seen something you could never have forgotten. 'Vanity Fair' took on new interest after her great creation. Could you have seen Sarah Bernhardt and Coquelin as they interpreted famous rôles in the season of 1900-'01, you would have known what great acting was. Could you have seen Joseph Jefferson in 'Rip Van Winkle,' James A. Herne in 'Sag Harbor,' E. S. Willard in 'The Middleman,' E. H. Sothern in 'Hamlet,' Richard Mansfield in 'A Parisian Romance,' Viola Allen as *Glory Quayle*, or a score of other actors who made the stage of the first year of this century memorable, you would have realized what great acting was."

Now, as a matter of fact, with the exception of Bernhardt, I have witnessed the performance of no actress during the last twenty years whose interpretation could compare as an artistic creation with Mrs. Fiske's *Becky Sharp;* and I doubt not that many of those whose good work we thoroughly enjoy to-day, but whom we are not in the habit of associating with the heroes of yesterday, will hold a high place in the pantheon of art when seen through the glamour of vanished years. Gerald Massey has crowded much truth into the following lines, which we will do well to remember when disposed to make comparisons between the masters of the past and the great dramatic interpreters of to-day:

> To those who walk beside them, great men seem
> Mere common earth; but distance makes them stars.
> As dying limbs do lengthen out in death,
> So grows the stature of their after-fame;
> And then we gather up their glorious words,
> And treasure up their names with loving care.

There is another fact about the stage of to-day worthy of notice. I think those who have closely followed the best dramatic work of recent years will agree that at no time in the past has the stage been able to boast of anything like the large number of young men and women whose present work promises great things for the future. Actors like James K. Hackett, Henry Miller, William Faversham, Viola Allen, Bertha Galland, and a score of others who might be named, form a group of fine young artists which we believe it would be difficult for the stage of any nation in earlier times to have equaled. And their interpretations hold the promise of great achievements in the not distant future—achievements which will broaden and deepen the culture of the people and prove an educational factor of great importance in the coming years.

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A REPRESENTATIVE YOUNG AMERICAN ACTOR.

Believing as we do that the stage will more and more become a vital factor in the civilization of the twentieth century, and also that its influence on the public mind to-day is far greater than most people imagine, we propose to notice from time to time the work of representative young men and women whose conscientious and capable interpretations on what is almost the threshold of their professional careers seem to promise artistic triumphs of the first order in the coming years; and we open this series of short sketches with a brief notice of James K. Hackett, who in the title-rôles of "The Prisoner of Zenda," "Rupert of Hentzau," and "The Pride of Jennico" has scored such pronounced successes that he already ranks among the best representatives of the romantic drama on the American stage to-day. It was recently my privilege to witness Mr. Hackett in "The Pride of Jennico." A friend had sung his praises to me in no uncertain phrases, and she furthermore informed me that he was one of the handsomest men on the American stage. Perhaps this enthusiastic estimate led me to expect too much in the personal appearance of the young actor, and occasioned a distinctly disappointed feeling when the romantic hero came upon the stage. I was expecting to see a larger man, or one of more commanding presence than he presented. I remembered how the personality and magnetism of the younger Salvini took hold of his audiences when he appeared as *Romeo, Claude Melnotte,* or *D'Artagnan;* and behind the vision of that gifted young actor, whom death called from us while the flush of early manhood still lingered on his brow, rose the memory of Edwin Booth, in such great rôles as *Hamlet* and *Lear;* of John McCullough in "Virginius" and "The Gladiator;" of the elder Salvini in "Othello," and of other well-known actors who instantly attracted attention and compelled the audience to follow their work with the keenest interest, either by their strong and subtle magnetism, by their transcendent genius, or by a personality that dominated all else on the stage. When Mr. Hackett entered I felt nothing of the witchery wrought by a commanding presence, or the indefinable magnetism which instantly influences an audience. True, he possessed a fine stage presence, and the opening lines were well rendered; yet there was nothing remarkable in his work during the early part of the first scene, and at times I wondered whether he possessed that reserve power which is sometimes locked up in a simple and unassuming exterior only to leap forth when the demand comes, even as in war a peasant youth oftentimes rises full-statured in heroic majesty at a supreme crisis. As the act proceeded, however, hints were not wanting that spoke of power, while the intelligent and discriminating interpretation, devoid of the offense of over-acting, threw a charm over me. I was in the presence of an artist, and that alone was a delight.

As the play progressed, and strong situations developed, the effect upon the audience was as interesting as it was noticeable. The actor soon won their sympathy and held it by that strange and subtle power which genius and art are capable of throwing over the imagination of a multitude. The cold and critical interest gave place to a warm, enthusiastic appreciation which reminded me of the influence which the late John Bright was said to exert over the vast concourses of people who hung upon his words. It is stated that usually those who had heard of the eloquence of the most famous parliamentary orator of the time were greatly disappointed when he began to speak, for he was very deliberate, avoiding all attempts at effect, confining himself almost entirely to simple Saxon words. He had a great cause to defend or a plea to make, and he addressed the reason and the higher moral sentiments of his hearers. He calmly advanced argument after argument, until the disappointment of the auditor was wholly lost in the wrapt interest he had created in the great cause he was presenting; and long before he reached his magnificent peroration, the like of which few if any orators of modern times have approached, he had completely won over the most captious. They had forgotten all save the great theme so grandly presented. Such triumphs are due alone to genius, or the mastery of an art which appeals to the emotional nature, and he who is able to win, hold, and carry with him a critical audience has achieved a real victory.

Now, a young actor who for weeks in succession can hold enthralled large critical assemblies without stooping to questionable methods, without catering to low tastes or seeking by spectacular effects to stimulate interest, wins a worthy victory and displays power that promises much in future years. To me it seemed that Mr. Hackett possesses many of the elements necessary to great achievements in his chosen profession. He is evidently a man of imagination, and this essential in artist, poet, or actor is supplemented by the habits of a student who is afraid of no exacting work that promises success. He is ambitious and conscientious in his desire to win an honorable place among the great actors who have made our stage justly illustrious. He possesses great reserve power, and he succeeds in a marked degree where most young actors who essay melodrama fail—he rarely over-acts. This is one of the great charms of his work and a virtue so seldom seen upon the romantic stage that it merits special notice. For one so young his success has been phenomenal, for as yet he is only thirty-one years of age, having been born in Ontario in 1869, when his father was sixty-nine years old.

He is the son of the well-known actor, James Henry Hackett, whose *Falstaff* was one of the histrionic triumphs of the American stage. His father died when the son was only two years of age. His half-brother, John K. Hackett, became a successful lawyer, and for nineteen years held the important office of recorder in the city of New York. On reaching the age when it became necessary for him to decide as to his profession in life, James found it difficult to choose between the stage and law. His father's calling held a strong fascination for him. His brother's success, position, and influence led him to look with favor upon law, especially as circumstances promised early advancement should he adopt that profession. While undecided he entered the College of New York City, and graduated from that institution in 1891, taking the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Next he entered the New York Law School and decided to prepare himself for that profession, though he had not as yet given up the idea of going upon the stage. Indeed, during his college days he had been foremost among the students in all the amateur dramatic entertainments. Although perhaps he was not ready to admit it, the drama was already throwing its fascination over his imagination. While attending the law school he received an injury in a game of football which laid him up for some time, and during his convalescence he definitely decided to abandon all thought of law and adopt the dramatic profession.

He made his debut in A. M. Palmer's old stock company, in 1892, and rose rapidly into prominence. He was a member of Lotta's company when that popular actress fell seriously ill. Later we find him belonging to Augustin Daly's well-known organization, and he was Minnie Seligman's leading support on her first starring tour. He also embarked in some touring adventures in the Southwest and in the British provinces, which were either negative successes or disastrous failures. He first won favor in New York in the character of *de Neiperged* in "Madam Sans Gene." His place was now assured among excellent and capable young actors, but it was not until he appeared as *Rudolph Rassendyll* in "The Prisoner of Zenda," then being played by the Lyceum Theater Company, that he had the opportunity to show, under favorable circumstances, how well a young man can assume a difficult and somewhat exacting part. His success was so pronounced that he became the leading man in the Lyceum Company, appearing successfully in a number of rôles.

While playing in "The Princess and the Butterfly" he was stricken with typhoid fever, and it was during this illness that his marriage to Miss Mary Mannering, who is now starring in "Janice Meredith," was publicly announced. On his recovery he starred in "The Tree of Knowledge" and in "Rupert of Hentzau." Last year he produced "The Pride of Jennico," which had a run of one hundred and seventy-five nights in New York City. This season he is starring in this play, but next September he will appear under his own management in an entirely new drama.

The career of Mr. Hackett is in many ways typical of the best side of American youth. It affords a happy illustration of what concentration of purpose, hard work, courage, and determination can achieve. Young as he is, Mr. Hackett has made more than one failure where, with the superb faith of youth, he had anticipated positive success. One less determined and stout-hearted might have become discouraged, but, with that dauntless spirit which has made America great and which is the proud heritage of our people, he made his failures stepping-stones to success. He who carries this superb courage into life, who concentrates his every energy on one worthy end, and, laying the best that is in him on the altar of his chosen profession, consecrates labor and ennobles art, will succeed. Failures are to him the clouds that pass over the sun; they are transient, for fate has promised to him the laurel wreath if he be true to the love of the best and carry through life the lion heart of youth.

* * *

HOW THE REPUBLIC IS DRIFTING FROM THE MOORINGS OF FREEDOM.

"Where a great regular army exists," says Lord Macaulay, "a limited monarchy can exist no longer. The sovereign is at once emancipated from what had been the chief restraint on his power, and he inevitably becomes absolute, unless he is subjected to checks such as would be superfluous in a society where all are soldiers occasionally and none permanently."

A large standing army is the bulwark of tyranny, and the lesson of history offers us no justification for the expectation that our government will prove an exception to the rule, and long remain free with a large standing army. What Lord Macaulay declares concerning this menace to freedom in a limited monarchy is equally true of a republic in which great monopolies may have a potential voice in the shaping of administrative policies, and we may rest assured that if we have become so morally anesthetized that we acquiesce in the new doctrine that it is right for soldiers under the Stars and Stripes to wage a cruel war against a people whose only crime is their love for freedom and that they insist on following the example of our own fathers, we will be expected to feel the strong military arm, if its use will advance ambitious men in their designs for power or grasping monopolies in the suppression of popular resistance to oppression and extortions.

The military bill, for which the war being waged by our government against the liberty-loving Filipinos is made the excuse, is in our judgment one of the gravest mistakes which Congress has made in its whole history. But bad as is the increase of the standing army, that evil is even less menacing than the precedent established by Congress in delegating to the President rights which should under all circumstances be sacredly and jealously guarded by the representatives of the people in the two houses of Congress. On this momentous point we are glad to note that even some of the most ultra-conservative papers of the land have taken alarm and are raising solemn protests. The New York *Nation,* for example, in a recent editorial, utters this timely warning:

> "The growing tendency of Congress to shirk responsibility by shifting it onto the President's shoulders is perhaps the most alarming sign of the decay of republican government noted for a long time. The Republican Philadelphia *Ledger* sees in it a real ground for the charge of Imperialism, and finds it 'shocking testimony' to the ability of Jingoism to lead us away from the spirit which should actuate men of republican beliefs living in a democracy. It does not believe that Mr. McKinley will abuse the privileges given to him, but it rightly fears the result of setting so un-American a precedent as to confer on him, respecting the size of our army, greater power than the German Emperor's, who cannot add a single soldier to his army. A proof of this is that the Reichstag has been teeming with protests during the last month against the unauthorized despatch of a volunteer East Asiatic corps to China, and the defenders of the German Constitution have been outspoken in their attack upon this violation of its sanctity, using the very same arguments which apply to our own case. What a change has come over the spirit of our institutions when those who stand for its organic law can make common cause with the most liberal subjects of what we have so long

considered a 'down-trodden' monarchy! It is already 'feared' in Administration circles in Washington that Congress may, after all, limit the President's power to raise armies to two years. We trust that it will not even give him this power for two days."

The new doctrine that the Constitution does not follow the flag, that a republic can remain a republic and yet adopt the colonial system of imperial governments, that it can insist on holding subject peoples and yet be true to the fundamental principles upon which it was builded, and that it is right to crush with the strong military arm a people struggling to enjoy that which our own Declaration of Independence declares to be an inalienable right of all peoples, ought to be sufficient to show the most slow-thinking patriot how rapidly the great Republic is drifting away from the ancient moorings, and also to what shore this evil current is bearing her.

* * *

UNTRUE TO HER MISSION.

On the arrival of Mr. Kruger in Paris, Senator Fabre presented him with a copy of his "Life of Washington," dedicated—

> "To the grand old man who, by his struggles and persistency, recalls Washington, and to whom France has given the same enthusiastic welcome as was given to Franklin, regretting that she has been unable up to the present to coöperate in the foundation of the United States of South Africa as she coöperated in the foundation of the United States of America."

Is it possible that the canker of sordid commercialism has eaten so deeply into the heart of our people that the above incident, coupled with the knowledge of the attitude of our government toward the little republics of South Africa in their heroic struggle to maintain free self-government, brings no sense of bitter humiliation or indignation to the conscience of the nation? Had our Republic shown fidelity to her traditions and her glorious mission by generously aiding the Filipinos to realize their long-cherished dream of self-government, while extending at least the moral support of the government to the republics of South Africa, the real position of the United States as a world power would have been a hundredfold greater than it is to-day, while she would have vindicated her high claim to the place of leadership among the nations that are pressing toward the goal to which permanent civilization must move.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

ECCENTRICITIES OF GENIUS. By Major J. B. Pond. Illustrated with over 90 portraits of men and women. Cloth, 564 pp. Price, $3.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

A Book Study.

In his new work entitled "Eccentricities of Genius," Major Pond marshals before the reader in a most pleasing and interesting way the great men and women who during the last fifty years have made the lecture platform one of the positive educational factors in American life. Few of us begin to realize how much the lyceum has contributed to the real culture of our people, and it is well that the man of all men best qualified intelligently to introduce to the rising generation so many of the master minds of the last half century has essayed this task, and in so doing has succeeded so admirably. The volume is rich in luminous pen pictures and characterizations of more than four-score men and women who molded the thought and conscience of millions of people. To be brought into sympathetic touch with many of the finest and truest leaders of thought is in itself an inspiration, and happily the author of this work understands how to bring out the strong points in the life he is dealing with, while he spices his descriptions with a rich fund of anecdotes which further serve to illustrate the character he is discussing. In most instances Major Pond dwells lovingly upon those of whom he writes. We are brought very near to the heart-life of many of whom we may have known but little beyond the splendid intellectual powers or moral enthusiasm which have been the common heritage and one of the chief glories of the last two generations. Occasionally the reader is made uncomfortable by some revelations that tend to shatter his idol; for the author, though evidently conscientious and just, is also frank, as the admirers of Charles Sumner, the Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, and Charles Spurgeon will agree. Yet his criticisms do not go beyond his personal experiences, and the great part of the volume consists of glowing descriptions and pleasing stories relating to one of the most brilliant coteries of thought-molders known to modern times. Very fine indeed are his sympathetic characterizations of John B. Gough, Wendell Phillips, and Henry Ward Beecher, whom he terms "the triumvirate of lecture kings."

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* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

His treatment of Henry Ward Beecher is perhaps the finest and most interesting part of the volume. The two men were intimate friends. Few persons, indeed, came nearer to the heart of the great Plymouth pastor than did Major Pond. The affection of the two men was much like that of brothers, and in our author's story of Beecher on the lecture platform we have a description in which an intimate knowledge of the character of his subject, a sincere admiration for the great preacher's intellectual ability, and a deep love for the man are delightfully blended. Many are the charming anecdotes given relating to the days when the Major and the greatest pulpit orator of America were together. In Richmond, Va., they had an exciting experience. It was in 1877. Beecher had never spoken below the Mason and Dixon line, and his recent trouble in New York had done much to arouse a new antagonistic public sentiment. In all towns there were many ready to think that the worst that had been charged was true. The South was naturally disposed to credit the scandal, for her people had not forgotten the stand which Beecher and Plymouth pulpit took during the anti-slavery days. Mr. Powell, who was the proprietor of the theater at Richmond, soon found that public sentiment was so bitter against the minister that it would be dangerous for him to appear. He wired Major Pond, who with Mr. Beecher was then at Baltimore, not to come; but as the manager and lecturer were then *en route,* they continued their journey. At the hotel in Richmond Mr. Beecher was treated in a highly discourteous manner, even by the servants. They found that no tickets had been sold, and Mr. Powell declined to take the responsibility of the lecture, whereupon Major Pond agreed to cancel the contract provided the manager would let him have the theater for that night. To this proposal Mr. Powell readily agreed. Announcements were made, but no one would sell tickets or keep the door. "The Legislature, then in session, passed an informal vote that none of them would go near the theater. The Tobacco Board did the same." Major Pond had to be ticket-seller and doorkeeper. But curiosity is as strong in the South as in the North. At an early hour people began to come, and soon a great crowd had assembled. One surprising fact was that about all the members of the Legislature, and all the Tobacco Board, were among the early purchasers of tickets. Each man, supposing that the others would not be present, decided to slip in and hear for himself the much-talked-of orator. I will now let our author relate his experiences:

> The time came for me to go after Mr. Beecher. I had no doorkeeper, but the theater was full of men and my pockets were stuffed with dollars, so I left the door to take care of itself. I found him ready. While in the carriage on our way from the hotel to the theater not a word passed between us, and during the day neither of us had spoken of the situation. When we arrived at the stage door of the theater the dozen policemen were keeping the crowd back. As we alighted from the carriage at the door, a yell went up. We met Mr. Powell on the stage. He called me to one side and said:
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> "Don't you introduce Mr. Beecher. The gallery is full of eggs. You will have trouble."

I stepped into the waiting-room. Mr. Beecher said: "Go ahead; I am ready."

I walked on the stage and he followed. As we sat down I saw the theater full of men only. The crowd was disposed to be uncivil. Canes began to rake the baluster of the balcony railing, and feet to pound the floor, and in less than a minute a yell fairly shook the theater. Mr. Beecher signaled me to proceed. I stood a moment for them to get quiet, and then introduced him to his first Virginia audience.

Mr. Beecher was to speak on "Hard Times," but had decided to change the subject to the "Ministry of Wealth." As he arose and stepped toward the footlights, another yell went up. He stood unmoved, and waited for some time; finally a lull came, and he began. He said that there was a natural law that brains and capital controlled the commercial world, and it could not be changed even by the Virginia Legislature, which opened with prayer and closed with the benediction. The Legislature were all there, and the public, like any other public, were ready to accept any good-natured drive at the Legislature.

It was not many minutes before the audience was in full sympathy with the speaker, and for two and a half hours Mr. Beecher addressed that crowd, swaying them with his mighty eloquence and telling them such truths as they never before had listened to. His peroration was a tribute to the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Mother of Presidents, her history and her people, and closed with a brief retrospect: how she had prospered when she set her mark high and bred her sons for Presidents and position, but how changed when she came to breed men for the market; how manfully and nobly her worthy sons had kissed the sod, and how sad had been her lot. But in all her prosperity and adversity God had not forsaken her. Industry brought prosperity, and soon, very soon, Virginia was to be one of the brightest stars in the constellation of States.

Such applause and cheers as he got during that address I have never heard before or since.

He stepped off the stage and into the carriage, and we were in our rooms at the hotel before half the audience could get out of the theater.

After getting to his room Mr. Beecher threw himself back in a large chair in front of a blazing wood fire and laughingly said:

"Don't you think we have captured Richmond?"

He had no more than spoken when the door opened and a crowd of men came rushing in. My first impression was that it was a mob, as it did not seem that there had been time for them to come from the theater; but I was mistaken.

The foremost was a tall man with a slouch hat. (They were all in slouch hats.) He said:

"Mr. Beecher, this is our 'Leftenant'-Governor. We have come to thank you for that great speech. This is our member for So-and-so, and this is Judge Harris," and so on, introducing a score or more of prominent Virginians.

"Mr. Beecher, we want you to stay and speak for us to-morrow evening. We want our women to hear you," etc.

Mr. Beecher was in his most happy humor. He shook the Virginians warmly by the hand. He told them that he was announced for Washington the following evening, and his time was all booked for the season. They offered to raise $500 if he would remain over. The following morning at seven o'clock many Virginians were at the station to see him off. All the morning papers contained extensive synopses of the lecture and favorable notices.

The following is a characteristic incident, which speaks volumes for the heart of the great minister:

On August 18, 1883, Mr. Beecher lectured in Butte City, Mont. We arrived by an early train, went directly to the hotel, and Mr. Beecher retired to his room to lie down. While Mr. Beecher was sleeping in the forenoon the proprietor of the hotel told me there was a lady in the parlor who wished to see him. Answering the summons, I found a young woman with a child in her arms. I asked her what she wanted with Mr. Beecher. She replied that she and her husband were members of Plymouth Church; that she wanted him to baptize her baby. I knew very well that under these circumstances Mr. Beecher would be glad to be disturbed, so I called him, and he came to the parlor, shook hands, patted the baby on the cheek, and asked:

"What are you members of Plymouth Church doing here?"

"My husband is working in the mines."

"How long have you been here?"

"About two years, sir."

"Where is your husband?" asked Mr. Beecher.

"He hasn't any coat, and doesn't care to come in. He's down at the door."

Mr. Beecher turned to me and said: "Pond, bring that man up here."

I found the hardy young miner and brought him up to the parlor. He was in his shirt-sleeves. He shook hands, saying: "Ah, Mr. Beecher, don't you remember me? I am a member of Plymouth Church. I was very unfortunate in Brooklyn. I am a better man now, thanks to you, sir."

It appeared that this young man had been unfortunate in Brooklyn. Through Mr. Beecher's influence and his wife's, he had resolved to try his fortune in the far West.

Mr. Beecher was deeply affected at their earnest desire to have him baptize their only child, and I knew the baby's baptism would be very impressive. As I stepped downstairs for a pitcher of water I met an editor of one of the papers, whom I had formerly known. I told him to come upstairs, that Mr. Beecher was about to baptize the child of one of his parishioners. It was indeed one of the most beautiful ceremonies I ever witnessed. I know we all cried.

He questioned them considerably concerning their circumstances, and asked me to see that they had tickets for the lecture that night.

The man had to hurry back to his work in the mine. Mr. Beecher asked the mother to accompany him with her baby to a clothing store across the street, where he purchased a suit of clothes for her husband, giving instructions for them to be sent to his house at once. He then allowed the mother to take her baby home, not without a recommendation to be sure she brought her husband to the lecture that night. The woman replied that she had no one with whom to leave the baby.

"Bring the baby," said Mr. Beecher. "If there is no one else to take care of it, I will, or I will have Pond tend it."

She was very much overcome with all this unexpected kindness. Her eyes were almost bursting with tears of gratitude as she walked away from the store.

After her departure we went to a dry-goods store, where Mr. Beecher told the proprietor that he wanted several things. First, everything complete for a child of ten months, such as dresses, flannels, and such pretty things as a child wears, even to the little shoes and stockings, cloak and bonnet. Then he told him that he wanted some goods for a dress for a woman in poor circumstances, but very worthy—something that she could wear and look becoming. He bought two or three calico dresses besides, and such other articles as he thought a poor family would most need, and ordered them all sent to the house. I paid the bills, and have them, receipted, now. They were altogether $83.

That evening Mr. Beecher lectured to an immense audience, all the seats having been sold in advance. We succeeded in placing two chairs at one side near the platform, which this little Plymouth family occupied. They were very attentive and enjoyed the lecture immensely. The baby was quiet and playful during the early part of the evening, then fell quietly asleep in its mother's arms. No one was in the least disturbed. I believe the orator got his inspiration for that occasion from that little party.

At the close of the lecture there was the usual rush to congratulate and shake hands with Mr. Beecher, including the Mayor, who presided, and the best people of Butte. I think he hardly noticed them, but made a break through the crowd and went directly to his former parishioners and congratulated them on the good behavior of the baby, told them many things of Plymouth Church and Brooklyn, enjoying it much more than all the congratulations the people had to offer afterward.

The difference in the points of view of two prominent citizens of New York, and also in the soul-stature of the two men, is strikingly illustrated in the following:

Once in 1884 Mr. Beecher requested me to postpone a lecture engagement on account of an important wedding which he said he had on hand. He declined to tell me who was to be married.

In fact, he said, he knew little about it himself. He invited me to his house that evening, and I was sitting with Mrs. Beecher in the library when the bell rang and the parties were escorted to the parlor. He called Mrs. Beecher to join the party, but I was not invited. They must have remained an hour chatting after the ceremony. and then Mr. Beecher, in his cheerful, delightful manner, escorted them to the door, and they drove off. Mr. and Mrs. Beecher then returned to the library, expressing great wonder, and, I think, satisfaction, at the event.

Then he told me that he had just married C. P. Huntington to Mrs. A. D. Warsham, who was quite a prominent woman in New York, and the subject of considerable comment as being very ambitious. He believed she would make Mr. Huntington an excellent wife. She was just the woman for him.

Several weeks after this incident Mr. Beecher and I were together on the cars and he was having what he called a "general housecleaning" of his pockets—not an uncommon occurrence. His pockets would often get loaded up with letters and papers, and if he happened to be sitting by an open car window, he would clear out his pockets, tear up old letters and throw them away.

On this occasion he happened to put his hand in the watch-pocket of his pantaloons and found there a little envelope, which he opened. When he saw its contents, he called me to sit beside him, and remarked:

"You remember the evening I married C. P. Huntington. I was so much interested in the subject that I forgot he handed me a little envelope as he went out of the door. I put it in the watch-pocket of my pantaloons and never thought of it again till just now, and here it is—four one thousand dollar bills.

"Now," he said, "don't tell any one about it and we will have a good time and make some happiness with this money. We will just consider that we found it."

This money was spent by the great divine chiefly in buying presents and gladdening the hearts or brightening the homes of others. After describing many of the purchases, Major Pond continues:

I think he really did absorb the entire $4,000 in making happiness among those whom he loved. This was one of Mr. Beecher's eccentricities.

After Mr. Beecher's death Mr. C. P. Huntington was very kind to Mrs. Beecher. He always furnished her transportation for transcontinental tours to visit her son on Puget Sound, and it was my privilege to call upon him with Mrs. Beecher's messages, as Mr. Beecher dead was Mr. Beecher living to me, so I took pleasure in going on these errands.

One day I related to Mr. Huntington the incident of Mr. Beecher's discovery of the four thousand-dollar bills, and he replied:

"I should never have given them to him. It was all wrong. I made a mistake. Money never did him any good."

The temptation is very great to quote extensively from this volume, which is so full of delightful incidents, all illustrating the heart-workings and dominating characteristics as well as the peculiarities of men and women who have done much in directing public opinion and shaping the ideals of the present generation; but the above quotations will be sufficient to acquaint the reader with the style of the author and afford a hint of the delightful reading in store for those fortunate enough to enjoy the volume.

It is a splendid procession which our author marshals before the delighted mental view of the reader. First comes John B. Gough, followed by the stately form of Wendell Phillips, whose noble physical stature was only less imposing that his mental power and moral worth. Next comes William Lloyd Garrison, the intrepid champion of freedom, and after him we catch a glimpse of Charles Sumner, followed by such diverse personalities as Chauncey Depew, General Horace Porter, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, Frederick Douglas, Booker T. Washington, Lyman Abbott, Newell Dwight Hillis, Dr. Joseph Parker, Rev. T. De Witt Talmage, Charles Spurgeon, Rt. Rev. Henry Potter, and about seventy others, among whom are Julia Ward Howe, Mary Livermore, Lucy Stone, Maud Ballington Booth, Thomas Nast, Mark Twain, Paul Blouet (Max O'Rell), Sir Henry M. Stanley, James Whitcomb Riley, George Kennàn, John L. Stoddard, Joseph Jefferson and Sir Henry Irving.

There are no dull pages and few, if any, paragraphs that even the casual reader will care to skip, if he is in the slightest degree interested in the subjects treated by the author. He who cares only for entertainment will not be disappointed in the work provided he possesses an interest in the men and movements of the last two generations; but beyond this the work is highly instructive and suggestive, and not the least interesting or valuable pages are those which contain the reminiscent chapter with which the volume opens, and it will be well if our young people take to heart, as did Major Pond when he started out in life, the advice given by his employer when the youth was leaving in quest of work in a distant city:

"Now, Jim, you are starting from this minute out into the world to look after yourself. Let me give you some advice. Always associate with people from whom you can learn something useful. The greater a man is, the easier he is of approach. You can choose your companions from among the very best, and a man is always known by the company he keeps. It is much easier to ride than to carry a load."

IN NATURE'S REALM. By Dr. Charles Conrad Abbott. Illustrated with photogravure frontispiece and over ninety pen and ink sketches by Oliver Kemp. Fully indexed. 309 pp. Price, $2.50 net. Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt.

"In Nature's Realm" is at once a real art work and a volume of positive educational value. Dr. Abbott is a close and interested observer of Nature's complex phenomena, a lover of field and wood, and a philosopher withal who understands how to leave a needed lesson with the reader without becoming didactic or tiresome. His enthusiasm for his subject quickly beguiles the reader into *rapport* with Nature, and, by training eye and ear to see and enjoy the beauties and wonders all around us, he educates the imagination and gives to life a large measure of healthful and soul-developing pleasure unknown, unhappily, at present to a great majority in our busy utilitarian age. I have been long convinced that one of the most necessary things with which public education should concern itself is the awakening of the imagination to the beauties and marvels of natural phenomena—from the tiny flower and insect to the magnificent tree and the birds that frequent it, from the ever-changing ocean and the equally fascinating fields of grain and grass to the beauty of dawn, the splendor of the ever-varying sunsets and the sublime spectacle presented by the star-jeweled ether by night. We need to have our imaginations stimulated and our emotional natures stirred, as well as our reason trained; for the imagination yields a delight of which the reason knows little, and the emotions touch the profoundest depths of our being. And yet our educational system throughout the past has neglected these fundamental sources of happiness, normal growth, and sane development, while seeking to train the reason in a narrow way.

Books like Dr. Abbott's fortunately tend to supplement this deficiency. To read "In Nature's Realm" will prove a delight to any one who possesses imagination, poetry, or a love of the beautiful in Nature; and to those who have allowed themselves to become absorbed in business and the dull routine of life this volume will afford a pleasing recreation, a rest for the tired brain, and a wholesome medicine for the whole man. The author's thoughtful and interesting text is supplemented by ninety fine original pen and ink sketches by Oliver Kemp, and so true is the pencil of the artist that it is difficult to say whether author or illustrator has been the more faithful student of Nature. The volume is one of the handsomest books that have been printed by an Amercian publisher. It is printed on pure cotton fiber, deckle-edge paper. Printing and binding are models of artistic work. The book is fully indexed, a feature that greatly increases its value. This volume further serves to confirm our impression that Albert Brandt is doing the best book-making of any publisher of large works in the United States to-day. Lovers of handsomely made books will be delighted with "In Nature's Realm."

THE CITY FOR THE PEOPLE. By Professor Frank Parsons. 597 pp. Cloth, $1; paper, 50 cents. Published by C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

"Direct Legislation." A clear, concise discussion of the initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and kindred subjects. By Prof. Frank Parsons. Paper, 173 pp. Price, 25 cents. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

"Rational Money." A national currency intelligently controlled in the interests of the whole people. By Prof. Frank Parsons. About 200 pp. Paper, 25 cents. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

"The Telegraph Monopoly." By Prof. Frank Parsons. Paper, 25 cents. C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

A friend inquired a short time ago what volumes among recently published works on social and economic problems I considered the most important for young men desiring to acquaint themselves with vital issues which were bound to become leading questions in the near future. I replied that I knew of no four books presenting great social and political issues now up for adjustment more worthy of the thoughtful consideration of earnest Americans than Professor Frank Parson's new works on "Direct Legislation," "The Telegraph Monopoly," "Rational Money," and his latest work, entitled "The City for the People." In this last volume are presented in a clear, logical, and masterly manner such questions of present concern to the people as public ownership of public utilities, direct legislation, proportional representation, home rule for cities, the merit system of civil service, the best means of overcoming corruption, and other subjects vital to good government. The key-note of the volume is found in the following summary, which is found on the cover of the paper edition:

"The city for the people, not for the politicians and monopolists. The bondage of the cities to legislatures, councils, and corporations must cease; the people must own their own government; private monopoly in government and in public utilities must give place to public ownership, and our cities must be managed, not in the interest of any individual or class, but in the interest of the whole people. The city the people own, the city without a monopoly, the city of equal rights, is the city of the people. Public ownership; direct legislation; the merit system of civil service; home rule for cities."

The way the important subjects discussed in this volume are handled merits great praise. There is a full and often exhaustive presentation of data and facts, after which the argument is made in a clear, strong, and concise manner, and it is usually reenforced by illustrations and examples. Taken as a whole, the treatment leaves little to be desired by those who wish to be thoroughly acquainted with questions intimately affecting the manhood as well as the pecuniary interests of every citizen. The welfare of the city, State, and nation, as well as the independence and happiness of the oncoming generation, depends so largely upon prompt action on the part of statesmanship along the lines laid down in this work that it is difficult to overestimate its importance at the present crisis in our social and political history. Leaving out of consideration for the moment all thought of the present generation, and viewing only the interests of the children around the firesides of America to-day, what thoughtful citizen of the United States can be indifferent to an issue which carries with it the weal or the woe of millions of little ones, who on the one hand through justice and the observance of the fundamental demands of the Golden Rule may even yet grow into the realization of a grand, free, and reasonably full-orbed manhood and womanhood, enjoying the benefit of the wealth and resources of our nation and developing all that is best and finest in their natures, under social and economic conditions that are essentially just, or who on the other hand, if present conditions prevail, must become mere cogs in a great industrial and commercial machine, which day by day yields untold wealth for a few hundreds of over-rich citizens, while millions of toilers receive a moiety of what they earn? And yet this is but one phase of the supreme question which now confronts our people, and about which these works of Prof. Parsons are largely concerned.

When we open our eyes to the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and the growing dependence of the masses on that few, and, furthermore, when we see how largely the government is responsible for this dangerous concentration of wealth, by its granting special privileges and by the enactment of class laws that directly or indirectly serve to take from the multitude and enrich the few, and when we also note the persistent refusal on the part of the government to protect or safeguard the people from wrongs inflicted through inflation of stocks, the gambling in life's necessities, and the oppressions of monopolies, together with the flourishing of corrupt bosses and political organizations which, like corporations, have no souls, we appreciate somewhat of the gravity of our present situation and the necessity for all patriotic citizens to become active missionaries for social purification and political righteousness. The present hour demands of every man and woman who loves free government, and desires to see a noble civilization actualized in the New World, the consecration of heart, mind, and purse to the furtherance of a practical, educational, and reformative agitation and the building up of a great conscience movement, which may yet revolutionize the government and establish a larger degree of freedom and justice than have been known among the great powers of the earth. There is no way in which the individual can escape the duty that now confronts him and remain guiltless, but in order to further the work of political regeneration it is first necessary that we become fully acquainted with all phases of the fundamental questions at issue; and "The City for the People," together with the other three works above mentioned, will be found indispensable in educating the public mind upon vital issues which are pressing for early solution. They do not, of course, cover the whole field or deal with all the important problems up for adjustment, but they do strongly and logically present issues which are uppermost at the present time, while awakening the reader to the peril of the present and clearly showing a peaceable, just, and rational way out. All of these volumes are thoroughly sane, thoughtful, and rational. They are works of a careful scholar, an able lawyer, an experienced educator, a deep student of social progress, and a just and broad-minded man.

It is a noteworthy fact, indicating the presence of a high type of unselfish citizenship, that these works were undertaken by the author without thought or expectation of a cent of pecuniary return, and they were published by Dr. C. F. Taylor, another patriotic citizen of the type of the old Revolutionary days, with funds from his own pocket and at a price which renders it improbable that the publisher will ever be fully reimbursed for their publication.

TOLSTOI. Containing "Tolstoi: A Man of Peace," by Dr. Alice B. Stockham, and "The New Spirit," by H. H. Ellis. 140 pp. Illustrated. Cloth, $1. Chicago: Stockham Publishing Company.

"Tolstoi" is a volume of less than 150 pages and is divided into two parts. The first division is written by Dr. Alice B. Stockham and contains a vivid description of the author's pilgrimage to the home of the great Russian count, a study of Tolstoi in the habit as he lives, and a detailed description of some of the most charming and interesting conversations held with the great philosopher. It is a fascinating and highly valuable sketch—something that will do every one good who reads it, and it will help us better to understand the modern Russian prophet, whom it is just to say is the most colossal figure in the Far East to-day. Dr. Stockham is one of a group of American women who are laying the foundations for a better civilization. She is a strong, interesting, and wholesome writer, who with the practical concepts of modern civilization deeply imbedded in her mental make-up has also come to a marked degree under the influence of the metaphysical thought of the Far East. Her teachings are always along lines of high character-development.

The second part of the volume is entitled "The New Spirit" and is written by H. H. Ellis. It is a luminous study of Tolstoi's views as reflected in the life and the great work of the Russian prophet, whose creed may be summed up in these words: "Resist not evil; judge not; be not angry." The author has admirably complemented Dr. Stockham's study of "Tolstoi: A Man of Peace." This is a book which all parents should place in the hands of their children, or, better still, read it aloud to them during the long winter evenings.

SHADOWINGS. By Lafcadio Hearn. Decorated cloth. Illustrated. 268 pp. Price, $2. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Shadowings" is rather disappointing to those who have enjoyed Mr. Hearn's earlier work. The book is divided into three parts: first, "Stories from Strange Books," containing six stories from Japanese writers, some of which are weird if not gruesome, and few of them pleasing; second, "Japanese Studies," containing "Sémi," "Japanese Female Names," and "Old Japanese Songs;" third, "Phantasies," containing seven sketches in which this author, whose writings are highly poetic and possess a charm essentially their own, is thoroughly at home. Those who have read "In Ghostly Japan" will I think be disappointed in "Shadowings," and yet it is a unique work, with much of the delicate and subtle beauty in thought and expression that has rendered his earlier works so popular among lovers of good literature.

NEQUA; OR, THE PROBLEM OF THE AGES. A story by Jack Adams. Cloth, 388 pp. Price, $1. Topeka, Kan.: Equality Publishing Company.

Since the publication of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward" there have appeared scores of suggestive social visions. Of these, William Dean Howells's "A Traveler From Altruria," William Morris's "News From Nowhere," and Joaquin Miller's "The City Beautiful" were the most finished. Mr. Miller's work is also highly poetic and withal a delightful story. The strongest, and from an economic viewpoint the best, social vision that appeared in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was Bellamy's "Equality," a book for students and all who desire to see the common objections to Socialism frankly met and answered. Mr. Howells's "A Traveler From Altruria" is also an important contribution to the social literature of our time. Many other works that have appeared contain much that is stimulating and suggestive, and doubtless all have contributed to the general current of revolutionary economic thought, which at present seems to be receding, but which will with the next period of commercial depression rise to heights far above those reached during the decade that has just closed.

The latest social vision that has come to my notice is entitled "Nequa." The author veils his or her identity under the *nom de plume* of Jack Adams. As a story, apart from its social theories, it evinces far more imagination than most economic or "problem" novels. There is a strong thread of romance and adventure running through the work. The author tells her story (for we hazard the guess that the author is a woman) in a simple, straightforward manner. The hero, the heroine, and the modern argosy sail into the northern sea and down into the interior of the world. Here they meet a race advanced far beyond our civilization, and it is largely with this fine and highly-developed people that the writer deals. The social theories are for the most part in alignment with what we conceive to be the highest and noblest vision that has been vouchsafed to the advance-guard of our time, although some things found in this new world will doubtless fail to command the approval of many readers. The book is a valuable contribution to the literature that is making for a better civilization. The more that such books are circulated, the earlier will dawn the new day which shall bring the recognition of the right of all men to have work to do and just remuneration for their labors, the opportunity to enjoy a home and the pleasures of education and wholesome recreation.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Childhood of Ji-shib the Ojibwa." By Albert Ernest Jenks. Cloth, 130 pp. Price, $1. Madison, Wis.: The American Thresherman.

"The Man With the Hoe and Other Poems." By Edwin Markham. Illustrated by Howard Pyle. Cloth, stamped in gold. 114 pp. Price, $2 net. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company.

"The Spiritual Significance; or, Death as an Event in Life." By Lilian Whiting. Cloth, 393 pp. Price, $1. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

"Dramatis Mortalis." By John Oliver Bellville. Paper, 23 pp. Price, 10 cents. J. O. Bellville, Pearsall, Tex.

"Momentous Issues." By George H. Shibley. Paper. 230 pp. Price, $1. Chicago: Schulte Publishing Company.

"How to Be Attractive and Successful." By Antoinette Van Hoesen. Paper, 17 pp. Price, 20 cents. Chicago: Olivia Publishing Company.

"Words That Burn." By Lida Briggs Brown. Cloth, 366 pp. Price, $1.50. Daniel B. Briggs, Utica, N. Y.

"The Ten Commandments: An Interpretation." By Rev. George Chainey. Cloth, 130 pp. Price, 60 cents. Chicago: Stockham Publishing Company.

"Thoughts on Social Problems and Scripture Readings in Verse." By Emma C. Schafer. Cloth, 57 pp. Pasadena, Cal.: E. C. Schafer.

"The Religion of Democracy." By Charles Ferguson. Paper, 160 pp. Price, 50 cents. San Francisco: D. P. Elder & Morgan Shepard.

"Fate Mastered, Destiny Fulfilled." By W. J. Colville. 52 pp. Leatherette, 35 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell.

"Creeds and Religious Beliefs." By John S. Hawley. Cloth, 167 pp. Price, $1. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham.

"Evolution of Immortality." By Rosicruciæ. Cloth, 145 pp. Salem, Mass.: Eulian Publishing Company.

"Two Men and Some Women." By Walter Marion Raymond. Cloth, 160 pp. Price, $1. New York: The Abbey Press.

"Contending Forces." By Pauline E. Hopkins. Cloth. Illustrated. 402 pp. Price, $1.50. Boston: Colored Coöperative Publishing Company.

"The Religion of Abraham Lincoln." Correspondence between Gen. Charles H. T. Collis and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll. Paper, 24 pp. Price, 25 cents. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE unusual length of some of the contributions to this month's ARENA necessitates an increase in the size of the magazine. The topics discussed are of a degree of timeliness and importance that precludes their curtailment, and we are confident that the extra sixteen pages will be appreciated by our growing army of readers.

Edward Augustus Jenks, A.M., whose portrait forms our frontispiece, is eminently conservative in his presentation of the theological views of a layman of the Congregational Church. His is a long but exceedingly able paper, and should interest the non-Christian rationalist not less than the orthodox devotee. An exhaustive discussion of that ever-popular question, "Are Scientific Studies Dangerous to Religion?" by James T. Bixby, Ph.D., which will appear as the leading article in our next issue, with portrait of the author, will admirably supplement Mr. Jenks's contribution to the current number.

Editor Flower reappears as an essayist this month in the first of a series of papers on "Laying the Foundations for a Higher Civilization," in which an admirable epitome is given of the progress of the nineteenth century, which will be reviewed in our March issue, by the same writer, as the age of utilitarianism.

In "Topics of the Times," Mr. Flower discusses, among other things, the contemporary stage and the modern actor. His observations are a timely rebuke to those apostles of decadence and reaction who prate about the "degeneracy of the drama" and judge the theater only by its abuses. This source of education and enlightenment has never been of greater utility than it is to-day.

One of the most important features of this month's ARENA is Professor Frank Parsons's discussion of municipal ownership of public utilities. This is now a vital topic in American thought, and Prof. Parsons is an undoubted authority on the subject. The queries he answers so lucidly and conclusively, in our "Stoa of the Twentieth Century," embody the most common objections to the proposed reform, and his remarks constitute probably the strongest paper on the street-railway problem that has appeared in any magazine.

Of especial and peculiar interest, at the beginning of our new chronological epoch, is the Rev. Joseph S. David's paper on "Vibrations, Waves, and Cycles." The author is one of the most thoughtful clergymen of the liberal wing of the Swedenborgian Church, and his references to the teachings of the great Swedish seer must suggest many new thoughts to students of the occult. The attention being paid to matters pertaining to the psychic realm by scholars in various walks of life is one of the most significant developments of modern culture.

The next paper in this series on the New Psychology, to appear in our March number, will be from the able pen of Mr. Henry W. Stratton, who will discuss "The Key-note in Musical Therapeutics." The author, a Bostonian, is an authority on music, not only as an art, but as a philosophy, a science, and a principle of immortal life. This paper is a valuable contribution to scientific knowledge—admirably free from technical phrases.

Miss Kellor's second article, which appears in this issue, will prove suggestive to those who believe that missionary endeavor, like charity, should begin at home. In our next issue this writer will describe some characteristics of the negro criminal—as developed by the State, county, and municipal penal systems and laws of the South.

A number of excellent articles on questions now uppermost in the minds of thoughtful Americans are in preparation for the March ARENA. Worthy of special announcement at this time are: "Organized Charity," by Charles Brodie Patterson; "Farming in the Twentieth Century," by the Rev. E. P. Powell; and "The Army Canteen," by G. A. Marshall.

Editor Patterson will present in his paper some cogent reasons for improvement in benevolent organizations, and will show the fundamental necessity of placing official charity on the same altruistic basis as that on which private benefactions properly rest. This contribution will contain many practically helpful hints to the recipient as well as the bestower of charity, and is designed to encourage optimistic views of life in the mind of every lover of his race by whom it is read.

J. E. M.

JAMES T. BIXBY, PH.D.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

THE ARENA

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ARE SCIENTIFIC STUDIES DANGEROUS TO RELIGION?

DR. PARKHURST has recently raised a note of warning against what he thinks the great peril to which young men in our colleges are exposed through the acquaintance thrust upon them there with the latest results of the modern investigations of Nature. Rev. L. G. Broughton, in a still more excited strain, has recently called our universities and seats of higher learning dens of demons, so mischievous does he deem them to "faith." The exclusion by Cardinal Vaughan from the rites of the Roman Church of the distinguished Catholic layman, Prof. St. George Mivart, unless he would abandon and recant all criticisms and independent judgment of the scientific marvels and supernatural narratives contained in the Scriptures, is another significant illustration of the ban under which the Church still holds scientific investigation.

"The bankruptcy of science" has been a popular cry of late among a certain school of writers—the wish evidently being father to the thought. These representations of Science as a devouring wolf against whom every wise shepherd of souls should be on his guard are indeed very mild in comparison with the savage onslaughts which the students of Nature sixty and seventy years ago had to endure. Nevertheless, they show much of the same jealous spirit and short-sightedness of view, and are pregnant with quite enough mischief to the interests of both science and religion, to call for that presentation of the real friendliness of natural knowledge to genuine faith which the facts of history so fully establish.

There are, I am willing to admit, cases where the study of science has had a demoralizing and withering effect. But in most of these cases this is due simply to misapprehension either of the real nature and demands of religion or a quite superficial knowledge of science; often both are united in plunging the young mind into the morass of skepticism. The popular preachers, from whom the student has gained his ideas of faith, have unfortunately identified it with certain theological dogmas of an antiquated type. The Christian must regard his Bible as an infallible authority, not merely in regard to scriptural truths but in regard to geology, biology, and anthropology. He must believe that the world was made in six ordinary days; that death first came by Adam's fall; that the fossils in the mountain-side were victims of Noah's flood; that a whale's gullet is big enough to swallow a man—or else Revelation is a lie. And so, if scientific researches throw discredit on these theologic figments, the young mind leaps to the conclusion that all the great truths of religion are illusions. Or, perhaps, the student has fallen under the influence of some of those physical dogmatists who not infrequently caricature the genuine spirit of science and who in the name of natural philosophy assert with positiveness the most uncertain theories—agnostic metaphysics concerning the limits of human knowledge and the possibilities of divine revelation; *a priori* materialism and empiricism of the most audacious type, whose doctrines of the eternity and exclusive existence of matter, of the non-existence of will and spirit, and of the universal authority of our narrow experience and the absolute certainty that there can be nothing deeper and grander within phenomena than is indicated on the surface, transcend altogether the experimental conditions and verifications which, in the same breath the scientists declare, constitute the criterion of truth. With such widespread ignorance among the followers of both religion and science concerning the laws and demands of their own fields of investigation, and their still deeper ignorance of each other, it is not strange that reciprocal alienation and distrust should spring up. Nay, there are even notable cases of men who have gone with great diligence and profundity into scientific investigations and have thereby suffered mournful spiritual desolations. Prof. Clifford's sigh over the loneliness of the heart in a soulless world, "when it finds the great Companion is dead," and the withering up in Darwin not only of his earlier religious sentiments, but his esthetic capacity to enjoy poetry, drama, and music, are often quoted.

Science may have indeed sometimes wrought injury to the religious nature and the cause of Christian faith. But shall we therefore ostracize or ignore physical studies? We should remember that the study of history, of art, of mental philosophy, the indulgence in pleasure and amusements, the mixing with the world and the vicissitudes and temptations of life, have each of them withered and demoralized souls. For one skeptic who is made so by scientific studies there are a hundred unthinking men and women who give themselves up to practical paganism for no deeper reason than that the pleasures of the senses and the grasping of place and power have absorbed their desires as the only prizes worth seeking. Shall we then ostracize pleasure, social life, and all association with the world? Suppose the Church could do this; would it not find, as where the attempt was made by strict ascetic and monastic life so to do, that the consequent ignorance, fanaticism, and perversion of human nature have caused even worse demoralizations, superstitions, and immoralities? The quietism and exclusive absorption of the mystics in devout meditations have caused, indeed, as Church history shows, the worst kind of mental and moral perversions, heresies, and actual lunacies. So, also, the study of the Bible in an exclusive and one-sided way has been most injurious to true and sound religion. What scoffings and skeptic reactions, as in the case of Paine and Ingersoll and many others, has the doctrine of Scripture infallibility provoked! Even among devout churchmen, how much bigotry, persecution, warfare, and needless blood-spilling has it occasioned! One of the interesting points in the history of the conversion of the Goths was the decision of Ulfilas, the first missionary to this nation, not to translate into their tongue the books of Joshua and Kings, on the ground that the Goths were already too prone to wars of conquest and deeds of violence. As the historian reviews the melancholy roll of the repeated wars raged by Christian nations, and approved by Christian ecclesiastics, he is inclined to wish that these sanguinary chronicles might have somehow been permanently excluded from the canon and thus saved from liability to stir up periodically the latent tiger in man to such flagrant contradictions of Christ's laws of peace and love as we see them doing, even among professed Christian ministers to-day.

Everything—even the best things are liable to abuse when wrongly employed.

The study of science should be recognized by the intelligent as necessary to faith. No one who would know God can half know him unless he knows these great laws and the works he has so patiently wrought out. To be afraid of science and its ordeals is to confess doubt of the truth of one's own faith, discredit one's senses and judgment, and turn traitor to the Creator who gave us our reason as the best guide to the knowledge of his ways.

The religious believer, just in proportion to the strength of his belief in the Divine omnipresence and creative action, must believe that Nature is no independent power, that man's perceptive and reasoning faculties are no unmeaning faculties, but that both physical and human nature are honest works of God, reflecting God's mind and purpose, and therefore are trustworthy witnesses of him. These fauna and flora which science describes are not its inventions. The hieroglyphics in the rocks which it deciphers are not of its construction. Science finds them in Nature because they are in Nature; and they are in Nature, every monotheist must say, by the creation or permission of God. For unless we go back to the polytheism of paganism or the dualism of the Parsees we must recognize God as the sole author of all things. Whatever facts or laws or relations exist in the great temple of the world are there because such was God's will, and they show forth the attributes of the great architect as surely as the peculiarities of a villa or a cathedral exhibit the carelessness or faithfulness, the esthetic sense or lack of it in the builder.

Every law that science can unravel or every force that it can trace out is an expression of God's nature and has some Divine message to man. Every natural phenomenon—be it the building-power of molecule or colored bands in a spectrum, mimicry of insects, cross-fertilization of flowers, natural selection among animals, development or degeneration of species (provided it be a real fact, not mere rash conjecture)—has something to tell us of God's thoughts, powers, and methods of action. That is surely the worthier view of inspiration that limits its action not to any one century or nation, but recognizes it as guiding the studies of a Cuvier as well as the legislation of a Moses; animating the thoughts of an Agassiz or a Gray, no less than the songs of a David or the letters of a Paul. These later revelations, through the rocks and the stars, may disclose the Divine hand as acting in ways that we had not before supposed. They may compel theology to revise more than one of her philosophic schemes. But this revision religion should regard as received from God's own hand, and as simply bringing us nearer the Divine reality and truth. The rigid traditions that we will not allow God's sunlight to transmute into fresh and unclimbing growths petrify into sepulchers that seal our souls in spiritual death. He that confounds the march of the intellect with the operations of Satan evidently ought to trace his own origin to the devil rather than to believe the word of Scripture—that man was made in the image of God and that God saw all the works that he had made, and, behold! they were very good.

If there may be some respects in which science has been a source of harm or danger to religion, nevertheless, on the other hand, science has given religion aid and admonition far outweighing in value all the mischief it has done. Recall the positive contributions of science to natural theology: How, *e.g.*, is the existence of God, as distinguished from a mere material mainspring or sum of force in the universe, demonstrated by the theologians? How else than by showing the intelligence and benevolence of Deity? And where are the proofs of these attributes found? Plainly in the admirable harmonies and adaptations of the physical world, the varied contrivances and blessings of social life, and the lofty attributes of humanity. All the potencies of the great argument from design, or that of unity, or causation, or a Divine moral government, rest for the grand strength they have to-day on modern scientific investigations in anatomy, chemistry, natural history, psychology, and sociology. Compare the proofs of God's unity and intelligence open to a David or a Paul with those which Prof. Cooke has found in chemistry, Winchell in geology, or Agassiz in natural history, and how much more manifold and marvelous are the latter!

In the next place, the study of science has immensely enlarged the dimensions of God's creation and heightened inexpressibly the grandeur of the Divine handiwork. How pretty a doll-house, comparatively speaking, was the world, as the thought of men conceived it down to the fourteenth century—its concave firmament but a little height above the plane of earth; its heaven with an area 12,000 furlongs each way, as the book of Revelation said (about equal in base to the area of the States of Texas and New Mexico) and its age only five or six thousand years at the utmost—if one accepts the chronology of the Church authorities! How magnificently has modern science stretched out these dimensions, dissolving the solid vault that shut man in so closely, into a boundless vista of galaxies and lending a new meaning to the word *eternity!* When the Bible chronology gave six days to creation and sixty centuries to the duration of the cosmic temple of Jehovah, modern science demands as many millions of years, through all of which God has been busy with his amazing creations and developments. Where the Church authorities gave us a diminutive vault in which the stars were fastened for the illumination of man's pathway on dark and moonless nights, science has shown us an ineffable abyss of space, everywhere gleaming with suns and galaxies—a stellar system so vast that our own orb of day, albeit as much larger than our earth as a cart-wheel is than a pea, is only one of twenty million suns in our nearer section of the heavens, wherein the nearest fixed star is so far off that a locomotive traveling forty miles an hour could not reach it in 700,000 centuries.

And science has not only immensely increased our reverence and awe before the majesty of God's works: it has purified faith and strengthened trust. Without science to correct and guide it, religion is constantly going astray. The countless excesses and irrationalities of superstition, adoration of stick and stone, lizard or bull, devil-worship, witchcraft, orgies of Bacchus, devouring rites of Moloch, and unclean sacrifices to Venus—all illustrate the mournful corruptions into which devotion runs when divorced from understanding. Zeal without knowledge is as sure to curse the world as it is to bless it when united with wisdom. As Faith, in her mounting instinct, reaches up her hands, she clings to whatever object she first happens to grasp. The misshapen tree, the stone that fell from heaven, the serpent or crocodile whose power or cruelty terrifies it—whatever happens to fascinate the impressible imagination of the savage, or be believed to carry with it good luck, may become an object of worship. But with the increase of knowledge the powerlessness and worthlessness of these things for the worship of thinking men are seen. Then Faith reaches up her hand to higher objects—the great powers of Nature: moon, sun, fire, storm-cloud. But, again, as man learned more of these—the confined paths in which they move and the laws which they obey—and, in learning this, learned more of himself, he recognized in Intelligence and Will something greater than fire or cloud. Again, Faith raised her reverence to a company of human gods: Jove, king of heaven; Cupid, inspirer of love; Minerva, goddess of wisdom; Mercury, messenger for the heavenly company. But, again, with growing comprehension of the unity of all Nature, man rose to the idea of a single supreme Deity: Jehovah, Brahma, Allah; and the other deities were thrust down into the position of devils, or subordinate spirits and divinities.

Through all these religious changes, it has been the work of gradually increasing knowledge to push faith onward and upward—from fetishism to Nature-worship, and from Nature-worship to polytheism, and from polytheism to monotheism—until at length the human spirit, finding one idol after another broken in her embrace by the iconoclastic hammer of science, transferred her allegiance to the grand ideal of one single infinite and perfect Being, without parts, without partiality and shadow of turning, to be worshiped only in spirit and in truth.

It is through the work of science, then, that we have to-day (instead of the rabble of deities, great and small, of former days) one God and Lord of all, one law and one element, in all and through all. It is because the Universe has been found to be a *universe,* in every part of which the same laws of gravity, light, heat, and uniform causation prevail, that the old-time polytheism is no longer conceivable. The conception of the world as an ordered cosmos has now become so familiar that we forget what constant fear and uncertainty beset the minds of men when, through caverns and secret ways, mischievous devils and imps could come up from the pits of hell to tempt and bewilder men; when the grave-yards were haunted by perturbed spirits; when a comet foreboded disaster to nations; when a sorcerer, by a compact with Satan, was believed to be able to blight the harvest or lay low whomsoever he wished with fatal disease. It is science that has ejected all this from the belief of enlightened men.

Men of science have been over all the earth and scrutinized every corner of the skies, exploring every dark recess and strange event. Their best instruments have caught sight of no devil. Their deepest mining shaft has reached no limbo of tortured shades. Specters have been reduced to illusions of the visual organs, and lunacy to affections of the cerebral lobes. The course of comets and the natural causes of the earthquake have been calculated and explained. The witches and imps of the old dispensations have vanished before the light of modern knowledge, like shadows of a hideous night. Interruptions of the universal order, whether by wizard or holy exorcist or lucky chance, and irregular interventions, whether from the realms of *diablerie* or special Providence, are no longer credited; but the laws in which God's habits of action pass before our observation on their unswerving and beneficent way are believed to maintain everywhere the same sacred order. Lily and solar system unfold according to one and the same sublime formula. The universe has ceased to be thought of as coming into existence by one grand *tour de force;* but it exhibits instead a still more awe-inspiring spectacle—that, namely, of an ever-continuing and immanent process of organization. From the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; from the diffused and simple to the compact and complex; from the inorganic and lifeless to the living and organic: this is the eternal rhythm of the cosmic evolution.

To minds blinded by old traditions, these words—"evolution" and "universal and unchangeable order"—are full of dread. But to intelligent Christians this idea of an all-pervading order and a rational, steadily progressing universe supplies a nobler conception of a Divine Fatherhood and a firmer confidence in a Father's unwavering care. If religion has lost the old faith in frequent and capricious interventions of supernatural power and a world-temple finished once for all in a certain six days, six thousand years ago, it has gained in its place the conception of an indwelling and ever-active God who for a hundred millions of years has been carrying on his vast processes or molding and perfecting throughout the innumerable constellations of the universe. Under the influence of the two grand scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century—the conservation of energy and correlation of forces—demonstrated by Grove, Joule, and Mayer, and the still more epoch-making law of evolution, as demonstrated by Laplace, Darwin, and Spencer, the old view of Nature, as something separate from God—a mass of inert, independent atoms and their properties, the causes of whose changes must be looked for outside of Nature: a conception that so constantly fostered materialism and atheism—is rapidly passing away. In place of these crude explanations, all the varied properties of matter are getting to be recognized as externalizations of forces, and all the diverse forces (whether electric, thermic, chemic, or magnetic) as but varying manifestations of one eternal, infinite, and omnipresent Force. Nature is thus shown to be what Alexander von Humboldt liked to call it—"one living Whole," the harmonious and growing organism that expresses progressively more and more of the thought and will of the eternal Spirit that is its moving life.

Modern science is therefore every day finding in Nature itself the deepest and most unshakable foundations for a belief in God. The great investigators proceed on their victorious course in a firm confidence in the rationality and intelligibility of the universe and thus become unable to resist the conviction of the intelligence and reason of the Supreme Cause behind it. As they trace the steady upward climbing from the fiery chaos of the limitless nebulosity to the exquisite and harmonious cosmos of all-pervading use and beauty around, it surely seems as if there had been through all an orderly march of thought, seeking an appointed end, unfolding rational ideas; and so the great thinkers of our age have to own, with Herbert Spencer, that "the necessity we are under to think of the external energy in terms of the internal gives rather a spiritual than a materialistic aspect to the Universe," and that "the universal Power manifested throughout the Universe," in whose presence we daily find ourselves, "is the same Power which in ourselves wells up under the form of consciousness."

Again we may notice that science, by teaching that the Universe is still evolving and is under the government of fixed law, suggests, in the promise of constant improvement and the correlative law of spiritual discipline and rational training by experience, the only satisfactory explanation and solace for the evils in the world. It has explained the thorns of Nature. It has rolled back the cloud of God's "curse" from the human race and dissipated the horror that once so haunted the chamber of death, by showing that death is no sign of Divine wrath upon human disobedience, but a natural process—a thing that has always been in the world from the beginning, thousands of years before the first man plucked an apple. It has therefore contributed immensely to exalting the dignity of and strengthening the interest in human life and putting brightness instead of gloom into the vistas of the future, showing us how the order of the Universe and the method of God's dealing with his sons are those of steady progress, onward and upward forever. The fact that the great law of the cosmos is development—that all things are still in process, reaching forward to some dimly-discerned end—at once gives Religion a firm basis for indulging the noblest hopes, both for this life and the next, and forbids the critic to condemn life and the world for imperfections that are only as it were the chips and scaffolding of the growing temple: the puckery bitterness of the bud whose mellow ripeness is still to come.

I am aware that it is charged that those reconstructions which modern inquiry has made are unsettling the old foundations of religion and stripping off the bloom of sacredness from the flowers of faith. It is true that they have disabused us of many ancient venerations. To-day, when we bottle up the lightning and use it as our errand-boy, we no longer revere it as the bolt of Jove. But for everything Science has taken away from religion she has given her something greater. If with ruthless hand she has battered down baseless traditions, science consecrates with religious veneration the simplest real fact. The widening of the circle of the unknown has only served to confront us with deeper and more awe-inspiring mysteries. If science has expelled, from the realm of belief, witch and elf and demon, depopulated the supernatural world of a great host of uncanny creatures, and even ostracized the old-time interventions of capricious divinities, it is to give us in their place an unswerving system of constant order, luminous with beautiful necessities and rosy with the pulsing heart's blood of universal love. If science has disabused our thoughts of the idea of a fallen mankind and a ruined world, it has given us the more cheerful faith in a steadily rising world, an ascending humanity, and a progressive society, whose epic is the gradual up-climbing of man from his primeval cave-dwellings to the civilization and refinements of to-day. If modern inquiry has made obsolete much or most of the subtle arguments from design for the Divine existence that Bell and Paley once accumulated, it has given us in its place a wider and profounder theology—that which rests on the unity of plan that must result from unity of force and law, made one in mind; and it forces on us with renewed cogency the incredibility that all the varied influences of the world should conspire, as they have, to develop so splendid a cosmos out of chaos, and such harmoniously adjusted and admirably perfected fauna and flora out of the primitive protoplasmic sameness, unless there were a rational will and purpose working within it all to guide it steadily in its continuous upward path. It used to be thought that when law begins the sphere of God comes to an end; but in the saner philosophy that evolution has inaugurated law and order have become the speaking witnesses of the Divine Presence. Progress and development disclose themselves as the outward demonstration and triumphant angels of the indwelling infinite Life.

Whatever minor injuries or disagreeable changes faith may then have received from modern knowledge, they are more than countervailed by the munificent assistance science has given. The real cause for the uncalled-for antagonisms and attacks made by ecclesiastics and men of science upon each other is not the reception of any real injuries. It is rather ignorance—ignorance of their own true realms and ignorance of their neighbor's domain. The remedy is to be found in a closer and more accurate knowledge one of the other. Our men of science need a more thorough knowledge of theology and its profound arguments. It does not need to be argued, I think, that religion is not a thing to be understood in all its breadth and depth by any one who can look through a microscope. When a chemist fancies, just because he can mix acids and alkalis skilfully, that he is therefore fully competent to pronounce final judgment on the problems of prayer and the Divine existence, he is as likely to talk nonsense as any other dabbler. And contrariwise, when a preacher or divinity professor assumes that, because he has made learned studies as to Hebrew texts or the stages of Christian history, he is therefore competent to condemn as erroneous the views of a Darwin or a Haeckel as to the origin of species, he is equally unreasonable. Yet, unfortunately, it is apt to be those most ignorant of modern investigations and most unfitted to discern their bearing who most freely launch the dogmatic thunderbolts at them as impious and godless.

The best remedy, then, for the dangerous influences experienced or feared from the new knowledge of Nature everywhere spreading to-day is not less science: it is more and deeper science. Our investigations into Nature should be widened and carried to profounder depths. The scientists who have adopted anti-theistic or materialistic views have mostly been specialists—concerned with the surface details of some single science. But those who have gone down deeper into science, investigating its fundamental principles—like Jevons, Clerk Maxwell, Thompson, Tait, or John Fiske—have almost all of them recognized the great spiritual realities, because as they went profoundly into the philosophy of science they quickly found themselves confronted with those same mysterious forces and problems, inexplicable on mere physical grounds, which religion finds. As Lotze, the great scientific philosopher of Germany, was so fond of saying, we should recognize at once "how absolutely universal is the extent of the rôle which mechanism has to play in the structure of the world, but how entirely subordinate is its significance." These curious mechanisms are but instruments and signs that by their rude symbols testify of something higher and of more worth.

It is, then, more thorough and profound science that is needed, and by which its unspiritual crudities are to be corrected. A good illustration is supplied by one of those questions which have most alarmed pious souls—the correlation of mind and body. Down to the year 1850, while an opponent of the French sensationalism and the English and German materialism might combat them on philosophic grounds or by facts of introspection, there was no properly scientific refutation of them, because there were no sufficient scientific tests. But when, between 1850 and 1860, Mayer and Joule demonstrated the correlation and conservation of the physical energies, and Fechner inaugurated the delicate experiments and measurements of physiological psychology, science obtained a test. If mental states were caused by physical changes, and if conscious energies were physical energies transformed, then, of course, the laws of the transformation and conservation of energy, which held true when friction was changed into heat and heat into electricity, must also hold true in the further transformation into thought. But when the tests were made the results did not conform to the theory. The mental state, according to the materialistic theory, should correspond in its intensity to the amount of physical force received by the consciousness. But it did not. Even in the simplest possible reactions of sense to stimulus, the experimenters found that there was always a disproportion, often most glaring. Nay, more—in the consciousness, supposed to be a transformed product of the incident physical energy, even the fundamental qualities of physical energy (extension and measurability) were absent. Moreover, it was found impossible to show that consciousness, when it appeared, did so at the expense of preceding material motions which thereby disappeared, or that it absorbed physical energy, as it should on the materialistic theory; or, conversely, that when consciousness disappeared, as in sleep or death, it released to its successors in the chain of causation, the physical energies, the motions or energies that consciousness had held for a while. In fact, close reasoners, such as Bain, Herbert, Romanes, Fiske, and Tyndall, soon saw that to suppose in a given chain of causation (as when a mosquito-bite on the shoulder runs up the nerves to the brain and through it and down the motor nerves to the hand that slaps the mosquito) that the material or physical series is interrupted by a mental link in consciousness, where the physical laws do not prevail, is a supposition that would upset the whole physical theory of the conservation of force. The material or physical chain must be unbroken and uninterrupted, and the mental series must be a concomitant or accompaniment—nothing more. So the scientific world fell back first on the theory that the mental and physical series were distinct parallel circuits, and next on the monistic, double-aspect, or pan-psychist theory, as it is variously called.

Thus in the last twenty-five years the psychologists, simultaneously with their more minute and exact acquaintance with the astonishing correlation of physical and mental phenomena in the human organism, have come to turn their backs squarely on the crude materialism of the days of Vogt and Moleschott, when thought used to be spoken of as a secretion of the brain. Even the savants who formerly had permitted themselves to make statements that seemed to authorize the materialistic theories pulled themselves up sharply (as Prof. Huxley, for example, did), and gave public warning against any such interpretation of what they had said as might accuse them of approving these crude hypotheses. "If I say," declared Huxley, "that thought is a property of matter, all that I can mean is that actually and possibly the consciousness of extension and that of resistance accompany all other forms of consciousness. Why they are thus associated is an insoluble mystery." He repeated again and again that *matter* and *force* are, as far as we know, mere names for certain forms of consciousness. We only know force through our own conscious effort. "The will counts for something." "If I were compelled to choose between absolute materialism and absolute idealism, I would choose idealism."

Another noticeable fact in this connection is the potent influence and activity which the new psychology assigns to the mind over the body. All the work of the famous French investigators on hypnotism and of the English and American students of telepathy and mind cure, such as Charcot, Bernheim, Delbœuf, Gurney, James, and Hodgson, suppose the activity of the mind, by suggestion and the rousing of the will and the concentration of attention on certain organs or desired results in those organs, to bring about unmistakable physical changes. They raise congestions and blisters and cause bleedings of the nose or skin, or, conversely, if these existed, cause them to disappear. The Italian experimenter, Prof. Mosso, gives a very interesting illustration of this power of the mind over the body. He puts a man in a delicate balance, so that he lies perfectly horizontal. Then the man is asked to concentrate his thought on some abstruse mathematical calculation—and down his head goes, because the blood has rushed to his brain. Then the man relaxes and tries to go to sleep—and up goes the head and down the feet, because the blood, by the effort to sleep or dismiss all thought, has been shut off from the brain. This initiative and directive power of the mind over the body has been strongly brought out by modern psychology. This positive influence of the mind over the physical order is a matter of common observation. We all know how a merry thought sets the lips singing and the limbs dancing; how grief convulses the features; how anger gathers the brow in frowns; how hope stimulates the nervous system and despair and fear depress it.

Mental medicine is no new discovery, but one long used by wise doctors—if not openly at least in the form of bread pills and similar devices. A course of mental work, say the anatomists, deepens the cerebral furrows; a course of vocal and musical instruction multiplies the fibers of corti in the ear. It is the functions of consciousness and thought, according to Herbert Spencer, that develop the structure of the brain. The origin of the fittest, according to Prof. Cope, is to be found in the directive power of the mind over its organism. "All this evolution," he says, "has been simply due to the active exercise of mentality, or mental qualities." It is, of course, from the outer world that we are supplied with the data of sensation. But this medley of impressions would remain within us a similar unordered and encumbered chaos of images were there not within a directive and arranging power that spontaneously rises up to subdue and utilize the crude flood of incoming sensations. Whenever we examine our daily mental processes we become conscious beyond a doubt that our inward thoughts and feelings are not passively determined by powers foreign to ourselves, but that the inpouring throng of sensations is ever met at the threshold of consciousness by an inward master-power that disposes of the incoming rabble according to methods and wishes of its own—sorting them according to classes of our own mental classification; listening to and interpreting carefully some sensations, and dismissing curtly many others as irrelevant or not desirable of attention; registering certain facts for future use, and giving to motor nerves and muscles the commands suitably responsive to certain other bits of news. Were it not for this power of fixing our attention at will on some one line of thought and shutting out disturbing sensations and ideas, no difficult line of reasoning would ever be thought out and no student could successfully learn his lessons.

These are facts of consciousness which in a general way are familiar to all who have made observation of the workings of the mind, but which the New Psychology of the last twenty-five years, by its delicate observations and experiments, has firmly established and called fresh attention to. They emphatically negative the idea that "the human mind is only and wholly a physical machine;" for, in that case, thought and feeling would be the passive effects or attendants of the physical changes. Life would go on just the same whether men walked about in their present consciousness or as unconscious automata. But if consciousness thus be really superfluous and impotent—a useless consequent to the physical changes—why was it added to the body and why is it kept in existence? As the Darwinian principle, that all useless organs and functions wither up and disappear, has been more generally accepted, it has been recognized that if consciousness has no real activity and use it ought long ago to have vanished from the world, instead of constantly developing, as it has done.

Some one, perhaps, is mentally asking, How do you explain the disappearance from observation of the mental faculties when a surgeon cuts out their corresponding cerebral centers?

I reply, in the same way that you explain a musician's inability to sound A sharp and B flat when those particular strings are broken. That does not prove the musician a myth. These phenomena of mutilation, instead of proving the mental qualities to be products of the mechanical structure, prove the reverse; for when Prof. Goltz kept the mutilated dogs alive for six months they regained the lost faculties. The life force either grew a new set of the needed nerve ganglions or found out how to use some other part of the brain to do the work it formerly did with the part cut out. But if it had been just a machine and nothing more, the dog's mind would have gone on to the end as when first mutilated. As a machine it could function only according to its imperfect structure. When we see a machine repaired or getting along just as well when two or three of its principal wheels have been taken out, we know there is somebody there who is not a machine—somebody with intelligence and power of his own. An automaton that can repair itself and learn by experience is simply incredible.

If the religious world, then, would but cultivate a fuller knowledge of the natural sciences it would not be filled with the periodical alarms that now agitate it at the progress of physical investigation, but would hail in each new discovery a fresh source of strength to religion. If there are any to whom this aid seems doubtful, let us bring it to what ought to be admitted by all as a fair test. Let us appeal to facts. If science leads pretty surely to irreligion, then the leading men of science in this age of science should for the most part be materialists or atheists, or at least agnostics. As a matter of fact, is it so? Let me quote from two eminent scientific authorities. Prof. Tait, of Edinburgh, in reply to a charge of this kind brought some years ago, made this statement:

"When we ask any competent authority who are 'the advanced,' 'the best,' and 'the ablest' scientific thinkers of the immediate past in Britain, we cannot but receive for answer such names as Brewster, Faraday, Forbes, Graham, Rowan, Hamilton, Herschel, and Talbot. This must be the case unless

> we use the word *science* in a perverted sense. Which of these men gave up the idea that Nature evidences a designing Mind? But perhaps Mr. Froude [to whom Prof. Tait was replying] refers to the advanced thinkers still happily among us. The names of the foremost among them are not far to seek. But, unfortunately for his assertions, it is quite certain that Andrews, Joule, Clerk Maxwell, Balfour Stewart, Stokes, Sir William Thompson, Owen, Mivert, Beale, Carpenter, Laycock, Jevons, and such men have each and all, when the opportunity presented, spoken out in a sense altogether different from what is implied in Mr. Froude's article."

That was Prof. Tait's emphatic statement some years back. As to the situation in our own decade, let me quote the authorized statement of a well-known Fellow of the Royal Society of London, the representative association of foremost British men of science, as given by Prof. Henry Drummond. Says this distinguished man of science:

> "I have known the British Association under forty-one different presidents, all leading men of science. On looking over these forty-one names, I count twenty who, judged by their private utterances, are men of Christian belief and character; while, judging by the same test, I find only four who disbelieve in any Divine revelation. Of the remaining seventeen, some have possibly been religious men and others may have been opponents; but it is fair to suppose the greater number have given no serious thought to the subject. The figures indicate that religious faith rather than unbelief has characterized the leading men of the Association."

Or look on this side of the Atlantic and recall the leading names—Prof. Henry, Benjamin Pierce, Asa Gray, Prof. LeConte, Prof. Cope, Prof. Cooke the chemist, Shaler the geologist, Dr. John Fiske, Prof. Dolbear, Eliot Coues, Dr. Gould the biologist, Prof. Winchell, Prof. Wm. James, Sterry Hunt, Prof. Dawson, President Jordan of Leland Stanford University, and Professor Stanley Hall of Clark University: are they not all, perhaps not orthodox, yet in the great company of those who recognize the essentials of religion—the reality of God, duty, and a spiritual element in man?

Three summers ago, supping at Greenacre with Prof. Joseph

LeConte and Prof. Lester Ward and Dr. Holbrook, Prof. LeConte spoke of the almost complete passing away of the wave of materialism and atheism that thirty-five years ago was so noticeable among young men of promise in scientific circles. He said that he hardly knew an eminent man of science who to-day held an intellectual position that was materialistic or anti-theistic, and the others in the group entirely assented to his statement. And within the last year the Rev. E. P. Powell, the learned author of "Our Heredity from God," emphatically stated in the *New Unity* (April 23): "Out-and-out evolutionists have for some time ceased to be agnostics. Of noted evolutionists, I know not half a dozen that do not have a conviction of God and immortality."

A candid study and a correct knowledge of the great facts of Nature are not and cannot be prejudicial to true religion. What has suffered by the progress of science has usually been simply the outgrown science of former generations, which to save itself from criticism bolstered itself up on Scripture texts; or it is the obsolete metaphysics and traditional dogmas, which have audaciously assumed that they and they alone constituted religious truth, that have cried out in painful discomfiture. As in Augustine's day, Christianity was made inseparable from the doctrines of predestination; in Roger Bacon's, with the philosophy of Aristotle; as in the days of Vesalius, it was bound up with the medical theories of Galen; and in Galileo's life-time, with the astronomy of Ptolemy—so to-day it is the orthodoxy of the Council of Trent or the Westminster Catechism that is cemented to religion, and any attack on either is assumed to be undermining the very foundations of faith and morals. Or, if essential religion has really suffered assault, it has not been from science, properly so called, that the attack has been received: it has come chiefly from writers who have a superficial knowledge of modern science and who have seized upon some of its more startling and careless utterances, and, without understanding them or knowing the limitations and balancing considerations which correct them and which very often are found in other parts of the scientist's writings, have erected them into an extreme scientific dogmatism, as mistaken and injurious as the theologic dogmatism it attacks. Patent examples of this are to be found in the popular materialism and agnosticism, which like to pose as the most advanced outposts of modern thought because they have got farthest away from the ground of common sense. We should remember not only that theology is a very different thing from religion, and not necessarily to be confounded with it, but also that conjectures and theories as to the origin and essence of the world need something more than novelty and irreverence to constitute them true science. If all uncommon speculations be science, how many scientific carcasses fall in the dust every year!

Of course, I am not blind to the fact that modern science is often too contracted in its outlook. It confines its studies too narrowly to the inorganic and subhuman world. It should add to its field of investigation the domain of human nature and history, and recognize in these a revelation of Divine truth not less significant than what star and strata supply. Religion has its inductive data just as much as geology or natural history. The immaterial thought, the self-directing will, the sense of right and wrong—these are facts as much as attraction of magnet or undulation of sound-wave. Immortal longings inexplicable by the elements of protoplasm, heroisms and self-sacrifices incredible on principles of self-interest, a current in human affairs steadily tending toward the right, the good, and the true—these also are facts. A complete science ought to study these facts candidly and set forth the logical inductions from them, *viz.:* soul and God. While reason, and not sentiment, is the final judge, the former, investigating truth in any broad scientific spirit, must take note not only of the verifications of physical theories in physical experiences but of the equally strong verifications that are to be found of spiritual truth in spiritual experiences. A complete science should own the force not only of those native predispositions that assure us of the constancy of Nature and the indestructibility of matter, but of those ineradicable convictions that asseverate the soul's immortality. It should recognize not only the questioning of the human mind for second causes, but the imperative demand of the causal instinct to pass on from the phenomena to the law and force, from the force to the Primal Cause, and from the law to the Lawgiver, till it steps into the very temple of Divine worship.

Many of the representative men of science, in a spirit of caution that they believe is demanded by their jealous mistress, draw back from taking (at least when speaking in the name of physical research) this last step into the inner court of religion. But every one who watches the currents of modern investigation into Nature notices that all earnest study of the marvels of the universe leads almost inevitably to taking the first steps on the road to faith. As the savant traces backward and forward the successive ages of the world, he makes the acquaintance of that which is not less than eternal. As he meditates on the course of matter and space, spreading out on all sides without conceivable end, he recognizes that which is *infinite*. As he tracks the restless energies of the cosmos, he comes to know that to which he can give no weaker epithet than *omnipotent*. Through the multitudinous variety of the Universe he discerns the Unity on the axis of which all turns—the single center whence all things radiate. Contemplating this stupendous Power and entering into its marvelous secrets, he is filled with irrepressible awe. If he does not feel at liberty himself to pass over the experimental boundary and draw with the pen of faith those higher inferences in which the theologian delights, he cannot consistently contradict or oppose those influences. If Faith may boast of certain further privileges of spiritual intuition in this spiritual realm, she should be grateful to Science for going with her and helping her as far as Science has. Recognizing, as Religion does, the whole Universe as the embodiment and manifestation of the Creator, the Church ought always to encourage rather than discourage the fuller knowledge of this embodiment and manifestation; for, to the consistent worshiper of the one and only God, Nature is his oldest Testament and his most direct Scripture.

The ideas disclosed in it are God's thoughts; the laws of force and matter found there are God's plans materialized; and natural history is but a chapter of natural theology. And the finding of a new manuscript of the Bible or hitherto unknown sayings of Jesus should not rejoice the Church more than the discovery of a new law of Nature.

JAMES T. BIXBY.

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HOW TRUSTS CAN BE CRUSHED.

ILLEGAL combinations of capital, known as Trusts, exist, and find great profit and no molestation in continuing to exist, in defiance of law. Yet the law should be supreme in a land where the will of the people expressed through their representatives is the law, and the greatest as well as the humblest should bow in submission to it.

The Congress of the United States—ch. 647, Statutes of 1897, known as the "Sherman Anti-Trust Law"—prohibits Trusts under a penalty of $5,000 and one year's imprisonment; and that act has been held constitutional by no less than three well-known decisions. In nearly all, if not in all, the States, there has been similar legislation. In North Carolina, by an act passed in 1889, Trusts were made punishable by a fine of $10,000 and ten years' imprisonment. That act defines a Trust as "any arrangement for the purpose of increasing or decreasing the price of any class of products beyond the price that would be fixed by the natural demand or supply."

Yet Trusts, thus doubly illegal, being denounced by both State and Federal law, and whose managers for ten years past have been liable every day to fine and imprisonment, with impunity oppress the public and pile up the wealth that belongs to the many in the overflowing coffers of the few. There should be faithful execution of the law and an impartial enforcement thereof against those who find enormous wealth in its habitual violation as well as against those who violate it from passion or need and without profit.

When the great armies of Europe, in the year 1814, in overwhelming numbers were converging upon Paris, defended by a feeble band under Napoleon, an unexpected move of that great genius disconcerted them so that an immediate retreat was begun by their vast forces. An unsigned note, in a lady's hand, coming from Paris was delivered to the commanding general. It read, "You can do everything and you attempt nothing." That note changed the face of the world. A council of war was held; the allied army about faced and marched straight on Paris. The great military monarchy of Napoleon fell. So it should be said to the American people: "You complain of the evils the Trusts inflict upon you. You complain that the earnings of the producer, and the profits of the small dealer, and the opportunity for advancement to many, are all confiscated for the creation of a few multi-millionaires. Why do you complain? The remedy is in your own hands. You can do everything, and you attempt nothing."

The people are all-powerful when they really will it. At one exercise of their will they can take charge of this government from constable to President. If members of the State Legislatures and Congress are unfaithful, the people should mark their course and elect others. If statutes passed in the public interest are held unconstitutional by judges, then the same people who made the Constitution (whether State or Federal) can amend it if really necessary; or if the fault is in the judges, remove them and put better men in their places. The servant is not above his master, and judges and all other public officials are servants of the people—and they are nothing more.

The statutes making Trusts illegal have not been enforced. Then let the master, the sovereign people, look into it and see what public servants have been lacking in zeal to enforce the law.

Those who are friendly to the Trusts say that there *are* no Trusts. The defense made by these hirelings of unlawful combinations of capital—for no man, unless receiving benefit from them, would defend them—sounds like a plea set up by a lawyer whose client was sued for damaging a kettle he had borrowed. His plea ran thus: (1) The kettle was not cracked when he returned it. (2) It was cracked when he got it. (3) He never had the blamed old kettle. So these advocates of the Trusts say: (1) Trusts are very useful and beneficial. (2) They are a necessary and unavoidable evil. (3) There are no Trusts.

But every one knows perfectly well that there *are* Trusts. They dip into every dish and levy tribute on everything that is eaten, worn, or otherwise used. They have eaten up the just earnings of the toiler and the tradesman. They are as voracious and as thorough as the locusts of Egypt. They are illegal and oppressive. The people can and ought to suppress them.

It will be asked how this can be done. An honest, faithful execution of the laws already upon the statute-books would destroy them; and this faithful execution can be had whenever the people will arouse themselves to select only such public servants as will faithfully execute those laws. But it has been suggested that additional enactments will be useful. I would not be understood as opposing any suggestions made by others who may be more familiar with the subject than I, and who have studied it more profoundly; but I venture to suggest some enactments that may well be passed by any legislature that is seriously hostile to these cancers upon the body politic.

First, consider the nature of the operation of these illegal combinations. They combine vast masses of capital; then whenever they find an honest dealer or a competing manufacturer making a reasonable profit on goods similar to theirs, they put an agent, or open a store nominally in the name of another, alongside of him and undersell him till they have broken him up or forced him to sell out to the Trust; whereupon immediately the price of the manufactured article is put up to the consumer, and the price paid to the producer for raw material is reduced. The monopoly having no longer any competition, the producer is forced to take an unjustly low price and the consumer is compelled to pay an unjustly high one, and the opportunity of countless thousands of men, who would have been dealers and manufacturers, to support their families is destroyed. Those dealers and manufacturers would by their competition have guaranteed just prices to the creator of the raw material and reasonable prices to the consumer; but the Trusts destroy both classes alike, and put the profits into their own coffers.

The additional legislation that has occurred to me is as follows:

1. The Trusts, being illegal, should be treated as all other outlaws and forbidden the use of the courts to collect debts due them and for all other purposes. When they sell goods on credit, or seek injunction to restrain use of a trade-mark and the like, the defense that the plaintiff is a Trust may be pleaded, and, if proved, should bar any judgment or execution in their favor. Enormous as are their illegal accumulations, even the Trusts must do some business on credit. Such an act as this has been passed in Missouri, and I believe in Arkansas and Texas, and possibly other States. In some States, notably in this, the Trusts have been able to defeat similar bills when introduced. That the Trusts should earnestly oppose such legislation is conclusive answer to those who say the law would have done no good. The Trusts may be trusted to know their own interests. Whenever and wherever hereafter such bills shall be introduced, if the matter has been discussed beforehand and public opinion has been unmistakably indicated, legislators will turn a deaf ear to Trust lobbyists, "charm they ne'er so charmingly."

2. This State has passed a statute that forbids any corporation chartered in another to do business here until such company has been rechartered in this State and has become a North Carolina corporation. Many other States have passed a similar statute. This has been held constitutional by the Supreme Court of this State, and similar acts have been sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States. By its rigid enforcement every corporation doing business in this State will be subject to State control and regulation. If any of them are proved to be Trusts, or otherwise doing an illegal business, they can be wound up and forced to cease their operations in this State.

3. Another just measure is one recently put in force in Germany, by which a graded tax is laid upon the earnings of corporations, the per cent. of taxation being proportioned to gross earnings. This discourages very large aggregations of

capital and tends to give small manufacturers and small dealers an opportunity in the struggle for existence. It is a just application of the maxim, "the greatest good to the greatest number," which must be the basis of all good government. It is better far that we have a very large number of prosperous, well-to-do citizens, with moderate incomes, than a few multi-millionaires "high rolling" in London and New York while the masses of our people are struggling for a bare living. A similar application of the German principle is the graded inheritance tax and graded income tax in England, by which the great fortunes are heavily taxed, raising in this mode about one-third of the annual revenues of the British Empire, while the small estates are lightly taxed and those under a certain sum are entirely exempt.

4. And there is still a fourth measure of relief. The Trusts operate by underselling the small dealer and raising the price of raw material to the small manufacturer; and after they are forced out, the Trust reduces the price to the producer and raises it to the consumer. This can be met by a statute empowering the courts in such cases to issue writs against any corporation that has thus reduced prices of the manufactured article from again raising them, and making an attempt to do so a forfeiture of the charter, provided a jury shall find that the reduction was made for the purpose of destroying competition. As under the statute referred to in the paragraph numbered 1 above a corporation cannot do business in a State without taking out a charter therein, this would close out all such operations. Individuals may reduce prices at will; but, when corporations created only by the State use their powers against the public interest, it can be made cause for withdrawing those powers.

Besides the evils from Trusts already enumerated, these are further to be considered:

(1) Under a normal and just condition of affairs the greater profits of the producer of the raw material, of the small manufacturer and small dealer, and the sums saved to the consumers by the lower price to them when there is competition—all

these stay at home, and their accumulation will make the State rich. Under Trust rule all these profits are accumulated in a few hands and are steadily carried off to the great money centers to the permanent impoverishment of the country districts.

(2) The owners of the vast accumulations of these illegal concerns, operating under the prohibition of both State and Federal statutes, require to be protected against the penalties denounced by those statutes. To that end, portions of the amounts illegally levied upon the public by these modern Dick Turpins are set aside for the purchase or control of newspapers, for donations to educational institutions that shall indoctrinate our youth with sentiments of the beauty and holiness of Trusts and the liberality of Trust magnates, and for the debauching of elections and the manipulation of Legislatures and Congress through "lobbying" and other well-known and reprehensible methods. They are thus truly cancers upon the body politic.

These and other evils are known to every one. They are like the sun—but only in that none can fail to see them. No one denies the existence of these evils or apologizes for them save those who are employed by the Trusts or who are in some way favored or controlled by them. Public opinion and public interest are against them—but the Trusts survive and prosper exceedingly. Yet the people can put an end to them whenever they shall so will. Will they do it? Shall it be said of our people, as of the allied armies of 1814?—"You can do everything, and you attempt nothing."

The British government of 1776 in this country stood for plutocracy. The Whigs of that day, led by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and others, stood for a government of men, and conquered. The Trusts of this day are a revival of the Tories of 1776 and stand for government by the moneyed classes. Are we weaker than our forefathers? They won the right of self-government for us. Shall we lose it? Shall we permit the true center of government to go back to Threadneedle street in London, with Wall street, New York, as its

American agent? When a knowledge of the real situation shall once get to the masses of this country, there can be but one answer.

Agitation and time are necessary to reach the rank and file. Storms and whirlwinds may agitate the surface of the ocean, but the great depths are not so easily moved. The heart of Pharaoh was conquered only by great afflictions. The people will surely be moved by the greater oppressions the Trusts are preparing to pile upon us. These oppressions will touch the hearts and quicken the intelligence of the masses as nothing else will. They will be ready for decision, and when they are the bonds with which the Trusts have bound them will burst like the green withes that were laid upon Samson.

Deliverance will come, but it can come only from the people themselves.

WALTER CLARK.

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THE LAST CENTURY AS A UTILITARIAN AGE.

UTILITY was the key-note of the nineteenth century. Not that it was an age barren of poets, dreamers, and philosophers, but the utilitarian idea pervaded society in almost all its complex relations. Perhaps the three illustrations most impressive of this fact are to be found in the utilization of by-products, the utilization of Nature's mighty forces for the benefit of man, and the invention and discovery of labor-saving machinery and methods for the performance of needed work.

I. UTILIZATION OF BY-PRODUCTS.

During the last hundred years science has unfolded wonder after wonder, until the imagination of man is almost staggered in the presence of her revelations, while the succession of miracle-like inventions has caused us to cease to marvel at achievements that yesterday were universally accounted impossible. Yet I doubt whether the wonder-stories of nineteenth-century science or the dazzling triumphs of inventive genius are more marvelous than the record of how the utilitarian spirit of this century led men to find hidden wealth in things that for ages have cumbered the land or have been discarded as worthless.

Let us take, for example, the stalks of the Indian maize, or American corn. In some parts of America thrifty farmers utilize the corn stalks for fodder, but in the vast fields of the middle West and South little or no value was placed upon the stalks after the corn had been gathered. Usually cattle were turned into the field to glean the ears that might have escaped the farmer and to eat the tenderest leaves remaining on the withered stems; but after that the great fields remained covered with the dry and unsightly stalks until the time of cultivation the following spring arrived. How little value was placed upon the fields denuded of corn may seen when we learn that in the great corn belt sixty cents an acre was regarded a good price for stockmen to pay either for the fodder shocked in the field or for the privilege of using the field as a range for their cattle.

Now, into this unpromising field the utilitarian spirit called to its aid science, discovery, and invention, and during the last five years of the century revolutionary discoveries were made. The despised corn stalk became almost as valuable as the corn it produced, and, instead of finding his field after harvest a drug on the market at sixty cents an acre, the farmer in several sections of the country realized from six to twelve dollars an acre for the stalks. A thoughtful writer, who made a careful and exhaustive study of the whole subject connected with the utilization of this by-product for the *Orange Judd Farmer*, observes in that representative agricultural paper that—

> "the possibilities thus opened up are prodigious. To add only a few dollars per acre to each one of the 80,000,000 acres devoted to maize in the United States each year runs into a sum so fabulous as hardly to bear publication. But if it is assumed that only the fields of the corn belt will be benefited, those eight States—Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska—alone average close to 50,000,000 acres under corn. If only five dollars an acre is added to the value of the crop in this limited belt, it means the tidy sum of $250,000,000 added to the farmers' income. And most of it would be net profit, the balance paying for labor in place of enforced idleness. Since the value of the corn (grain) crop in this Western belt averages only six to ten dollars per acre, any such cash return for the stalks alone would practically double the value of the crop. And corn (grain) produced in the United States each year is alone worth 650 to 850 millions of dollars."

But the question naturally arises, How is it possible so to utilize the corn stalk, after it has yielded its rich harvest, that it can be made to net the farmer so large a sum and still be profitable to the purchaser? In answer to this question the writer from whom I have quoted above thus replies:

> Here is the list of the products that have already been made on a commercial scale from the maize stalk:
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> 1. Cellulose for packing coffer-dams of battle-ships, thus preventing them from sinking when pierced by balls or shells.

2. Pyroxylin varnish, a liquid form of cellulose, the uses of which are practically unlimited.

3. Cellulose for nitrating purposes, for making smokeless powder and other high explosives, for both small and great arms, as well as purposes for which dynamite or other explosives are required in various forms and degrees of strength.

4. Cellulose for packing, it being the most perfect non-conductor known against heat or electricity, jars or blows.

5. Paper pulp and various forms of paper made therefrom, both alone and mixed with other grades of paper stock.

6. Stock food made from fine ground outer shells or shives of corn stalks, and also from the nodes or joints. The leaves and tassels also furnish a shredded or baled fodder.

7. Mixed feeds for stock, containing fine ground shells or shives as a base, and in addition thereto various nitrogenous meals and concentrated food substances, or blood, molasses, distillery and glucose refuse, sugar-beet pulp, apple pomace, and other by-products.

8. Poultry foods of two types, namely—type 1, containing a dominant nitrogenous factor for laying hens, and No. 2, containing a dominant carbohydrate factor for fattening purposes.

This is but a bare enunciation of the principal classes of corn-stalk products. Each class may be subdivided into a variety of purposes. The value of these products is unquestionably great. Any one of them is important enough to form a large industry of itself.

The cellulose packing made from the pith of the corn stalks has been proved, after the most severe tests, to be an absolute protection "to battle-ships against danger from sinking due to the entrance of water:"

"Coffer-dams about three feet in thickness, when tightly packed with maize pith and perforated by shells or solid shot, are completely impervious to the passage of water. . . When the coffer-dam containing this material is perforated by a shot, the elasticity of the tightly-packed pith completely closes the hole made by the projectile, so that the water cannot pass through. Naturally some water must enter at the point of perforation; but owing to the great capacity of the pith to absorb water, it being able to hold more than twenty times its own weight when not pressed, the water that first enters is at once absorbed. This causes the pith that is moistened to swell, and thus to close more completely the aperture made by the projectile."

Something of the value of this new product may be gleaned from the observation of naval constructor Lewis Nixon, who declares that "the discovery and application of cellulose are of as vital importance to the navy as the development of Harveyized armor and smokeless powder." Several of the leading European nations have already followed the example of our government and are using this cellulose for the protection of their battle-ships. Among other leading uses of this product, as enumerated by the writer I have quoted, are high explosives: "The best smokeless powders and dynamites are made from this nitrated corn pith. The powders have remarkably permanent qualities, not being open to decomposition and thus being safer to keep and use than the ordinary smokeless powders heretofore manufactured."

Many people who take little pleasure in battle-ships or smokeless powder will be interested to know that "in paper manufacture the use of corn-pith cellulose is destined to play an important part. The outer shell or shives of the internodes of corn stalk under proper treatment yield a pulp that can be used alone or as an admixture with cheaper pulps for making paper." It is predicted that fine book paper will be one of the products of corn stalks, and, according to our author, "it may yet prove true that the humble corn stalk will be a most potent factor in preserving forests. The consumption of forests by wood-pulp mills has assumed vast proportions, and already threatens the dire consequences of forest denudation. With corn-stalk pulp obtained more cheaply and of better quality than wood pulp, and as an incidental by-product of other manufactures instead of being the sole product, as in wood-pulp mills, the possibilities of the pulp feature of corn-stalk utilization are certainly immense."

Space prevents our noticing at length the other practical uses to which the products of the corn stalks are already being put, but enough has been said to indicate the great value of this by-product, which since the use of maize by civilization has been esteemed of little or no value.

In the cotton seed we have another illustration of a by-product becoming immensely valuable to civilization. For generations the seed of this plant was accounted a positive nuisance, but the spirit of utility took the scientist by the hand and led him to the high black mounds of seed, with the result that a rich yield of an immensely valuable oil was produced—an oil already in extensive demand in domestic cooking, in the making of some of the most popular vegetable-oil soaps, and in numerous other fields where a pure and healthful oil is demanded. The seeds when ground produce a meal that is unexcelled as food for cattle and poultry. It is also one of the most valuable fertilizers to be found in the Southern States.

The products of the slaughter-house furnish another interesting illustration of the triumph of the utilitarian spirit. Here everything is now utilized—the hair as well as the hides, the bones, the blood, the horns and hoofs, and the entrails. Indeed, the parts of the animal that were formerly thrown away are said to yield a larger profit than the dressed carcass of the beef, sheep, or pig.

It would be interesting to continue our investigations of the utilization of the waste or by-products, but the story is one that would in itself require many chapters for its proper presentation; and the illustrations given are typical and sufficient to show how the spirit of the last century seized upon things long considered to be worthless and created from them wealth greater than Golconda's storied treasures.

II. THE UTILIZATION OF NATURE'S FORCES.

From the by-products we now turn to the employment of Nature's subtle forces and her great reservoirs of energy for the benefit of man. It is only necessary to consider the vast commercial and manufacturing interests of modern civilization, and to notice how thoroughly they are dependent upon steam and electricity, to realize how the extensive utilization of some of Nature's forces by modern civilization has transformed the world in which we live. Yet the employment of lightning and steam to do the work of millions of hands is by no means the only practical use that the last generation has made of the forces and motor power afforded by Nature, as will be readily understood if we turn from these handmaids of progress and utility to a consideration of the employment on a gigantic scale of the mighty waterfalls of the New World. The utilization of a part of the vast power of Niagara Falls and its conversion into electrical energy for furnishing light, heat, and mechanical power afford an interesting case in point. A still more ambitious undertaking is in progress at Sault Saint Marie, Ontario. Here many million dollars have been invested during the last five years in a gigantic work that, when completed, will have practically harnessed and utilized all the vast energy generated by the waters poured from Lake Superior into Lake Ontario. For untold ages the largest fresh lake in the world has poured its waters over the rapids at the lower end of the lake, without being of any practical benefit to man. Yet here is energy enough to supply ample power for thousands of industries dependent upon cheap power for their successful operation. It takes only about one one-thousandth part of the waters of Lake Superior for the operation of the locks of the great ship canal. The rest is at hand for the use of man for manufacturing purposes, and this is now being rapidly utilized. Moreover, its use is leading the practical, able, and daring promoters of the enterprise boldly to go further in their efforts profitably to employ waste products. A brief summary of what has been done here and a notice of some of the things now under construction will illustrate the utilitarian spirit of the nineteenth century, while furnishing one of the most interesting wonder-stories of industrial progress.

The company developing electrical energy from Lake Superior first constructed the largest paper-pulp mill in the world, the production of which already brings in over $900,000 a year. The territory extending from the Falls to Hudson Bay is covered with thick and heavy forests of spruce, the stumpage of which was offered to the promoters by the

Canadian government at a very reasonable price. Here we find an enormous industrial plant almost in its infancy and capable of being enlarged and extended until it can greatly increase its output at a very small comparative cost. Though mechanical wood pulp is being here manufactured at a fair profit—as it brings $30 a ton—the enterprising and practical management soon saw a way by which their revenue could be immensely increased, as chemically-treated pulp is worth about $60 a ton. The company, therefore, next set to work to build the largest sulphite mill in the world, the product of which, it is said, will be a million and a half dollars a year. In the treatment of chemical wood pulp, sulphur is called for. This chemical greatly increases the cost; but in the great works of the Canadian Copper Company, one hundred miles distant, large quantities of sulphur are daily thrown off in fumes. The ore treated in these works contains nickel, iron, and sulphur. The sulphur, here and elsewhere in copper and nickel works, has always been treated as a by-product of which no account was taken, because it was supposed to be impossible to save it. The management, which had so successfully inaugurated manufacturing by the utilization of Lake Superior, determined to attempt the saving of the sulphur being thrown off at the nickel works. Accordingly, the most skilful experts were employed, with results regarded by the interested parties as sufficiently satisfactory to lead them to buy a nickel mine for the utilization of sulphur. They are also building reducing works, where they hope to be able to save the sulphur through their new discoveries. The company is also building a railroad through mineral regions, which will connect the mines with their works at the Falls. After the sulphur is extracted from the ore the company will have a ferro-nickel product that can be made into nickel-steel, and, since they are seeking to realize all the material at hand that promises rich returns, they have set about to make nickel-steel. They furthermore claim to have solved the problem upon which metallurgists and electricians have long been at work, namely, the economical reduction of nickel ore into steel by electricity. All the hard cutting tools now employed on the company's property have been manufactured at their own works, which are being so enlarged that before long there will be one hundred furnaces of five tons daily capacity. Owing to the manufacture of steel demanding large quantities of iron, the company secured an immense tract of land rich in iron-producing ore, and is now successfully treating the ore in its own furnaces. Within five years the promoters hope to be using all the outflow of Lake Superior except what is required for the ship canal.

Here, then, we have an admirable, concrete illustration of one result of the practical or utilitarian spirit of the nineteenth century; yet it may be fairly said that work along these lines is in its infancy, and it is highly probable that at an early date the tide of the ocean will be so utilized as to generate electrical energy for the cities by the sea.

III. LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY.

Turning from the success achieved by mankind in utilizing by-products and the long-neglected forces and powers of Nature, let us glance for a moment at the invention of labor-saving machinery. Here again we find ourselves in a wonder-world, presided over by utility, where science, discovery, and invention are the servants of mankind. It matters not in what direction we turn or through what field of activity we thread our way; everywhere the work that a century ago would have required a large number of toilers is now performed by a few hands. Let us begin with business and professional life. Here it would be thought that comparatively little labor saving could be wrought through inventions, devices, or discoveries; but if we remember the force of long-hand writers that was required to take down, even indifferently, the speech of a statesman or the sermon of a divine in the olden times, and now perceive an expert stenographer catching every word with perfect ease, and afterward not only reproducing it in clear and beautiful typewritten pages, but when necessary furnishing several copies without repeating the labor, we see how even the march of improvements has come to the aid of man. But it is not until one tries to imagine how the busy business man of to-day would accomplish his work if he attempted to imitate his father in answering his correspondence in long-hand that we appreciate the debt owed by the modern business and professional world to stenography and typewriting.

In the great printing office, in the mills, factories, foundries, mines, and quarries, however, we find still greater triumphs in labor-saving devices and inventions. Take, for example, the typesetting machine, which is but one of the many marvels found in the printing house to-day. I remember how bitter was the cry that went up a few years ago, when in two of our great cities 2,500 men were thrown out of work in four weeks by the introduction of the typesetting machines, chiefly in the great newspaper offices; yet this was but one of hundreds of instances where labor-saving machinery has taken the place of human labor in the furtherance of the work of the world. The blowing of glass fruit jars by machinery was another cause for an outcry, as was the displacement of a number of scrub-women in some of the great office buildings of our leading cities by the introduction of machines devised for quickly cleaning the floors. It is worthy of note that in very many instances hard, irksome labor and sheer drudgery are to-day very largely performed by machinery, through the inventions and discoveries of the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

It is in the devising and making of labor-saving machinery that we are brought face to face with one of the most tragic phases of our present civilization. Through a fatal flaw in the ethical development of our people—a flaw for which the home training, the school, and the church are alike to blame, and for which the State is also largely responsible in that it has not appreciated the importance of maintaining self-respecting manhood or making its citizens patriotic by virtue of its showing a willingness to assist the helpless to help themselves—we find in many instances labor-saving machinery has served to deprive thousands and tens of thousands of willing workers of employment, who have filled our cities, and in times of business depression our nation, with great armies of self-respecting citizens doomed to idleness and pressed remorselessly toward starvation, suicide, beggary, or crime through no fault of their own. Of course, the wonderful machinery, by the aid of which the work of ten or perhaps a hundred men is now performed by one individual, is not to blame, for it is potentially an unmixed blessing. But the low ethics that have prevailed throughout the various ramifications of society have rendered possible conditions that are a blight to civilization. It is variously estimated that the work which a century ago would have required a fourteen-hour day to accomplish can now be well done in a day of from four to six hours; hence, we are face to face with a condition pregnant with promise of brighter things. At no period in earth's history has it been possible to have all the legitimate wants of civilization well ministered to with such short days as to afford men and women ample time for growing upward, for developing all that is finest, truest, and most worthy in their natures, and for enjoying life. Thanks to inventive discoveries, to science, and to the spirit of utility, that time has now arrived and only waits on the awakening of the sleeping God in the individual, in society, and in the State.

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ORGANIZED CHARITY.

THE writer is fully aware that it is much easier to find fault with existing abuses than to suggest a means of their correction. The majority of people have become so accustomed to believe in the necessity and efficacy of organized charity that they take the present system as a matter of course, and seldom stop to inquire whether or not it is working for the highest and best good of the recipients of its bounty. I do not wish to be understood as deprecating the work of organized charity as a whole. I believe that the University Settlements, the Salvation Army, and a few other societies that are placing the poor in a position to help themselves, are accomplishing much good, and that many high-minded, true, and noble men and women are engaged in uplifting and benefiting their poorer brothers and sisters. But outside these channels there is an element in charity that tends to pauperize and degrade people instead of uplifting and benefiting them. It was said by one of old that "charity covereth a multitude of sins," and so it does to-day—but not in the way that saying was meant. Many persons use charity as a conscience salve, hoping thus to atone for their unrighteous dealings with their fellow-men.

The world to-day is in far greater need of *justice* between man and man than of any charity offered as a sop for wrong-doing. The real charity of life must come through loving-kindness, and must have as its object the helping of others to help themselves. It is one of the great laws of life that *through giving we receive: as our giving is, so shall our receiving be.* All giving, then, that tends to convey to the receiver a real good benefits the giver also. But whenever the acceptance of a gift tends to lower the receiver's self-respect, or causes him to feel a sense of degradation, then such a gift reacts unfavorably on the giver.

When persons in need go to a Charity Organization to have their wants relieved there is generally a long list of questions to be answered, references to be given, and a great deal of red tape to be encountered. And if the organization happen to belong to a particular religious sect, the applicant has very little prospect of success unless he be a member of that denomination. Charity is not dispensed in the name of Christ, but in the name of some particular church. If the organization happen to be non-sectarian, the questions asked and requirements demanded make it next to impossible for a sensitive person to undergo the ordeal. Some may say that "beggars should not be choosers"—that they should give thanks for what they get instead of finding fault with conditions. But that does not alter the facts, for frequently it is the brazen-faced beggar who receives the charity while the shrinking, sensitive person is rebuffed. In saying this I am stating a fact whereof I have personal knowledge.

Organized charity, in order to accomplish any great or lasting good, must have for its object—first, last, and all the time—*the helping of people to help themselves.* If it cannot do this, then the world were better off without organized charity. The holding together of soul and body is not enough; merely to supply one's physical wants for a day, a week, a month, or a year is not sufficient. The beggar as well as the millionaire has a soul, and one is just as precious to its Creator as the other.

If in the receiving of money, or any other material gift, one's independence and freedom and self-respect be so interfered with that the head cannot be held erect and eyes dare not look into eyes, then a wrong has been done by the bestower of charity that must be atoned for by him alone. The charitably disposed may not be able to give light and understanding to those in need, but charity should not come in to lessen the recipient's sense of manhood in its bestowal. If it cannot add to this sense, surely it should not curtail it. Whenever, then, there is giving contrary to the eternal law of right, the giver subjects himself to punishment equally with the receiver. The law cannot be violated without both getting wrong results.

Humanity is one—a body of many parts. The millionaire may be the head and the tramp the foot, but these must somehow be united by the heart. At present there is a great deal too much blood in the head and very poor circulation in the feet. This undoubtedly proceeds from weak heart action. When the heart is strengthened the blood should circulate evenly, nourishing all parts of the great whole. It will be found that, while the grand body of humanity has many parts, each part has a definite work to do; and, if anything interferes with that work, the part becomes weakened and diseased—the disease to some degree affecting the whole organism. It will also be found that the well-being of the entire body is conserved by each part performing its own particular function—that only as this operation is uninterfered with can the body be whole and free from disease.

The object of this illustration is to show that there must be a mutual giving and receiving; that organized charities should find some way of giving work of one kind or another to the unfortunates applying for aid; that the giving of money without receiving some equivalent tends to make parasites of human beings; that the charity organizations are responsible for the pauperizing of many people—for perpetuating a condition of slavery that is intolerable to the most highly civilized thought of our time; and that old ways and methods must be discarded and new means adopted for the moral and mental elevation of the men and women that look for assistance to those above them in wealth and knowledge.

Society, the State, and the nation are responsible for the existing order of things. There are in this country tens of thousands of able-bodied persons out of employment. These masses must be fed, in one way or another. If they could obtain work, the labor would help to strengthen their physical bodies and also develop their minds; but if they have to live on what they receive from charity organizations or private individuals, then there is little hope of civic progress. An unholy system that makes it possible for certain persons to own thousands of times more of this world's goods than they need or can possibly use carries within itself abject poverty. One extreme begets the other—the millionaire is father to the tramp. Then let society and the nation, who are responsible alike for the wealth and the poverty, find some way whereby the poor shall have an opportunity to work, and shall receive sufficient compensation at least to hold soul and body together. Let our social leaders and legislators cease making slaves or beggars of people through their unrighteous charity. Let them not heap up judgment and condemnation upon themselves, but rather try at least to do something that will make human existence for countless thousands less of a struggle for bread than it is at the present time.

This nation has been likened to a great family of which the highest and lowest members form equally important parts: a Republic in which each works for all and all work for each. It is only so in name, however, as the statement is a mere figure of speech. A family that would fail to care for its weakest members—one wherein the strong would prey upon the weak—would hardly be considered worthy of the name. A nation that allows its sons and daughters to starve, when it might provide them with sufficient *work* to insure a comfortable living—and at the same time sends thousands of its wage-earners to the distant parts of the earth to slaughter their brother-men—can hardly be regarded as having any of the paternal or maternal instincts awakened. "But," says some one, "paternal government is infernal!"—and our so-called wise men take up the cry and harp upon it, attempting to show the dire injuries that would result to the nation in helping its own. It is right, it would seem, to take fathers and sons from their homes and give them employment in fighting men, but it is not right for the government to engage in any extensive operation wherein tens of thousands of men might be employed, not in a way that would carry distress or sorrow into the family life, as war does, but by which every participant would be benefited.

Think of the great amount of good that could be accomplished by an army of peace—in building good roads, in developing waste land, and in doing many other things in which the government could profitably employ men! Such public enterprise would strengthen our country and develop our commerce in a way that neither war nor any other agency could ever approach. Organized charity would not thrive to the degree that it now enjoys, and non-producers would not draw fat salaries in dispensing it. There should be no need or toleration of nine-tenths of such organizations as now exist. If every one able to work were given an opportunity to do so, those unable to work might perhaps be cared for by organized charity; but in all probability they would be cared for by members of their own families, who would doubtless earn sufficient to support themselves as well as those unable to work.

The "organized charity" needed by the world to-day is a righteous distribution of its wealth. Not that it should be divided equally among all its people (because if it were it would not remain so for any length of time), but that the laborer is entitled, first, to work, and secondly to a fair proportion of what he produces; and if in his service to humanity he become infirm or unable to work, then his past labor should entitle him to be cared for in some way other than by a charity organization.

If the fear of future poverty could be taken out of the minds of people, a great burden would be lifted, because man's fears are often greater concerning the future than the present. If the apprehension of poverty were removed it would tend to stop the mad scramble after wealth that causes many to lose the highest and truest aims in life. The thought of future poverty and dependence stifles the vital energies and tends to make many useless members of society; but if one could be *assured* of work, and of enough material means to keep him in comparative comfort when unable to work, there would undoubtedly be a radical change in the minds of many regarding the advantages that might accrue from vast accumulations of wealth. If organized charity is going to become of real service in life, let it try to secure for the unemployed work that will develop them both physically and mentally. The men and women that are employed will lead more moral and upright lives than those that are unemployed. Society, the State, and the nation will be uplifted, strengthened, and redeemed when every one is engaged in some service that makes for the good of all.

"It is better to lend than to give," says a writer in the Talmud; "to *give employment* is better than either."

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THE KEY-NOTE IN MUSICAL THERAPEUTICS.

THE effect of music upon the mind is generally recognized as beneficial in that it awakens pleasurable emotions, soothing or stimulating centers of thought and feeling until the entire being is lifted into a higher state. That this effect is communicated to the body is admitted, but the musical means employed in such communication and the extent of physical benefit derived have not been sufficiently investigated either by musicians themselves or by scientists. The action of music upon the nervous system is patent to any observer, but the specific application of tones and chords for therapeutic purposes presents an entirely new field of inquiry.

Before discussing the real question at hand, it may be well to consider the healing action of music in a general sense. Our attention is first attracted by its uplifting influence. The mind weighed down by inherited ideas of disease and pain, literally sunk in the body and subject to its every mood, is gradually lifted into a freer, more independent position. Thought ascends; its vigilant examination into bodily conditions is stopped; its grip upon petty aches and ails is shaken—vibrated out of the physical into the spiritual. In this exalted state we become insensible to pain, which enters only into the consciousness of the *physical* self. All discordant elements are forgotten in the harmonies by which we are swayed. While in the altitudes of music we are practically asleep to all our ills. The physical self is abandoned—left to work out its own salvation. This is Nature's opportunity. Relieved from our meddling scrutiny, unhampered by the personal will, she sets her own recuperative forces into operation, and these, acting in unison with or rather *constituting* the Divine Will, accomplish our restoration to health. Thus *music*, by enticing us away from our infirmities, by elevating consciousness to a higher plane, enthralling us with beauties of spiritual suggestion, opens the door for the cure.

Upon returning to the lower plane of consciousness at the cessation of the music, it is as if we return from a visit to find our bodily home purified—made comfortable once more. From our experience in the upper realms of music we have discovered that pain and disease have no essential hold upon us, and knowledge of our ability thus to rise above them shakes belief in their dominant power and affords strength to master them upon their own plane. The peace gathered upon the heights of music is so much capital held in reserve against encroachments of inharmony.

In respect to its uplifting power, music does not differ from other arts; indeed, anything that lifts us into at-one-ment with our diviner selves tends to destroy the idea that pain and disease are fixed conditions of human life and opens the way for a freer movement of those forces which ever work toward health and harmony. A smile on the face of a friend, an absorbing occupation, or a fine painting will produce mental and spiritual elevation; but *music,* with its infinite variety of chord connection, its suggestive modulations, its rhythmical flexibility, tone coloring, and emotional pictures, its melodies and movements in minor and major, penetrates every nook and cranny of our being. It thrills every fiber; it floods every cell, and, touching the springs of the soul, frees it from fleshly bondage to wed it with the spirit of peace eternal.

Drawing a step nearer to our principle theme, but still under the same general view, let us now inquire how music actually heals the physical organism. We are now confronted by the opposing concepts, health and disease—or harmony and inharmony. Health may be defined as a state of *harmony,* a mold or channel through which music flows. Disease may be defined as a state of *inharmony,* or mold for noise. We now have health (or music) against disease (or noise). The vibrations of the former are regular and periodic; those of the latter are irregular and non-periodic. The healing action of music is a process of substitution. Music is the health, and noise the disease, of sound. Music-health is *substituted* for noise-disease. Reversing a previous statement, we may now affirm that music is a condition, a mold or channel for health, and likewise that noise is a mold for disease. In brief, then, music heals by substituting its own state of harmony for that state of mental and physical inharmony called disease. The distinction between *noise* and *music* is of especial importance, since healing power depends upon regular, periodic vibrations.

We are now ready for the affirmation—Music affects the body through the mind. The healing quality of a musical tone lies in the impression produced upon the mind by the regularity of the vibration. Repetition of the vibratory period, forming pitch and giving to the tone a smooth, undisturbed character, acts upon disordered mental states similarly as oil upon the waters. The mind is so shaped by the sonorous groove or mold in which it is cast as to assume sympathetically the three characteristics of the tone—force, pitch, quality. When the mold is withdrawn the impression is retained. Frequency of treatment naturally strengthens the impression until mental states of *irregular* vibration constituting noise, or disease, yield to *regular* vibrations constituting music, or health. The body, echoing every fluctuation of thought, gives evidence of the change by improved circulation and sequential regularity of its various functions. It is naturally to the *nervous system* that the mind at once transfers the smooth periodic pulsations by which it is influenced. During the process of diffusion that takes place in the brain, music becomes *transmuted,* and each set of nerves, adapting the musical energy to its own requirements, acting as interpreter of music, conveys its healing principle to the devitalized parts of the body.

"For every *mental* shock, every awakening of consciousness, every *mental* transition, there must be a *concomitant nervous shock;* and as the one is more or less intense, so must be the other." "When an impression is accompanied with feeling, the aroused currents diffuse themselves freely over the brain, leading to a general agitation of the muscular organs as well as affecting the viscera. It is not meant that every fiber and cell can be affected at one moment, but that a spreading wave is produced sufficient to agitate the body at large." "States of pleasure are connected with an increase, states of pain with an abatement, of some or all of the vital functions." (Alexander Bain.)

"I have no doubt whatever that the acknowledged influence of music over the insane might be far more extensively used; indeed, if applied judiciously to a disorganized mind, it might be as powerful an agent as galvanism in restoring healthy and pleasurable activity to the emotional regions." (Reginald Haweis.)

Since *every* musical tone possesses an inherent property of healing, we are led to inquire whether one tone has virtue more than another, or whether all are equally endowed. Again, what special group of tones, arranged melodically or harmonically, is peculiarly adapted to the rejuvenation of diseased parts? These questions enter into the nature of Music as an Art, and can find their solution only in the natural relationship of tones and chords. Key, rhythm, and movement also enter into the matter, but more than all this is the great *meaning* of music, which underlies and pervades all tone combinations—the very spirit of harmony breathing through its envelope of sound. While engaged with the *material* vibrations of sound, we should never lose sight of the *spiritual* purpose with which all real music is surcharged. By this we mean, technically, musical expression, *i. e.,* what music is saying to us. It is the thought and emotion running along between the notes, inflating them to the bursting point, using them as tools of expression, making them serve a larger principle than mere vibration—this it is that most deeply concerns us and forms the vital essence of healing.

To facilitate progress along the lines of these pertinent inquiries, attention is now invited to the consideration of music from a *specific* standpoint. The query, Does one tone possess healing virtue more than another? bears directly upon our theme —the Key-note. All music is centered, or pivoted. Upon the pivot the swing or rotation of harmonies depends. At this central point dwells the composite or concentrated principle of harmony. There is nothing in the extension, the ramification, which is not in the nucleus; and for this reason the relation that all musical tones, within the given radius of a key, bear to one another and to a common center is most *intimate*—a relation that may indeed be said to constitute tonal consanguinity. While it is perfectly logical to assert that all conceivable music in our system of rotary keys must have a definite dominating center (yet to be discovered), we will for the present content ourselves with the center of one key. For instance: the key of C is pivoted upon the tone C, and all the harmonies naturally belonging to this key revolve around this central tone. There is nothing in the outlying harmonies of the key that is not contained in this one tone. C is the vibratory embodiment of the entire key—the mother tone whence the seven essential tones of the scale are born. Without entering further into explanations of this scientifically demonstrated fact, it suffices to add that all the elements that go to make up any key are contained in the overtones of the fundamental, or key-note.

All musical compositions derive their artistic worth from the manner in which their various melodies and harmonies conform to the requirements of the Key-note. It is the law of tonality that makes music an art, and according to this law every tone renders obedience to the mandates of the Tonic tone, or Fundamental. What is true of musical compositions is also true of musical instruments. These are constructed with reference to a *particular* key and Key-note. We speak of the B-flat clarionet and cornet, the D flute, etc. All bodies that emit a musical tone follow the law of tonality in that the sound produced is always the Tonic, or Key-note of their being. Thus a bell always produces the same key-note, likewise a tuning-fork, or a piano or violin string, provided the tension remain unaltered. It is, then, a characteristic of all sonorous substances that they shall identify themselves by vibrating at a definite pitch. Of course, such identification is more pronounced by adding force and quality to pitch; but when any object vibrates with sufficient rapidity to produce a musical tone, it will, other things being equal, always vibrate at the same pitch. Thus the Key-note of the object is determined by the *number* of its vibrations.

Now, since the law of tonality has jurisdiction over all music-producing organisms, human beings are not exempt from the law. The larynx, which is the musical instrument of the body, is constructed with reference to a particular key and Key-note. Every tone of which the larynx is capable is intimately related, and therefore obedient, to the mother tone; but, more than this, every atom of the physical organism is similarly related and obedient. The vibrations of the vocal cords are not limited in their effects to the larynx, but, reenforced by adjacent resonant cavities, are communicated to all parts of the body. Following the law of tension and acting as a membranous substance, the vocal ligaments must have their *proper* tones based upon a fundamental. The stroboscope reveals segmentary divisions of the ligaments and shows a striking coincidence between their movements and the action of membranes; but, setting analysis aside, the larynx speaks for itself. The Key-note is actually heard by the trained ear; it is discerned amid the various inflections of the speaking voice even as a great truth is discerned in a mass of illustrations or distinguished just as is the root from other parts of the plant. Few persons are aware that in *speaking* the vocal cords touch certain definite pitches, which relate themselves naturally to a fundamental pitch. The fact is, the principles of music apply just as stringently to *speech* as to *song;* indeed, speech *is* song if we will but *listen,* although not so pronounced in character. It is the consonant sounds that confuse. All vowel qualities of tone are essentially music, and it is through these that the Key-note finds expression.

But while investigating the *material* source of the Key-note, we must not forget that its real origin is back of the larynx—back even of *vibration,* in the material sense, being coeval with the spirit, or Eternal Ego. The music we make comes from *within,* being inherited from the Master Musician—the great Composer of universal harmony. On the spiritual plane we are musically related to those centers around which the harmonies of the macrocosm swing their majestic weight of tones; our sense of music is derived from this relationship. The particular intuition in our musical consciousness which impresses us with a sense of our own individual Key-note is founded upon the truth that our Key-note is identical in pitch with one of the tone centers in God's universal system of keys. We are known in the Music Divine by our *Key-note.* This is the link between the finite and infinite harmony—the "common tone" between man and God.

The argument may be advanced that the art of music is purely *man's* creation, and that the Key-note is simply a necessary condition of the *art*—a central idea, around which artistic perceptions are grouped and without which the development of music would have been impossible. Such limitation of the Key-note, however, is inconsistent with the very foundation of art itself; for art is essentially the imitation of Nature. The principles of music as conceived by *man* are merely a reproduction upon a limited plane—a counterfeit of those principles which have always existed in the universe and which are the *a-priori* elements of Divine harmony. The so-called development of our musical system is the result of a gradual unfoldment of human consciousness into a knowledge of that tonal relationship which God created in the *beginning* and stamped upon vibrating matter. If music have no *Divine origin,* where is the mystery of it? Its very power to charm, uplift, and heal depends upon a source above and beyond any *human* conception; and all attempts to dwarf it down to the material plane of purely physical vibration—all attempts to narrow it to the creative faculties of *man*—must tend to lower and belittle the art whose sweetness, grandeur, and glory ever constitute an upward-drawing force, harmonizing and spiritualizing uncouth, discordant humanity.

Having postulated the existence of the Key-note upon both spiritual and material planes, let us now proceed to investigate its healing properties. This leads to the question, How do we really *hear* music? Ordinarily we say that sound-waves striking the tympanic membrane excite the auditory nerve, which communicates its vibrations to the brain, where the mind builds up the sensation of sound. Helmholtz has shown that the hair-like elastic bodies found in the extension of the auditory nerve (of which bodies there are about three thousand) respond to different pitches of tone; *i. e.*, each little fiber is excited by that number of vibrations to which it is tuned or with which it naturally sympathizes. Two hundred of these fibers are beyond musical limits, so that, out of the three thousand, twenty-eight hundred are divided among the seven octaves of music, making four hundred for each octave, or thirty-three and a third for each semitone. "When a simple tone is presented to the ear, those Corti arches which are nearly or exactly in unison with it will be strongly excited and the rest only slightly or not at all; hence, every simple tone of determinate pitch will be felt only by *certain* nerve fibers, and simple tones of *different* pitch will excite *different* fibers." "The sensation of different pitch would consequently be a sensation in different nerve fibers."

From this it is clear that each one of these fibers is tuned to a definite pitch, or, in other words, that each one has its individual Key-note and is excited only by the vibrational *number* of its Key-note. The answer, then, to the question, How do we really hear music? is, that we hear it by the sympathetic vibration of the auditory expansion, and, further, we hear it through a series of Key-notes. Thus the very principle of the Key-note is demonstrated by the ear itself.

Since music is heard by the law of sympathetic vibration in the peculiar manner described, it follows that the fundamental tone, characteristic of the entire human organism, must produce a very marked impression upon the mind. The mind, having a predisposition to sympathize with this tone, would be most quickly roused by it from a state of apathy or irregularity caused by discordant thinking. The subtle influence of one's Key-note is due to the authority invested in it. It is a summons that the mind must obey by reason of the harmonic order of its being. The sound of the Key-note deepens and strengthens consciousness of musical kinship with God and restores to the mind the sense of tonality, or that faculty which refers all mental processes to a common harmonic center. When irregular vibrations afflict the smooth-running melodies of thought, consciousness of the Key-note becomes enfeebled. This is manifested by the voice, which is often weak and either below or above its normal pitch. Therefore, to heal mental disorder, the tonic tone should be presented to the ear for recognition; and as its dominating power is felt by the shifting maze of noisy, non-periodic vibrations, they resolve themselves into regular forms, leaving the mind free to bask in its native music. Of course, the body, being in close touch with the mind, shares its relief and falls into tune.

Sympathetic vibration may be illustrated thus: If the loud pedal of the piano be depressed and a given tone sung forcibly against the strings, those strings which are in unison with the tone will be set in sympathetic vibration, so that the vocal note is thereby reproduced. Reversing this experiment, the given tone, when sounded on the piano, excites those Corti fibers which are tuned to the same pitch, and the mind, translating vibration into sensation, reproduces the tone. Now, it is clear that if the tone sounded upon the piano be the Key-note of the listener, the *sympathetic response of the mind*, predisposed to cognize its own fundamental, must be most immediate—also most efficacious in harmonizing discordant elements. The use of the Key-note, then, as a basis of Musical Therapeutics is *justified* not only by the synchronous tendency of the ear and mind to vibrate sympathetically with all musical tones, but by a *predisposition*, a *special favor*, an innate sense of *kinship* resident in the Musical Consciousness. That the vocal ligaments themselves could be made to manifest synchronism with their key-note, I have no doubt—just as the lowest proper tone of any membrane can be made to exhibit itself to the eye by means of sand figures.

With regard to differences of pitch, as affecting the force and immanent virtue of the Key-note, it should be observed that such differences are not so great as to prevent mental recognition of the ruling vibrational number. The musical conscience is keen in distinguishing depressions or elevations of tone. Every tone may be said to move in a vibrational orbit, so that the tone percept is the same whether the sound be a trifle sharp or flat. If the tone A be lowered or raised slightly, it is still perceived as A, and this perception continues until altered either by the encroaching idea of A flat or A sharp. Perhaps the limit of tone identification lies close to the quarter tone division of semitones; but even at the quarter tone limit the influence of the Key-note would still be felt by the mind, and A in this case would remain A as distinguished from its chromatic neighbors. As a matter of fact, the extremes of pitch standards (concert pitch excepted) seldom exceed a quarter of a tone; for the basis of musical pitch founded on C (32—33) renders any further difference impracticable. True, the sensation of musical tone first enters consciousness at about thirty vibrations, but the figures quoted for C have received both scientific and artistic sanction. According to these figures, the extremes of pitch for *middle* C are respectively 256—264. Now, if C, at or between these vibrational limits, be your Key-note, your mind would recognize it as such and be thrown into a state of synchronism. Says Helmholtz:

> "When the pitch of the original resonant body is not exactly that of the sympathizing body or that which is meant to vibrate in sympathy with it, the latter will nevertheless often make sensible sympathetic vibrations which will diminish in amplitude as the difference of pitch increases; but in this respect different resonant bodies show great differences, according to the length of time for which they continue to sound after having been set in action by communicating their whole motion to the air. Bodies of small mass which readily communicate their motion to the air and quickly cease to sound, as stretched membranes or violin strings, are readily set into sympathetic vibration because the motion of the air is conversely readily transferred to them, and they are also sensibly moved by sufficiently strong agitations of the air, even when the latter have not precisely the same periodic time as the natural tone of the sympathizing body. The limits of pitch capable of exciting sympathetic vibrations are consequently a little broader in this case."

On the strength of these statements, the vocal ligaments, possessing as they do the characteristics of both strings and membranes, may be excited into sympathetic action by the sound of their fundamental, even if the latter is not precisely synchronous with their own natural tone. Doubtless the tympanic membrane is subject to similar conditions. Since sympathy depends so largely upon elasticity of the vibrating substance, the *mind*, presenting a most subtle, delicate, and elastic medium, must be peculiarly alert in responding to its own Key-note, whatever be the variation of pitch between the extremes mentioned.

The establishment of the Key-note as a foundation for musical treatment of disease involves the association of all those tones which are most nearly connected with it, and out of this association are derived those chords which belong to the key. Of the chord formations adapted to musical healing, the tonic chord stands first in importance by reason of its origin in the tonic tone. It is not my purpose to enter into any extended discussion of chord cure, but a few general remarks will suffice to show the healing properties of certain tone combinations. The effect of the major triad is decidedly brightening and tends to promote a cheerful frame of mind. The harmonic reason for this lies in the interval of the major third, which in our equal temperament possesses a stimulating quality, giving a bright, even brilliant, character to the chord. The minor triad, on the other hand, produces a dull impression owing to the interval of a minor third, which is naturally subdued and even somber. Minor triads, however, offer an excellent soporific in cases where the nervous tension of the patient requires relaxation. A skilful blending of both major and minor harmonies within the jurisdiction of the Key-note is highly beneficial to the nervous system, since the acceleration and retardation of thought-currents and also the expansion and contraction of emotional centers become regulated thereby, conforming to the normal flow of the music.

MM. Alfred Binet and J. Courtier, in their experiments with music on respiration, discovered that musical sounds, chords and music in general as a sensorial excitation, aside from all emotional suggestion, cause acceleration of respiration, increasing with the rapidity of the movement, without affecting the regularity of the breathing or augmenting its amplitude. The heart is influenced in like manner. These authors further state that music in the major mode is more stimulating than music in the minor.

In the use of music as an analeptic, temperament should receive careful consideration. An allegro movement would not be suitable for a highly-strung nervous organization; neither would an adagio meet the requirements of a lethargic temperament. Tune and rhythm are important factors in the music cure. Musical *expression* is a vital element of the question. Tempo, accent, crescendo, and diminuendo all exert a potent influence; but in all cases and under all circumstances, whether the music be melodic or harmonic in form, the Key-note should be closely adhered to and kept sounding in the ears of the patient. It is only by means of this dominating center that convalescence through music is possible.

I have been often asked why music as it stands, as it is ordinarily heard, is not healing in its influence. So it *is*, in a general sense; but so, in a general sense, all kinds of food are nutritious. Some kinds, however, are more directly nutritive, being better adapted to the needs of one individual than of another. It is selection in music, as in food, that determines results. Musical tones feed us according to our demand for the kind of aliment they contain. Under diseased conditions of the system, the ear, like the mouth, should be inhibited from receiving whatever tends to augment the disease. There is diet in music, and it is time that we should learn to select, from the great mass of tones presented, those most necessary and helpful to our individual systems. The extent to which music may be employed as a healing agent depends largely on one's sensitiveness to musical impression. It is safe to assume that the average man easily distinguishes music from mere noise, and that in proportion to his power of discrimination will be the amount of healing he derives. Since music acts upon the nerves, there is no logical reason why it should not reach many forms of disease. The one great fact we are learning in these advanced times is that the more subtle the therapeutic agent the more readily will disease yield to its power.

While music as expressed through our equal temperament still retains its pristine charm and healing virtue, it cannot be denied that were it allowed full sway—permitted its legitimate expression through the Just and Natural intonation—its therapeutic value would be greatly enhanced. False and unnatural tone relations, however cleverly concealed by equal distribution, cannot do otherwise than cramp and limit the harmony seeking outlet from the spiritual into the material. It is hoped that in the near future the tuning of musical instruments will be made to conform to the just and natural relations of all musical tones, so that the piano, organ, and similar instruments of fixed tones may be used to better advantage for healing purposes. Meanwhile, ways and means should be contrived to utilize the divine essence of harmony by the employment of special musical formulæ based upon the Key-note.

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THE ARMY CANTEEN.

THE question of regulating the use of intoxicants in the army by providing for their sale under certain restrictions in the canteens or post exchanges at the forts and stations occupied by troops has of late been widely and earnestly discussed. A successful attempt has been made under the lead of the advocates of total abstinence to obtain legislative action to prevent their sale in all places under direct military control. A law was enacted in March, 1899, which some supposed would have this effect; but it was interpreted to go no further than to forbid the detail of soldiers to make sales, and to prevent the sale by unauthorized and irresponsible persons on military premises, but not to prevent the employment of civilians to sell in the canteens. This interpretation has been vigorously attacked, and President McKinley has been severely criticized and blamed for accepting it, and also for having refused to make an order by virtue of his authority as Commander-in-chief entirely prohibiting the sale of intoxicants at all military stations. Not alone the political Prohibitionists, but the governing bodies of several of the prominent religious denominations, have taken strong ground in favor of such legislative and Administrative action. Some even went so far as to attempt to start a crusade of prayer for the defeat of Mr. McKinley at the recent election on account of his failure to enforce their interpretation of the canteen enactment.

There is a growing demand for sober men in all walks of life and in all business occupations. Railways will not intrust their trains to men that will drink while on duty, and the same is true of many other enterprises in which large numbers of men are employed. The writer is not a very old man, but he very distinctly remembers a condition of which the younger people of the present generation have had no experience. Rum, brandy, and whisky were as staple articles in every stock of groceries as sugar, tea, and tobacco. The householder who did not keep liquors in his house and offer them to his guests in the ordinary course of hospitality was the exception rather than the rule. Clergymen were expected to test the quality of the wares that graced the sideboard, and were often compelled to limit the number of their calls in an afternoon or take the risk of reaching home in a condition not creditable—or which would not now be creditable—to their calling. Alcoholic beverages flowed freely everywhere, and were part of the rations of both the army and the navy. The tavern was the principal place where liquors were sold to be drank on the premises. One will look in vain in the editions of Webster's or Worcester's dictionary printed more than thirty years ago for a definition of the word *saloon* that will describe a place where the sale of drinks is the central interest. The thing existed in some places, and was locally known by its present name; but the earlier temperance literature inveighed against the *tavern* instead of the saloon. A popular religious story published fifty years ago for use in Sunday-school libraries narrated without disparagement and as a proper action that the clergyman calling on a parishioner on a Sunday afternoon gave a little girl a piece of money and sent her to the public house to fetch a pitcher of ale.

Much has been accomplished to change these conditions for the better. The sale of intoxicants has been to a great extent excluded from grocery stores and hotels, so that those opposed to their use need not go or send their children to places where liquors are sold. The use of beer and other mild beverages has increased and the sale of ardent spirits has diminished. The growing disrepute in which the liquor business is held, and the growing demand that those who fill places of responsibility shall be sober men, also show an improved public sentiment.

How has this vantage-ground been reached? Several causes may be mentioned that have combined to this end. The greatest credit is due to the ceaseless energy of temperance workers, who have been insistent at all times and places in presenting the evils of the drink habit and the benefits of sobriety. They are usually men of high aims and noble purposes, and wield a large influence for a time by their persistence and plausible arguments. They are also too often men of narrow views, who do not see all the bearings of the methods they advocate. Singleness of purpose produces an immediate appearance of success; but permanent results can only be made certain by establishing broad foundations.

Every community is periodically stirred by these indefatigable workers; legislatures are importuned to make more stringent excise or prohibitory laws; churches are urged by persuasion, argument, and even ridicule to exert their influence in favor of the reform. Failing to bring the churches to abandon all other moral and religious work and devote themselves exclusively to this, numerous temperance societies and secret orders have been formed and have furnished mediums for the diffusion of literature and for securing audiences for lectures. In all these and other ways the matter has never been allowed to rest, and public opinion has been molded and directed. Legislatures, always sensitive to waves of popular feeling, have in many States at one time or another enacted prohibitory statutes—in most cases to repeal them a few years later. Where not repealed, and even where embodied in constitutional provisions, these legal restrictions have tended to become a dead letter. So far as legislative action is successfully enforced against the sale of alcoholic beverages, it has followed rather than led public opinion; and their use is prevented only in communities where a decided majority not only preach but from choice *practise* total abstinence.

One factor in the changed attitude of the public toward the traffic has grown indirectly out of the internal revenue laws by which it is heavily taxed. Whisky can be very cheaply made from grain, and when its manufacture is free there is little inducement to adulteration. Under present laws the price to consumers is raised so high by taxation that adulteration becomes too profitable to be resisted. The use of drugs under the name of whisky and brandy rapidly increases the injurious effects of these drinks and makes them manifold more dangerous to the health and sanity of the imbiber. It is difficult to carry on illicit distillation without detection; but an imitation can be concocted of drugs at very little risk. These consequences of the internal revenue law on the price and purity of strong drinks have been produced within the last forty years—a period very nearly covering the time within which temperance efforts have been fairly successful, though several States had enacted and repealed prohibitory laws a few years earlier.

The keen competition in all commercial enterprises, and the narrow margin of profits in trade and manufacture, make indispensable a clear head and an unimpaired intellect in every business man. Quotations of the markets of the world are daily in the hands of all who will scan them. Every condition that affects production, transportation, or consumption is daily reported and must be constantly watched. Hence, the man who stupefies his brain with even the purest of liquors will soon find himself distanced in the race for fortune.

Closely allied with this is the immense influence of a complicated network of railways traversing every section of the continent. Trains are running at different rates of speed on intersecting tracks, and in opposite directions on the same track. So numerous are the trains and so many causes interfere with the regularity of their work that it becomes impossible to rely on time-tables alone to secure efficient service and exemption from accident. Every train is watched, controlled, and directed by telegraph, and nothing but the most sleepless vigilance can prevent frequent disaster. Entire freedom from the fumes of alcohol has therefore become an imperative condition of employment in the railway and telegraph service.

A little reflection will convince any one who has studied the history of temperance reform in all its aspects that a very small part of the change in public sentiment and practise has been produced by legislation. Americans are too ready to believe that the enactment of a law is the first step in any reform; while the truth usually is that there is no reformatory value in the law itself, but only in the agitation necessary to secure its enactment. Indeed, the sense of satisfaction in the victory supposed to be accomplished that is felt when the law has been passed, and the natural reaction that follows every strenuous exertion, lead to neglect in enforcing the legal remedy, and it is soon repealed or becomes a dead letter.

It is the merest commonplace to say that no man can be made moral by law; the attempt has invariably resulted, as it must always result, in tyranny and oppression. The majority of the men who enlist in the army have been accustomed to a moderate use of intoxicants, and enlistment does not put an end to the cravings of habit. The army post is not a prison, nor are the soldiers prisoners; and they cannot be kept constantly within its limits. Places for the sale of liquor and for every kind of dissipation will spring up in the neighborhood, unless provision be made for a reasonable indulgence of the tastes of the men within the jurisdiction of the army authorities. It goes without saying that the drinks furnished by these outside and irresponsible persons will not be of the best and purest quality, and that excesses will not be prevented as in the army canteen. It is to meet these evils that the canteen has been introduced. The post exchange is the soldiers' coöperative store, in which the government has no financial interest. The capital is furnished by the soldiers themselves, and supplies such as soldiers need or crave are sold at cost, or as nearly so as is practicable. The advantage of this over the old methods of sutlers and post traders is plain. The canteen is a department of the post exchange constituting an enlisted man's club. Rooms in or near the soldiers' quarters are set apart for this special purpose and furnished with reading matter and billiard tables and other games, but every form of gambling is absolutely forbidden. Among the refreshments furnished are beer and light wines; the sale of all spirituous liquors is and always has been strictly prohibited.

Adjutant-General Corbin, from whose report on this subject these facts have been taken, says: "In the beginning I opposed the canteen, but was brought to its support by the overwhelming evidence of its beneficial result upon the morals, health, and contentment of the service." He also says that almost every company commander has reported in favor of the exchange and canteen as an effective temperance measure. This favorable result is shown in fewer trials by courts-martial, in the decreased number of desertions, and in the improved health of the men. In the period of six years since the establishment of the canteen, compared with the period of six years immediately preceding it, the number of convictions for drunkenness and offenses originating therefrom has diminished by fifty-seven per cent.; and the number of men that have deposited their savings with the government for a similar period has increased by fifteen per cent. In 1899 the expenditure of each officer and man reached an average of fifty-eight cents a month, or less than two cents a day. "The army of to-day," says General Corbin, "is the most abstemious body in our country. The anxiety of temperance people outside the service about the army is unwarranted. As compared with any community at the present time anywhere in civil life, the army is a model temperance society—a practical one; one where reasonable abstinence is the rule, and where excesses are the exception; a society whose precepts no less than its example could be followed by all people in safety and sobriety."

The use of intoxicants in the army might be prevented by making total abstinence a condition of enlistment, and by making dismissal from the service the penalty for such use. But would this course be wise? In view of the prevalence of drinking customs among all classes and in all countries, would such a course be practicable? The pay of a private soldier—from forty-three to sixty cents a day, Sundays included—is hardly a sufficient attraction to secure enlistment in a service that would require the abandonment of a habit so deeply intrenched in the hereditary constitution and tendencies of humanity as the one under consideration. If we can believe, notwithstanding the facts of history, that any one is wholly free from this taint, we must concede that the number of such is small, and the chance that persons so well born as to be free from it will consent to serve for fifty cents a day is too small to be regarded. The law declared to have been given by divine inspiration through Moses did not require absolute purity of life, but conceded something to hereditary hardness of heart. The gospel says that the rule in the kingdom of heaven is more strict; but it nowhere says that civil rulers can enforce this higher morality. The kingdom in which the higher law must prevail is expressly said to be not of "this world." The civil law cannot come into the court of conscience and enforce by physical penalties the observance of pure morality; as already suggested, such an attempt would unerringly lead to injustice and oppression. Nay, it would lead to unblushing hypocrisy; for no court or officer could be found who would not be disqualified by some moral taint for casting the first stone. The consciousness of this unworthiness and the unwillingness of upright and honorable men to become parties to the punishment of faults no greater than they themselves commit have no doubt much to do with the tendency of this sort of legislation to become a dead letter. A man of narrower mind will look with leniency on his own pet vice—"the sin which most easily besets him"—and will exaggerate the fault of his neighbor; and the most demonstrative advocates of total abstinence are too often so addicted to the "pleasures of the table" as to be slaves to dinner pills and pepsin. They—

> "Condone the sins that they're inclined to,
> By damning those they have no mind to."

In the present state of humanity, the only practicable law to enforce total abstinence would be a repeal of the natural law of fermentation, thus making the manufacture of alcohol impossible. In default of the power to do this, it were well for church-members and all temperance workers to purge from their own eyes the beams that dim their sight and then use earnestly all moral influences to cast out the motes that trouble the eyes of their brothers. It is far from clear that true Christian wisdom requires or justifies a resort to extreme measures to enforce total abstinence in the army. The evidence shows that the present practise, as compared with that which preceded it, is decidedly in the interest of temperance, and that the exclusion of beer from the post exchanges will be a long step backward. The canteen says in effect to the soldiers: "Gentlemen, we do not advise or encourage the use of intoxicants, but you are free moral agents, and if you must drink, and will be satisfied with beer and wine, we will furnish them here, and leave you without excuse for seeking the fiery poisons and adulterations furnished by outside saloons." Taking into consideration all the factors that enter into the problem, this solution appears both wise and righteous.

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THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

III. Some of His Characteristics.

1. Social Life.

SOCIAL life is important in any consideration of crime, for it is through this channel that criminal impulses often find expression. The social life of the negro is comparatively crude and simple. I need scarcely say that he is excluded from all social relations with the whites. The line is more closely drawn now than in slavery days. Now it is seldom that whites are present at a negro marriage, burial, or feast; then it was the rule. Upon some of the old plantations, where the semblance of slavery is strongly marked, there is some intermingling, but it is with regret rather than pleasure. The negro has not yet attained the position where he is regarded as a man rather than as a negro. Indeed, this feeling is so strong among the older Southern whites that the negro is still required to come to the back door and stand uncovered in the kitchen. While the whites feel it is their duty to educate the negroes, yet in sympathies and interests they are far removed. It is impossible that a race so recently in serfdom should hold any other position. Economically, morally, and mentally they have been handicapped.

Probably no other generation of Anglo-Saxons could have done more, for it must be remembered they were impoverished and had lost much that was dear to them—and this through the race which they were asked to elevate and protect. No body of men in the history of the world has ever had such a situation to face. There were no precedents, and criticism should be sparingly given if they are but slowly perceiving and responding to its need.

Those advancing the theory of social equality in the South mean quite differently from those in the North. It is not mingling at the white's social functions, or invading his home, but such economic, financial, cultural, and educational conditions as will enable him to maintain similar grades in his own race and to have literature and recreations of equal standards. This requires the interest and coöperation of the whites, which are at present denied. The free intermingling of the two races is impossible, at least for many generations, because of a deeply-rooted social and racial prejudice. It is useless to deny this, for New York and Ohio in the North have recently verified this statement. This will not prevent the negro from reaching and maintaining similar grades within his own race; and when these are established the negro will not demand, as indeed he does not in the South, social equality with the whites. He will find within his own race what he needs and desires.

The social life of the negro centers about the church, for he has few organizations and clubs. Even labor organizations are but slowly finding a place in his life. This lack of organization is detrimental to the negro. The whites are the negroes' best friends, for the black race has not yet ingrained in it integrity and loyalty. This is shown in many ways. Negroes prefer white men on juries, because they accord fairer treatment. There are many negroes sent to prison because of malice. If a negro is undesirable in his neighborhood, and does not remove when requested, his neighbors combine and cause his arrest—and their testimony imprisons him. In the data regarding *fear*, it is seen that not a few fear their own race more than anything else. The negro has been trained to be loyal to the whites; this virtue still takes precedence. There can be little racial progress without racial integrity, loyalty, and pride. The social life of the negro church is broad, but it is lacking in the fundamental principles that should make it a governing agency. Most of the excursions, picnics, parties, entertainments, cake-walks, and festivals have their relation to the church. The negroes' leisure permits of much social intercourse, and this often leads to an expenditure of money for finery and unnecessaries that keeps the race impoverished.

The other great social center is the saloon, which is of more importance in the towns. Many crimes are the result of fights caused by gambling and drinking. The negro depends greatly upon the saloon. The many varied forms of physical recreation known to the Northerner and the careful management of his places of amusement are unknown to the negro. The negro's gambling is not usually conducted in well-ordered establishments where he is subject to rules and restraints. There are cheating and interference in his game of "craps," which lead to serious fights. Frequently officers furnish money for gambling and later swoop down upon the players. I am not dealing with the question of the propriety of license and regulation—only with the fact that such a system produces fewer public criminals, for it involves restraints that make the more serious crimes less possible. The social life of the negro lacks direction, restraint, and healthy interests. It consumes too much time with trifles, and increases the opportunities for committing crime.

2. *Politics.*—The negro is practically disfranchised, and so revolutionary is the feeling of the whites that any attempt to force a change were useless. Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, and North Carolina have adopted laws, and Georgia and Alabama have made attempts. The nature of these laws varies, but the purport is the same. It may be a poll tax, which the negro is incapable of paying; it may be an educational or property test; it may exclude all except voters before the war and their descendants; or it may be the simple method of not counting votes: but the result attained is the same. This movement is due primarily to the lack of foresight shown by the government when it gave the negro full political power. Influenced and backed by rascally Northern politicians, and lacking both comprehension and judgment, the negroes committed acts that would have aroused any other nation of whites to action. Reactions are always violent, and the whites are now returning the measure with interest. If the negro defrauded and domineered over the white, that is a past condition of which only traces remain.

This movement upon the part of Southern States is open to the just criticism that it is a discrimination against *race,* not ignorance. All fair observers demand that the tests be applied alike to both negroes and whites. Without condoning the action of the States, it must be remembered that there is a political party standing ready to make the utmost capital out of such a move as disfranchising ignorant whites, and that these laws were passed through the influence of Southern Democrats when a great national issue was pending. Spasmodically, bodies of men do great, noble, and humane things; but in the dealings of routine life the tendency is ever toward weak and cowardly acts. The result of these laws in relation to crime is clear. The race furnishing the mass of criminals has no voice in making the laws, or determining the system of punishment. Education, property, health, business—in fact, all vital interests are affected by the laws in the making of which they have no part. They are dependent upon the will and caprice of the whites. They are handicapped, and are denied the stimulus to national pride and life, which is the highest form of restraint in criminality.

Yet we must recognize that the former negro politician did little for his race; the tendency was downward then, whereas it may only be stationary now. The negro at present has neither the perceptions nor the solidity of character that would enable him to lead his race. While the laws passed are unworthy of the Anglo-Saxon race, they nevertheless furnish the opportunity for the negro to seek education and training that will bring financial and commercial independence; and these will just as surely insure political rights. Meanwhile the whites have taken upon themselves the burden of dealing justly by the negroes, and they are watched by many critical eyes. Just as surely as they fail there will come the intervention of a stronger power. It is not an ethical delusion but a practical fact that no part of a nation can long withstand the opprobrium of its fellows and of the world. The social, economic, commercial, and political interests of the world are too vitally related to permit this.

3. *Laws.*—The text of the Southern statutes applies equally to whites and negroes. Notwithstanding the contrary boast, there is inequality in their administration. The negro's life is valued at less; as a convict he is too often regarded as so much revenue to the State, and less time is spent in meting out justice to him. Under another head, a further discussion of this appears, and one illustration will suffice. The pardoning power of the Executives in the South is not equally applied. Data are exceedingly difficult to procure, but the last reports of Virginia and Louisiana show: In the former, one out of every three and a half white men receive a pardon, while only one out of every fourteen negroes obtains such clemency. In the latter, for the whites it is one to every four and a half white men, and one to every forty-nine negroes. In other words, there are 29 pardons granted in a population of 132 white men, and 17 to a population of 843 negroes. There are few or no white *women* in the penitentiaries, though the average number of negro women in the State institutions is about 60. In the course of inquiry it appeared that convicted white women are pardoned, as the accommodations, food, labor, and prison conditions generally are deemed unfit for them. Justice is often satisfied with the mere sentence, and pardons are rarely protested.

From the preceding statements it will be seen that environmental conditions play an important part. When the facts are given for each criminal, under the sociological division, this will be more evident and the conclusions can be summarized. Before considering State penal systems, there are two general subjects that need a word—the position of the negro woman and negro criminal characteristics.

The negro woman and negro girl, judged by civilized standards, are to a large extent immoral. It is almost impossible to rear a girl under present conditions and avoid this result. There is not yet developed in the race, as a whole, a pride in and honor for its women. First savages, then slaves, with the women in the position of beasts of burden and bearers of future slaves, and with scarcely forty years intervening, the result is inevitable. The removal at an early age of parental influence places the girl at the mercy of both negroes and whites of the male sex. In the Northern reform schools the children coming from conditions similar to those of the negroes show an equal percentage of immorality, so that racial tendencies alone cannot explain it. Unfortunately, statistics are not obtainable regarding the morality of the adults who live in conditions similar to those of the negroes. The negro woman of the lower type still recognizes her subservience to the white man, and yields herself quite as readily now as then. Precedent and habits of associates are powerful factors in directing the action of these women. There are few occupations aside from domestic service open to them, and prostitutes are recruited from this class. The physical senses predominate over the mental, moral, and spiritual impulses. There has never been a demand for the latter. Laws against immorality are laxly enforced. Whites within their own social circles will not countenance immoralities to which they are indifferent in the negro race. The crimes of these women show that the route has been that of immorality. Many of the crimes are committed in questionable resorts, under the influence of alcohol, or through inducements of depraved husbands and friends.

But a small percentage of crime exists among white women. The reasons, which distinguish the North from the South in this particular, may be thus summarized: There is no white servant class. The attitude of the white Southern man is such that the white woman rarely becomes a public, degraded character. In cities, where the younger generation of men predominate, this attitude is less protective. The attitude of the white women is conducive to negro immorality, for they are generally indifferent to the relations of their husbands and brothers with negroes—where a Northern white woman of equal social standing would not be. This is unquestionably due to the practises in vogue during slavery. Thus the "hill tribes" are the only whites in the South from which prostitutes could be derived, and these are a rural population. There are not many cities, so there is but little encouragement in swindling, shoplifting, and crimes requiring organization. Women in the North are often members of "gangs." The attitude of jurists and harsh penal systems prevent the conviction of women and lead to Executive clemency. The plantation system has segregated women from public life, and in cities they do not enter the competitive world, as do Northern women, and are less subject to its temptations and hardships. Many negro women are arrested as "suspects," and get short sentences. This is rarely true of the whites.

The negro criminal differs from the white in some respects. His crimes are usually those of theft and violence, and are simple in their execution. For this reason, though the negro is lower in intellectual and moral acquirements, he appears to be less criminally disposed than the white. Unfortunately, we include in criminality, not only deviations from standards which the individual *comprehends,* but all forms of underdevelopment as well. The negroes' criminality is that of an undeveloped race. That of the whites is more characterized by a capacity born of development. There are few professionals among the negroes, and there are no truly "great" criminals. They may be "prominent," but the two are not identical. The negroes' crimes show an absence of social and personal responsibility, and are the outgrowth of impulse rather than of well-laid plans and complicated schemings. Even the mulattoes are not "great" criminals. They are only more refractory under discipline and are more petty in their dealings. The negro class contains many who are vicious and depraved, but their cunning and craftiness are of a low order.

There are no well-defined criminal "gangs." Social conditions may be partly responsible for this. People are better known to one another in the South, especially in the small towns; prices are high, but there is an extensive credit system. There is less actual need. In the North, people are not so well known to one another; there is more of the cash system. and there is greater necessity for organization. Wealth in the North is represented by more personal property, while much of that in the South is in real estate. The nature of the property in the North requires a higher order of mentality and physical dexterity to prey upon it successfully. As a prisoner the negro is more obedient and willing, while the white is aggressive, impudent, and quarrelsome.

There are many who assert that the negro is more criminal now than before the war, and far exceeds the white in crime. There can be no answer to the first assertion, because there are no antebellum records. Acts for which the negroes received chastisement at the hands of a master are now felonies before the State. In answer to the second assertion, there may be cited the following conditions, which are more unfavorable to the negro: There are but three reformatories in the eight extreme Southern States, and no State reformatories. Measures for reform in the penal institutions are not one-half as great as in the North. The penalties are extreme. Life sentences are frequently given for burglary and arson, as well as for murder. This makes a larger constant prison population. A minimum amount of home training, free street life, the small degree of education, and early labor cause the statistics to reveal a much smaller ratio of *educated* criminals to the *educated* population than in the North. Statistics are distorted when the number of criminals is compared with the number of educated negroes. There is unquestionably an increase in crime among negroes in the North, but we do not know if they are educated, and we fail to consider that the Northern civilization is more complex, more advanced, and more difficult to meet. With its advantages come increased perplexities, which the negro has not grasped. The whites cause crime among the negroes by attentions to negro women. The women prefer the white men, and this condition is no small cause of jealousies and assaults. A white man would be deemed justified in committing homicide under similar circumstances. The domestic life is less of a prevention against crime. There is a greater percentage of *married* convicts in the South than in the North. There are no statistics available to show if the negro is a recidivist to the same extent as the white. There are no systems of identification, and the terms of sentence are so long as to make comparisons doubtful. Georgia has compiled a report of the different States that shows the white to be more of a recidivist, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy. One condition is more favorable to the negro: there are but few "tramps" in the South; so that there is not this source of supply, from roving "gangs," and the youth are not influenced by them.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

ELTWEED POMEROY, A.M.,*

ON

DIRECT LEGISLATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

Q. Mr. Pomeroy, as president of the National Direct Legislation League, and as a student of economic problems who ve/ ha~~s~~ for many years been interested in these great republican measures, I feel that you, better probably than any other American, can give us the present status and outlook for Direct

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* Biographical Note.—Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., president of the National Direct Legislation League, is one of the highest authorities in America on the wise and reasonable innovations which the Swiss have so successfully introduced into their government during the last century, and which have succeeded in so marked a degree in enabling popular government to adjust itself to the changed conditions of the modern age of combination and capitalism while preserving the cherished ideals of freedom. Mr. Pomeroy belongs to a group of thoughtful young Americans who are earnestly seeking to meet and remedy the dangers threatening our government through the rise and rapid growth of law-protected monopolies and arrogant combinations, whose corrupting influence is already evident in our political life. He realizes, as do thousands of the most thoughtful and earnest of our people, that our great Republic cannot long survive as a free government unless the people early arise and overthrow that trinity of death—the corporation, the party machine, and the political boss. He understands that, unless democracy is doomed to perish in the New World, the masses must compel political and economic changes in alignment with the larger demands of the age. Direct legislation, coöperation, equitable taxation, and kindred reforms must mark the first steps that will open the way to the emancipation of the people and the dawning of a day in which liberty, fraternity, and justice shall mean far more than empty words.

During the last ten years Mr. Pomeroy has made a special study of Direct Legislation. He has also become one of its best known advocates, having discussed its merits before popular gatherings in almost every State in the Union, as well as appearing in its defense before eight or ten legislatures and many colleges and educational bodies. Since 1895 he has been the editor of the *National Direct Legislation Record,* a quarterly publication recognized as the ablest and most authoritative journal on this subject published in the New World. But, though Swiss innovations have largely occupied his spare time, he has also actively interested himself in other great reform ideas. Being what may be termed a moderate socialist, he has advocated governmental

Legislation throughout the civilized world. Is it true that Direct Legislation, if gained, would aid the capitalists and hinder the coöperative commonwealth, as some social reformers contend?

A. No; on the contrary, it would greatly aid the coming of the coöperative commonwealth. I believe this because I believe the doctrine of evolution is applied to politics and reform matters as well as to other things.

Q. How does the theory of evolution apply to political progress?

A. The same as to the development of the physical side of man or any animal, or to the development of the plants or any other growth—in a short step at one time, and the accustoming of the people to that step, so that from it they can proceed to another. Every little advance gained is ground

ownership and control of natural monopolies, the inheritance and income tax, and higher wages and shorter hours for the bread-winners; and I believe he has also been an advocate of governmental employment of the out-of-works. In his own factory ten years ago he introduced profit-sharing, and has at all times striven to build up a coöperative spirit in his business.

To those who believe that ancestry has much to do with the character, bent, and inclination of a man, it will be interesting to know that Mr. Pomeroy is a direct descendant of the Puritans of early New England, the first Eltweed Pomeroy having come to Massachusetts in 1830. Three of his great-grandfathers fought in the Revolutionary War, and the family has always evinced that sturdy love for liberty and the rights of man that alone renders possible the maintenance of free government. The question of hereditary influence is an alluring subject, though personally I agree with Lord Lytton in that it is not to the past but to the future that we look for true nobility; and I am more interested in the indefatigable worker for social righteousness, as I have found Mr. Pomeroy to be during my acquaintance of ten years, than I am concerned in theorizing as to the possible influence of worthy ancestors upon their descendant.

Next to his labors for Direct Legislation, perhaps the most important public educational work achieved by Mr. Pomeroy was the fathering of the National Social and Political Conference, whose first meeting opened in Buffalo on June 28, 1899, and whose second session is to be held the coming summer in Detroit.

Mr. Pomeroy is a young man, hardly on the threshold of life's prime. Before him we trust there stretch many years of fruitful labor. He belongs to a band of thoughtful workers who reflect the spirit of altruism, or coöperation and brotherhood, as opposed to the spirit of commercialism, greed, and egoism that is struggling to establish an oligarchy or plutocracy under the mantle of republican institutions, as the di Medici family subverted free institutions and established a despotism under the garb of a republic in Florence during the Renaissance.
—B. O. F.

for further advance, and if Direct Legislation can be gained it can be used as the lever to gain other things; and Direct Legislation gained will be a means for practically applying a large amount of steam now dissipated in the air, which makes a great sight but does no work. Possibly there will be less in view, but there will be more done with Direct Legislation.

Q. What have been the practical results in Switzerland following the introduction of Direct Legislation into practical politics?

A. The direct results have been so many and so various that any answer, except on broad lines, would take a book instead of a paragraph. The great thing that it has done has been to develop a feeling of social solidarity and brotherhood. One Swiss statesman wrote to me that every time they had a referendum voting they had a real and vital communion or common action for the common good; and, whether the measure was defeated or passed, it resulted in an accession of knowledge to the common people for future action. To-day Switzerland has more practical socialism, with perhaps less of noisy agitation, than any country in the world.

Q. You regard Direct Legislation, then, as being a radical step in advance, and yet conservative in its operations?

A. Most certainly. It will conserve all that is good, while allowing us to discuss and bring to light the bad and evil. It seems to me that there is rapidly rising in this country a tide of radical sentiment that may culminate within the next decade, and that that radical sentiment will grasp power in this country and may then attempt some reforms too far ahead of the people to be practical; and it seems to me that then the conservatives will turn to Direct Legislation as the means for preventing a too rapid advance and for conserving the really good things in the past, which the radicals, if they get in power, may attempt to overthrow in mistaken zeal. Any reform completely disconnected with the past is almost valueless. It must grow out of the past, modifying it to the necessities of the present and the future, to be of the best value.

Q. Have there been any signs of reaction in Switzerland since the introduction of Direct Legislation?

A. None whatever. On the contrary, it has advanced from one form of government to another; from cantonal matters to national matters, and then to the municipalities and other local places where they did not have it formerly, until now it possesses almost every form of government in Switzerland. When we use the word *government,* people are apt to think of one concrete thing; but there is a great variety of forms of government—such, for instance, as in my own city of Newark, where we have a board of public works entirely distinct from the lawmaking body, a board of health, and a number of other similar bodies. In Switzerland Direct Legislation is being applied to all these forms of government with increasing rapidity—also with increasing amplification of use and with increasing frequency in its use by the people. There is not to-day a single public man in Switzerland openly opposed to Direct Legislation, and of course not a single party.

Q. Are there any signs of interest in Direct Legislation throughout other countries of western Europe in any departments of government, or in the application of any great questions?

A. Most certainly. In France there is a Direct Legislation League which is actively agitating, and the French cities have a large amount of municipal Direct Legislation. The same is true of Belgium and Holland, to a certain extent of Prussia and Austria, and to a limited extent of Italy. It is still more true of Great Britain, where municipal matters are very frequently voted on, and parliamentary elections are to-day in reality a referendum on one great national question —even more so than our Presidential elections. But it is in Norway that Direct Legislation has probably had the largest growth outside of Switzerland. The liquor question is there continually voted on by the people—as to whether they will continue the old license system, whether they will completely prohibit, or whether they will adopt the Gothenburg system of municipal control. It is also used regarding some questions of municipal taxation and appropriation of money and bonding. The lower form of Russian government has a great amount of purely democratic Direct Legislation in it, in the *mir* and *artel,* where the people themselves vote on the communal division of the land and taxes. The Russian government is an anomaly in that in its higher forms it is bureaucratic and autocratic, while in its lower forms it is very democratic. This is to-day the real strength of the Russian government, and the autocratic and bureaucratic form is striving to replace the other; if it succeed we may look for a disintegration in the future of the Russian Empire, through a lack of real vitality in its different members.

Q. Australia and New Zealand seem very progressive along some lines. Is there much interest in Direct Legislation manifested in those regions, or has the Direct Legislation sentiment gained any foothold?

A. A very strong foothold in almost all the Australian colonies. It is advocated by the liberal and labor parties there, and I have opinions favorable to it from all but one of the Australian premiers, and they are actually using it to settle the liquor question, in that every municipality votes once in three years on the triple question of continuance of license, reduction of license, and prohibition. They are also using it regarding taxation. It recently came very near going into the federal constitution for United Australia. About the same progress has been made in New Zealand, but in New Zealand bills for complete Direct Legislation have passed the lower house of parliament two or three times, and it looks as if in the near future they would pass both houses and become the law of the land.

Q. Beyond the educational agitation that has been carried on in this country, what are the most important positive advance steps that have been made, especially politically?

A. The adoption by South Dakota of its amendment, which is now in its constitution and in full force; the passage by the legislatures of Utah and Oregon of amendments that will doubtless soon be adopted; the passage in Nebraska of a

Direct Legislation municipal law; and the adoption of Direct Legislation into municipal charters in a complete form in San Francisco, Vallejo, and Seattle, and in a partial form in a great many other cities, but particularly in St. Paul, Detroit, and Nashville, where no municipal franchises can be given away by the common council without a vote by the people. In Massachusetts the liquor question is also yearly submitted in the cities, and a great variety of other questions are submitted, according to local conditions.

Q. Well, do you think Direct Legislation will succeed through becoming a party measure, or that it will come quietly, through the action of all parties, or through an enlightened public sentiment acting through the various parties?

A. What has been done will perhaps show us what is to be done. The Populist legislature of South Dakota passed the first amendment, and the Democratic legislature of Utah and the Republican legislature of Oregon passed amendments only a few weeks apart. Direct Legislation was in all of the (at least) ten national platforms during the last campaign, excepting the Republican and Prohibitionist platforms, and it was not opposed by them; but it was not made a leading issue in the campaign at all. Mr. Bryan spoke of it, but only incidentally, and the Democratic speakers generally did not give much attention to it. I do not know of but one public man who has openly come out against it, and he is very much discredited in his own State—the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska. It seems to me that Direct Legislation is going to come through the action of whatever party is in power when the people of a locality demand it. Reforms are apt to come like the kingdom of heaven—like a thief in the night, without observation; and reformers who have their eyes on great national matters, which they think they can influence in a big way, very often overlook the quiet, slow advances in which real growth is made.

Q. Do you belong to the Union Reform Party, which has nothing but Direct Legislation in its platform; and if not, why not?

A. No, because I have great faith in education and very little faith in the formation of third parties. I believe that the old parties will be responsive to public sentiment when there is enough of it, and that under present conditions it is almost impossible to start a new party and have it successful within any reasonable length of time.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

THE TRUE SERVANTS OF CIVILIZATION.

A Word to the Youth of America.

Civilization waits on our young men and women. Their superb courage, their enthusiasm for justice, their readiness to engage in a cause because it is right, make them ever the advance guard of progress. Among those who have grown old in the battle of life there are always a chosen few in whose hearts the spirit of youth, fed by unfaltering faith, burns with unremitting brilliancy; but by far the greater number, even of those who start out true-hearted and resolute to consecrate life to the service of progress, waver and become faint-hearted long ere they reach the meridian of life. Their ideals vanish before successive disappointments; they see the hopes of youth wither before the combined influence of conservatism, conventionalism, and egoism; they note how those who hold principles lightly and who worship in the temple of the false god of Mammon seem to prosper, while non-conforming Truth is scorned and justice is bowed out of the halls of State. And thus it comes to pass that the ranks of those who had beheld the vision of day as it broke on the plains of the ideal become thinned. Some fall by the wayside in what to superficial minds is a losing battle; others desert from the path of duty and join those who move along the broad way, dominated by narrow, short-sighted self-interest. The few who persevere, however, pass from youth to age with the music of the lark and the nightingale ringing in their hearts, and with the violets, the roses, and the lilies blossoming in their souls. They are serene even when the storms rage wildly around their feet. They have suffered and grown strong; they have kept faith with duty; and when age silvers their brows it finds the heart of youth, which with old-time sweetness and the confidence born of unfaltering faith exclaims, with Victor Hugo: "Winter is on my head, but eternal spring is in my heart! I am rising, I know, toward the sky. Heaven lights me with the reflection of unknown worlds." Such is the triumphant eventide of life to those who from youth to age have ever kept the fires of faith burning brightly on the altar of the soul—who without thought of self have consecrated life to the furtherance of truth, justice, and the happiness of all. But how different is their serene and happy age from that of those who ignore the fundamental laws that proclaim the solidarity of the race, and who, absorbed in self, have been seduced from the narrow path by the lust for gold, or fame, or power, or self-indulgence! Where, among these latter, whom the superficial love to call successful, do we find the charm, the peace, the glory, the love, or the sweetness that comes to those who have found life through losing it—who reckless of self have yielded life's richest gifts to the service of others, and who have held aloft the lamp of progress, which for ages has been passed from generation to generation, while its steady beams have been as it were the guiding star for the wise and the aspiring youths of every age?

Standing as we are in the ruddy flush of a dawning century, a question of supreme importance comes to every young man and woman of America to-day. The twentieth century propounds the old questions: Whom will you serve? Will you become a servant of the noble, the true, the beautiful, and the just? Is it your high purpose to consecrate life to the service of humanity? Will you recognize in this existence its true significance, and exclaim, with Mazzini, "Life is a mission!" or with Victor Hugo?—"To live is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common sense, right, and duty welded to the heart. To live is to know what one is worth, what one can do and should do. Life is conscience." Or will you drift with conventionalism, allowing opportunity, with her eternal consequences, to pass unimproved? Or, what is sadder still, will you turn from "the love of the best," and the pursuit of the highest, and accept the low ethics of modern society life and of materialistic commercialism, becoming a slave to lust for gain, lust for popular applause, lust for power, or for the fleeting sensuous pleasures whose very nature forbids their yielding enduring satisfaction or peace to the divine within each son of man? This is the august question which the present puts to strong-hearted, clear-sighted youth, in school or college, in factory, store, or on the farm; and on the decision of our young rests the forward movement of civilization or its falling back into the night. None can evade the choice; none can escape the consequences of the decision. The fact that others ignore the summons of the Infinite to translate the Golden Rule into the life of our century does not afford a reason for your evading the high trust that has been given to you. Rather, let us say, it renders your fidelity all the more urgent. Furthermore, do not hope to be quit of the obligation imposed because you have little influence. The Infinite asks nothing more from you than loyalty to the highest, the faithful seeking to know the demands of truth and justice, and with this knowledge the conscientious carrying out of the finest vision given to your soul. Do the duty that lieth nearest you. Be true to your highest self. Let the Golden Rule be your beacon light. Do not palter with expediency when principles are at issue, and know that no man lives unto himself. Every one, no matter how humble, exerts an influence that carries with it eternal potentialities for weal or woe. The humblest life has often changed the course of another, and that other has influenced thousands, and even affected the currents of events in nations and civilizations. Covenant with your own soul to be of service in this great century that is dawning; be loyal to the divine voice in your heart; keep faith with your conscience. He that allows thought of self to be lost in concern for the happiness of others ranges himself on the side of the Infinite. He battles with the forces of the dawn, and he cannot fail.

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MUTUALISM *VS.* COMMERCIAL FEUDALISM.

Some time ago a despatch from Vienna to the New York *World* contained an extended description of the methods by which the government of Hungary proposed to deal with the Trusts in that country, in order to protect the people from injustice and extortion. The plan in the briefest outline, as drawn up by the Minister of Commerce, embraced the following provisions: (1) It requires the Trusts' accounts to be submitted to the auditor, and the publication of the terms upon which the Trust was organized. (2) If any Trust raises prices so as injuriously to affect the people, the government will be empowered to abolish all duties on the Trust-protected article. (3) In case of necessity the government can take control of a Trust, and, if its action is sufficiently flagrant to warrant extreme measures, the government will confiscate the Trust and after compensating the firms that comprise the combination will nationalize the industry.

This proposed action of the Hungarian government is in harmony with the drift of the age. We do not believe that it will ever be possible to rehabilitate the old competitive system. Its enormous waste and the spirit of warfare which it generated and fostered condemn it from either a commercial or an ethical view-point. Time was when the laboring class sought to destroy labor-saving machines as fast as they could be introduced, because they felt that their multiplication would mean the starvation of many of their numbers; so the defenders of competition have long influenced the masses in favor of the old system of war and waste by appealing to their fear of idleness through the labor saving that combination renders possible. They, however, have not been able to stem the tide, and at present we find that the more thoughtful among the breadwinners, as well as the more philosophic among the humanitarians, are coming to realize that a shorter day and a higher wage are better than a long day devoted to toil that can better be done with fewer men under combination or coöperation. Hence, while being no more reconciled to anything that threatens to glut the labor market or hold down wages than are the friends of competition, these people demand that the principles of coöperation or of combination be so employed that all instead of the few shall receive the benefits, either by nationalization of industries, by coöperation, or by a well-considered profit-sharing system that shall give to the workers a *full share* of all profits.

In the Middle Ages an anarchistic feudalism marked the political life of most of the nations of western Europe. Irresponsible lords, barons, chiefs, or adventurers warred against one another and against the central power. The masses were ignorant serfs, and kings, rulers, or potentates were creatures of factions, while disorder; lawlessness, and brutality were only tempered by the influence of chivalry and the Church.

With modern times came political revolutions culminating in centralization, or the domination of kingly power, with the result that greater order and stability marked government, and business, commerce, and intellectual advance were comparatively rapid, while the responsibility of government was so fixed that it was possible for the next great step of popular rule to come as a result of despotism, unjust oppression, or abuse on the part of the responsible government. Hence, political progress has been marked since the overthrow of feudalistic anarchy by a positive advance toward democracy. Sometimes it was the result of violent upheavals, at other times by the orderly advance of freedom through enlightened legislation backed by popular demands.

Now, we believe that an analogous evolutionary process is indicated in the business world. The anarchic commercial system of competition is practically a thing of the past. We have outgrown it, and a system of centralization or combination is now upon us, involving a supreme issue—that of the establishment of a commercial feudalism throughout the social and business world, with its money lords, barons, and princes dominating government, controlling the opinion-forming agencies, and exercising arbitrary power over the toiling millions, or of an enlightened system of coöperation or mutualism, through orderly operation of which the blessings of wealth, of science, of education, and indeed the opportunity for the development of the best in man shall be the heritage of all. From this time forth, we are inclined to believe that every time the question relating to monopolies or Trusts or combinations comes up for discussion the number of persons that will see the importance of prompt measures to secure to all the blessings produced by the millions will rapidly increase. We are entering the age of combination and coöperation. We believe that the progress toward a realization of the just advantages of the present system will become more and more marked with each passing year. It is not probable that the change will come at once, unless the arrogance of the few who through special privileges assume the right to extort from the consumer on the one hand, while grinding the producer on the other, precipitates revolutionary changes. Barring this possibility, we look for changes by which the people will come into their own—changes that will be achieved by a series of progressive steps. First will come the municipalization or nationalization of public utilities, followed by either the progressive nationalization of industries or the passage of measures that will result in coöperation for the just and mutual enrichment of all the toilers.

The details of the coming changes, however, cannot be predicted, but the drift of public opinion throughout civilization and the strong current of organized business are unmistakable. The coming conflict will be between the powerful few struggling for mastery, as did the feudal barons, and the enlightened, intelligent, and conscientious among the masses, reenforced by men of conviction and high ethical ideals among the thinkers.

A GREAT ACTOR IN A VITAL SOCIAL PLAY.

In Mr. E. S. Willard's masterly presentation of Henry Arthur Jones's drama, "The Middleman," we have a splendid illustration of the stage fulfilling her true function by entertaining the spectator with a strong and absorbingly interesting play, while at the same time impressing thoughts and lessons of vital importance to our present civilization. It would be difficult to overestimate the value of such a work in a transition period. The stage is potentially one of the greatest engines of progress, because it appeals at once to the reason and the emotions, thereby taking hold of the whole man. It is unfortunate that the leaders of ethical, social, and economic progress have not as yet awakened to the immense importance of securing the stage as an ally in the fundamental educational work that must always precede reformative and revolutionary movements intended to be of permanent value to civilization. Signs are not wanting that lead us to believe that the twentieth century will utilize the drama as never before and make it grandly effective as the servant of progress, even as at critical periods in the last century fiction has been made the handmaid of justice.

The supreme function of art, in all its varied manifestations, is to reflect the truth; and the drama, to be a great art work, must necessarily conform to truth in all its requirements, not only reflecting things as they are but also at the same time conforming to the ideal of progress so as to indicate the demands of justice and right as they relate to life and sound morality, irrespective of accepted dicta if they rest on false, narrow, or artificial foundations. Moreover, its lessons to be most effective should not be presented in a didactic manner, but rather unfolded in the natural order of events. The problem play, like the problem novel, is too apt to subordinate interest and action to the moral lessons that are present in the mind of the author; and this invariably tends to defeat its purpose, not unfrequently making it a prosy sermon rather than a work of art in which truths are carried home to the mind in the artless way in which Nature reveals her beauties and teaches her lessons.

In "The Middleman" we have a drama that is at once an art work and a social study of real value, because here the author has kept in view at all times the fundamental truths upon which worth rests and progress depends, instead of confusing the true with the false, the artificial with the real; and with these facts clearly before his spectators he unfolds a picture of modern commercial life with remarkable fidelity to existing conditions. Thus by adhering to the demands of art and the spiritual verities he is enabled to impress, without at any time appearing to preach, important truths upon the minds of thoughtful people in a most compelling way. The story told in the play is, briefly, as follows:

The title of the first act affords the key-note of the play. It is termed "Commercial Caterpillars." The curtain rises, revealing the drawing-room in a home of wealth. Standing on the threshold of a balcony overlooking a spacious lawn is the rich Joseph Chandler, the proprietor of the great Tatlow porcelain works. He is haranguing a large party of townsmen who have come by invitation to a lawn party given by Mr. Chandler. The cause of his throwing open his palatial grounds to the artisan class is revealed in the opening words of the rich man. He is a candidate for political honors, and is even now engaged in a political speech. Behind him stands one Batty Todd, the manager of his works, who is also engineering the campaign and with note-book in hand is acting as prompter for his master. From the shouts outside it is apparent that the flattery bestowed and the self-laudation indulged in are agreeable to the audience.

Within the large drawing-room, which occupies almost the entire stage, are the wife, daughter, and several friends of the rich man, among whom is one Lord Umfraville, with his wife and daughter. The lord is poor and pressed for funds, and Mr. Chandler is rich and hungering after social position. Consequently, a match has been arranged by which the lord's daughter and Mr. Chandler's scapegrace son are to be wedded. The union is entirely on a commercial basis, as it is soon evident that neither of the young people has a particle of affection for the other, and the son rebels against the proposed marriage, even though he feels himself in his father's power. He has been wild at college, having contracted heavy debts and gotten himself into a number of serious scrapes. Furthermore, he has never been taught to govern or master his passions and desires. Yet he is far less cruel, selfish, and calculating in nature than his father. The elder Chandler is a striking type of the self-made man who worships his maker, and he is supremely indifferent to the rights, the wishes, the desires, and the feelings of others when they run counter to his own selfish ends. He has acquired his fortune, as have thousands of the very rich of this age, by utilizing the results of other men's genius and toil in such a manner as to yield him a princely fortune, while the real authors of the wealth remain poor and in dependent circumstances.

It was twenty years before the opening of the play that one Cyrus Blenkarn, an artisan who had discovered after long experimentation a process by which a beautiful porcelain could be made, fell into the hands of Mr. Chandler. The latter, being possessed of some funds and seeing the inventor's dire straits, while quickly recognizing the immense value of his discovery, took advantage of the helplessness of Blenkarn and secured the sole right to use the discovery for £200 and the promise of a position as workman in his factory. He had also displayed excellent judgment in obtaining the services of Batty Todd to manage his works and direct his business. Thus, having secured for a trifling sum the fruits of Blenkarn's genius and toil and the business ability of Mr. Todd, Mr. Chandler was enabled to build up an immensely lucrative business, reaping a princely revenue, while Blenkarn received but a laborer's wage and Todd a small salary. For years Mr. Chandler's one object was the amassing of a fortune, but at the time the play opens the opulent manufacturer is thirsting for political honors and power, together with a certain social standing, which he hopes the position of Member of Parliament will secure for him. It is probable that in youth Chandler was not wanting in noble, honorable, or generous impulses, such as are evinced by his children, but the ethics—or rather the lack of ethics—of modern commercialism are fatal to the diviner attributes, unless the character in youth be well rooted in the higher law; and the rich man has long since come to think only of wealth, fame, and self-aggrandizement.

The play bristles with incidents that illustrate how the aid of others in important positions and the great opinion-forming influences of society are utilized for the advancement of the "commercial caterpillars" in modern society. Thus, for example, the mayor of Tatlow is indirectly bribed by the purchase of immense amounts of wine from his liquor store and the holding out of continued patronage, until he is induced to make a fulsome speech introducing Mr. Chandler to the electors; while the press is looked after by Mr. Todd, who prepares or carefully edits all the matter that goes into the partizan papers favorable to the rich man. This is effectively brought out by the introduction of a subservient representative of the press, who has been carefully looked after by Mr. Todd, and who submits a fulsome write-up of the address, a laudatory sketch of Mr. Chandler, and a glowing account of the meeting for any suggestions or improvements that the manufacturer might wish to make. The eulogistic sketch of Mr. Chandler represents him as the embodiment of generosity and a man whose every thought is directed for the welfare of the community and the happiness of those around him. Nor is this all. The wild and wayward son, who is about to leave for Africa as a part of the discreditable bargain with his father, is represented as a paragon of virtue. But against this last false picture the youth protests, declaring that he is leaving because he has been wild, reckless, and extravagant; that his father has promised to cancel his obligations and straighten out the difficulties he has gotten into on condition that he join his company, now about to start for Africa, and that on his return he form an alliance with some noble family. The alarm and indignation of the father over the son's frank confession of the truth lead to an indignant protest, but his fear that it may get into the press and thus hurt his own prospects is quieted by his manager, who assures him that he will read and edit all proof relating to the matter. These ugly facts connected with the debauching of the press and the influencing of public opinion in ignoble ways, though brought out with great clearness, are not presented in a didactic manner.

Lady Umfraville, who is present during a part of the first act, expresses a wish to see the genius whose wonderful discoveries have made the great Tatlow works possible. This disposition to give credit to any other than himself is promptly resented by Mr. Chandler, who refers to Blenkarn in somewhat contemptuous terms as one who is anything but a genius; and, in answer to the request for a definition of the term, the manufacturer replies that a genius is a practical man who has the shrewdness, penetration, and insight to see merit in discoveries or inventions and the energy to take hold of them and make them useful to the community. "That," he observed with complacency, "is the type of genius I admire."

The entrance of Mr. Willard as Cyrus Blenkarn, the inventor, clad in his working clothes and in search of his employer, that he may secure an advance on his wages sufficient to enable him to pursue his effort to discover a lost art in the making of pottery, is very effective, inasmuch as the great artist, who in this instance stands as the colossal type of the inventive genius who cares little for self, but is absorbed in his noble mission on earth, compels the audience to feel at once the superiority of that which is noble and intrinsically great over that which is shrewd, calculating, and self-absorbed. The auditor feels, even though he may not be analytical enough to be conscious of the fact, how much greater is the spirit of the inventor, embodied in the genius,—the self-forgetful one who shadows forth in a real way at once the spirit of progress and the soul of altruism,—than is that of the purse-proud rich man who has just been receiving the wild plaudits of the rabble. On the one hand is genius, unselfishness, loyalty to the ideal, and goodness; on the other hand egoism—cold, calculating, and yet temporarily clothed in the power that money, under the present age, even when unjustly acquired, can give. Blenkarn is one of the world's benefactors—one of those servants of progress who, haunted by a dream or an ideal, pursues it, through poverty and self-abnegation, until victory crowns his toil and the world is enriched for all time as a result of the consecration to the ideal and the unremitting labor of the benefactor. He is great in his homespun—a beautiful but simple-hearted, genuine, child-like man. And yet in spite of his serenity he impresses the auditor as being a man of great conviction and one capable of infinite love and terrible hate. Thus far, even during the score of years in which he has tirelessly labored to discover the lost art, he has lavished his love on his children, and especially on the elder daughter, a child of fine nature, who has appreciated her father's aims, has sympathized with him—in a word, has always understood him, even when others called him a visionary whose brain was touched.

Upon this elder child, Mary, the father has expended what he could spare from his experiments for her liberal education. She has grown into a beautiful, cultured young woman, and for some time has been an inmate of Mr. Chandler's home as companion for the manufacturer's daughter Maude. Between the two girls a deep affection had long existed; but the home of a rich man in which there also dwells a handsome, daring, reckless young man is too often a dangerous place for a beautiful, susceptible, and unsophisticated girl who has but lately crossed the threshold of womanhood. And here again we have the old, sad story, although the affection of the youth is real; and after he tries in every conceivable way to induce his father to pay his debts and help him to extricate himself from his difficulties without his consenting to marry the daughter of Lord Umfraville, for whom he cherishes no sentiment of affection, he compromises by accepting an arrangement that will take him to Africa for at least a year, and in his heart he meditates marrying Mary Blenkarn before he returns to his home. The lovers, in the course of a hurried conversation, are surprised by the rich manufacturer, who now learns of the relations existing between his son and Mary, and also hears from the girl's lips that their secret cannot remain unknown. While the proposal of Julian Chandler that the girl meet him in Paris and become his wife is only half uttered, the father's interruption breaks all communication between them. The son is hurried to London without being permitted further to communicate with Mary.

In the second act we are introduced into the home of Mr. Blenkarn, and here indirectly the frightful condition of the workers in the factory is brought out. Cyrus Blenkarn unfolds his dream, and asserts the dogged determination to persevere until he finds the secret; while a young workman, whose affection for the inventor's younger daughter is very marked, remonstrates with the old man on his lack of business judgment, which has placed his own family at so great a disadvantage and permitted Mr. Chandler to lord it over them and treat them as inferiors.

In this act also Mary appears and attempts to sound her father in order to see if he could forgive her should he know of the terrible secret that has brought the agony of a lifetime into the heart of a child, and has made even the thought of suicide hold a fascination for her. She speaks of passing the grave of a playmate who had fallen a victim to others and was now in the church-yard; and this elicits a sharp denunciation of the dead girl from the father, who declares that it was a great pity that she did not die three years before, when she had the fever, as then she would not have broken her poor old father's heart. "Ah," he continues, "how different from her are you, my Mary!" Then follows one of the strongest scenes I have witnessed for years upon the stage. The father dwells on the beauty of his idolized daughter's soul, and tells her how he hopes soon to achieve his discovery, which will make them all rich. "Then you, Mary, shall have all that you can desire." And he expresses the hope that she may always clothe herself in white. The words of love and parental idolatry which flow from the old man's heart, and which under some circumstances would have thrilled the child with joy, cut like a knife into her very soul. The audience is made to feel that the devoted father is unwittingly uttering the death-warrant of his child—a feeling that is strengthened after the old man returns to his work and Mary expresses her determination to disappear. A little later she gives her gold watch to her sister and writes a note suggesting the coming night.

Subsequently, unknown to either her or Mr. Chandler, the story of her disgrace is overheard by the youth who is attached to her younger sister. In the conversation the manufacturer scouts any idea of his son righting the wrong, but he offers Mary money for her expenses if she will go to other parts. The offer is indignantly spurned, and the daughter leaves the home of her father before a note arrives from Julian Chandler asking her to meet him in Paris, where he promises to marry her before going to Africa. Chandler, being the only person present when the letter arrives and seeing it is from his son, opens, reads, and burns it. Later the youth who has overheard the conversation between the manufacturer and the unfortunate girl informs the father of his daughter's betrayal.

Blenkarn's agony, as depicted by Mr. Willard, is one of the greatest revelations of dramatic power on the modern stage. He confronts the manufacturer with a plea for the recall of the son and his marriage to the daughter who is more than life to him. Mr. Chandler refuses, but promises to do all he can for father and daughter. "There is but one thing to be done," exclaims the old man; "send for him!" In response to every alternate proposal of the manufacturer the distracted father cries from his bended knee, "But you will not send for him!"

When at last the manufacturer beats a retreat, the old artisan springs to his feet and utters an invocation that thrills the audience. "Oh Thou," he cries, "Who holdest the scales, judge between him and me! A balance! A balance! Give justice here!" And this is followed by a graphic story of how, through his discovery, Mr. Chandler has grown rich while the inventor has remained poor; how he has become powerful and his family have been enabled to enjoy all the advantages that great wealth renders possible, while for twenty years the artisan has struggled on, only making enough to keep in a humble way his dear ones—and how the jewel of his home has been taken from him. The son of the man whom he has made rich has betrayed his Mary, and the manufacturer brutally refuses to send for the boy to save his child. The impassioned recital ends with an appeal for vengeance, in which the father prays for success in his work that will enable him to become rich—that he may crush and ruin those who have despoiled him. "Make them as clay in my hands, that I may melt and mold them at my will in the fire of my revenge!" These words of passion—this wild cry for vengeance—sound strangely coming from the lips of Cyrus Blenkarn; and the audience is made to feel, as perhaps never before, the suffering endured in thousands of homes through the too common tragedies of present-day life that easy-going conventionalism is wont to pass over as things of small account.

The third act (three months later) occurs in the interior of a pottery. Blenkarn had promptly left the employ of Chandler after the disappearance of Mary, who according to a report has been drowned at sea. After leaving his former employer Blenkarn has disposed of his possessions, which enabled him to build ovens and proceed with his experiments. Now, however, he has exhausted his means and his credit. Two ovens are lighted, and one has gone out when the curtain rises, but the coal is almost gone, and the fires should be kept burning for many hours. The old man believes he has discovered the secret, but all others think him crazy. He sends his young daughter out to try and obtain more coal. It is a futile search. Then he goes out himself, but meets with no better success. The act is full of tragic interest, and approaches a climax when the old man, in spite of the remonstrances of his child, breaks up his scanty furniture to feed the flames. Then, turning to the oven that has cooled, he breaks down the doorway, enters, and brings out a pan containing his specimens. Then it is that reason seems to tremble as never before in the balance. He has succeeded, and then a wild burst of joy suggests reason shattered rather than happiness that flowers from sanity.

The appearance of Chandler, who, fearing the old man might succeed, has come to offer him a position if he will again enter his employ, is made the occasion of one of the greatest pieces of acting in the play. Here Mr. Willard emphasizes social injustice and flings out some terrible and ugly truths. The presence of Chandler at such a moment only adds to the over-tense nervous strain. "God made the world," cries the old man, "for parasites and libertines!" And, in answer to an intimation that his mind is touched, the aged father proceeds to point out some glaring injustices that mark present-day social conditions, and cries in derision, "That's sanity!" And then he drops his voice and there is something almost sinister in his tone as he recounts how he has given the manufacturer twenty years of toil; his strength, his tears, his very life has gone to enriching his employer. He has given his daughter to be the plaything of the son. "But now," he adds, with terrible earnestness, "I have bought you."

The last act (one year later) occurs in the drawing-room in which in the opening of the play Mr. Chandler stood when addressing the electors. The home, however, has been sold to a lawyer, and at twelve o'clock Mr. Chandler and family are to vacate the premises. The manufacturer has speculated heavily in stocks and lost. Blenkarn's new china has made the old porcelain a drug on the market, and the old inventor has now come into possession of the Tatlow works, as the demand for the new ware has become very great. The ruin of the selfish man is complete—a fact that becomes evident when he appeals to his former manager, now the superintendent of Blenkarn's works, for a position, no matter how small, that he may earn bread and shelter for his family. The manager's answer rings with that contemptuous indifference for the unfortunate which long marked the words and deeds of Mr. Chandler and which is characteristic of life immersed in modern materialistic commercialism. He tells Mr. Chandler that he "would not be worth a penny a month" to them. There is nothing in the business he is fitted to do. "What," asks the fallen capitalist, "am I suited for?" And Mr. Todd, cynically shaking his head, gives up the problem. "But," insists the one-time powerful manufacturer, "I was long the head of our firm."

"Yes; the figure-head," comes the contemptuous retort, with the gratuitous suggestion that the figure-head of a vessel is of little use in guiding or steering the craft.

"But I am penniless," urges the desperate man. "In a few days I will not have money enough to buy a loaf of bread for my family."

Whereupon Mr. Todd suddenly remembers an important engagement, and only stops while beating a hasty retreat to request Mr. Chandler not to visit his office but to write if he has anything important to say, as he is very busy.

The incapacity for either creative, productive, or practical work of the once pompous capitalist is brought out in a startling way, as is also his former indifference to the rights and feelings of others. "Oh! this is a blackguard world—a cold, cruel, blackguard world!" exclaims Mr. Chandler, as Todd disappears.

Next Lord Umfraville and wife enter to ask that the son, who is that day expected to return to Tatlow, relinquish his claim to their daughter's hand. The fact that the young man has distinguished himself for great bravery until all England is ringing with his praises counts for nothing since Chandler is bankrupt. At this juncture the lawyer enters, followed by the real owner of the Chandler palatial home, Cyrus Blenkarn, who has returned from a long and fruitless search for further details of his daughter's death or fate. To the new proprietor Mr. Chandler appeals for aid, but it is in the drawing-room of the home where the artisan's idolized daughter was sacrificed, and with difficulty the naturally kind-hearted man steels his heart against the one who haughtily refused to send for his son, when the sending would have saved a daughter's name and life. He refuses.

"It is hard to be down in the world!" exclaims the one-time captain of industry.

"Ah!" retorts the other, "it is harder to be kept down in the world all your life."

Then the petitioner urges his need in the name of the wronged girl. "If Mary were here," he says, "she would plead for me; for she was ever kind." At this the fury of the artisan bursts forth in such bitter tones that Mr. Chandler hastily withdraws.

Then ensues a struggle in the mind of Cyrus Blenkarn, which calls for the splendid reserve power of a master, such as is Mr. Willard. Kindness battles with hate—the longing to do good with the desire for vengeance. He has tasted the revenge for which he prayed, but he finds it fails to satisfy. Ah! kind, true-hearted old man! Natures cast in noble molds find no joy in revenge. If she has sweets, they are for souls of smaller stature. The spirit of the divine has entered too largely into thy sweet, simple, toil-ennobled life to permit joy to come as the result of pain.

In this perplexity and loneliness the old man appeals to his daughter's spirit, and there is something infinitely pathetic in the heart-cry given by Mr. Willard: "Mary, what would you have me to do? Mary! Ah, not all the money in the world can buy you back to me for one short hour! Shall I help him, Mary?" He talks to vacancy as if he beheld the spirit of the loved one near, and strains his ear as if to catch a voice borne on the passing breeze. Gradually a serene expression steals over his countenance. He feels within his soul that his child would counsel on the side of love and forgiveness. He calls Mr. Chandler and tells him he will give him a position as under-manager, at £400 a year.

The overjoyed man has scarcely ceased to express his happiness when shouts and cries of welcome are heard without, and the announcement is made that Julian Chandler has returned, not only crowned with golden laurels but bringing a bride whom he has wedded abroad. Instantly all the bitterness of the past sweeps over the aged artisan's face. Harsh words are hurled at Mr. Chandler, and from the fallen manufacturer Blenkarn now turns savagely on the son. After rating him for his conduct, he bids him call in his wife, that he may tell her the kind of a man she has won; and at this there enters, clothed in spotless white, the long-lost daughter. The climax, of course, is melodramatic, but it satisfies the innate desire of the heart of man that justice shall triumph and right be vindicated; and in this imperative demand on the part of the people that in literature and art the ideal of right shall win, have we not the real secret of the perennial popularity of the melodrama and the romantic novel?

"The Middleman" is one of the most vivid portrayals of prevailing social conditions that have ever appeared before the footlights. The leading characters are typical; hence they are colossal. Those who once see Cyrus Blenkarn as interpreted by Mr. Willard will never forget him. He will live forever in the mind as a great art creation, which personifies the noble brotherhood of inventors and discoverers who have surrendered almost all that society most esteems for the success of some dream whose realization would enrich civilization; while Mr. Chandler, Batty Todd, and Mary Blenkarn are also drawn so boldly and with such startling fidelity that they too become types and embodiments of thousands who throng our cities to-day.

Mr. Willard's acting in this great play is worthy to rank with the master interpretations of the great actors of the last quarter of a century. Moreover, he deserves great praise for presenting this sermon on social righteousness to the play-going public. We need more such masters in the dramatic world, and more such vital plays as is "The Middleman."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.*

STRINGTOWN ON THE PIKE. By Professor John Uri Lloyd, author of "Etidorhpa," "The Right Side of a Car," etc. Illustrated. Cloth. 414 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

A Book Study.

In the year 1895 a psychical romance appeared bearing the singular title of "Etidorhpa." Its author, Prof. John Uri Lloyd, had long since achieved fame in Europe and America as one of the great chemists of the New World. His position at the head of one of the greatest manufacturing chemical firms in this country, as well as his numerous valuable contributions to medical and chemical literature, had brought him into intimate relationship with wide-awake and progressive physicians and the leading working chemists of our time. Yet few if any, even among his intimate friends, imagined that this successful business man and careful thinker, long trained to modern critical methods in the fascinating field of scientific research, was a profound student of psychology and psychic phenomena, or that he had talent and taste for literature aside from its use as a vehicle for the conveyance of scientific observations. "Etidorhpa," therefore, proved a revelation to all readers who knew the author. It was a creation quite outside of ordinary fiction. Even as a psychical novel it was unique. If, as some held, it contained more truth than fiction, its truths were of a kind not credited by the majority; and if it was romance, pure and simple, it evinced a remarkably vivid imagination on the part of the scientific author.

Two years after the appearance of "Etidorhpa" Professor Lloyd published a little sketch entitled "The Right Side of a Car." It was a charming creation, rich in delicate sentiment, presented in a simple yet highly poetic style.

And now we have a third work, a study of northern Kentucky life during the stormy epoch of the civil war—a novel as different from the author's previous literary works as they are different from his rigidly scientific contributions.

"Stringtown on the Pike" is a powerful delineation of life—especially of some marked phases of life—as known by the author in his childhood. It is weird, almost uncanny at times. As a psychical study of the negro mind during the slavery period it is unique in literature. To those unacquainted with a phase of negro life that is rapidly disappearing, the colossal creation of Cupe may seem exaggerated and unreal; but, to those who have lived with the old Southern negroes and who know their peculiarities, this delineation will be recognized as the strongest and most vivid picture yet afforded by our literature. If the volume possessed no merits other than its value as a psychological study and as a portrayal of the old-time negro, with his strange conceits, his fantastic superstitions, his faith in spells, charms, and signs, and his loyalty to his master, it would be a valuable contribution to our literature; but indeed it possesses many other characteristics that entitle it to consideration. It is a strong book—somber, powerful, and invested with tragic interest. It takes hold of the imagination of the reader in a compelling way. In many respects it is not pleasant reading. The genius of tragedy broods over the book. There are almost as many deaths as in George Ebers's "Egyptian Princess;" but despite this it is safe to say that few readers will lay down the volume until it is completed. There is another merit about the book that should not be overlooked, and that is its fidelity to truth in its delineations of the common life as it was found in northeastern Kentucky forty years ago.

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* Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

In the future we believe that history will be written in a much broader spirit than that which has characterized it in the past, and works like "Stringtown on the Pike" will prove invaluable to the historian, as they will give vivid and forceful pictures of sections of life in great commonwealths at different periods of time; for this work is one of historical value rather than a romance in the popular meaning of that term. Yet by this I would not imply that it is devoid of imaginative power, for we must not forget that the imagination finds expression in different ways.

Take, for example, art as interpreted by painters. Here are two men of genius and imagination, whose canvases breathe with life; yet one has wrought master creations of beauty from the subjective or ideal world. He has studied Nature in all her various moods. He has drunk deeply from the fountain of beauty, after which he has retired, as it were, within himself and brooded in silent contemplation over the multitudinous expressions of loveliness that have come into his thought-world. At length, with brush in hand, he externalizes the vision seen within the holy of holies of his soul, and the world cries, "Behold a creation of genius!"

Meanwhile his brother artist wanders forth. He too is haunted by the spirit of beauty, but his forte is not in forcibly creating or rearranging scenes, but rather in so interpreting Nature as to reveal the soul behind the symbol. At length he enters a valley, or perchance comes upon a mountain pass and beholds a vision of beauty in one of Nature's gorgeous settings. Thousands of others have seen the same scenes—

many of them thousands of times—without being more than dumbly conscious of the beauty before them. Even artists by the score have copied the very scenes unrolled before our painter and the world has heeded not their work. Now, however, the master beholds and is entranced. As the camera catches the lights and shades and holds the image that falls upon its sensitive plate, so his imagination catches and holds the images before him. But it does more than this. It reaches out and absorbs the elusive soul—that something which defies all mechanical devices to ensnare it. After a time his canvas begins to blossom in beauty. Detail after detail of the landscape is reproduced. With the power of a master he succeeds in quickly seizing the complex phenomena that are essential to an immortal creation; but, this done, he becomes as one lost in absorption, and the passers-by, intent on the little things of the world, say, "Behold the idler loitering in the valley!" When the imagination is satisfied, the work proceeds again. At length it is finished, and the great painting is undraped. Then it is that the world recognizes the presence of a beauty wholly wanting in the canvas of other artists who have essayed to paint the same scene, and even more striking to the eye untrained to the appreciation of beauty than the original, by reason of its loveliness being focused on a small surface.

Here we have two masters who in different ways have wrought immortal works of art—one from the gallery of the ideal, the magic realm of the subjective, the other from the objective; and each picture is great by virtue of the transcendent imagination of the artist, who has caught and held the soul while reproducing the image.

Now, what is true in painting is no less true in literary work. The writer who from the world of the imagination creates a romance revealing life in a true way, or clothes his images in the ideal virtues to which the "love of the best" in man is ever beckoning the race, is a genius, a man of imagination; and he who takes the common life around us and depicts its hopes and fears, its successes and failures, its weaknesses and its splendid triumphs, so faithfully that instead of resorting to invention he gives us a procession of human life, from prattling babyhood to silver age, each so vividly presented that we not only know them but feel their swelling hopes and bitter despair, has caught and reproduced that intangible something which is behind all objective manifestations. He has caught the soul as well as the outer trappings, and like the painter of the wonderful landscape he has vivified his work by virtue of the imaginative penetration that beholds and reveals the spirit as well as the body.

"Stringtown on the Pike" is an analytic study of life, made by a man of genius, and as such it will be of real value to him who in the future essays to write the annals of our Western civilization, and who wishes to be brought into sympathetic *rapport* with varying conditions at different periods and in different sections. Altogether, we regard this book as one of the most notable works of fiction that have appeared in recent years.

THE EAGLE'S HEART. By Hamlin Garland. Cloth, 370 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Some years ago Mr. Garland expressed his determination to reflect in a series of stories different phases of life in the Northwest, as he had known it in his boyhood and as it exists to-day. His "Jason Edwards," presenting a strong and life-like picture of the struggle of the pioneers in the Dakotas, and "A Spoil of Office," portraying in a remarkably graphic and true manner the great political upheavals of the early nineties, which followed the rise of the Farmers' Alliance and which culminated in the formation of the People's Party, were works doubtless written with the above object in view. And in his latest novel, "The Eagle's Heart," he has given a picture of a rapidly disappearing phase of life in the Far West. Like the buffalo and the Indian, the cowboy is destined to disappear from the plains of the United States at no distant day, though doubtless he will long survive on the vast prairies of South America. It is well that a strong writer, who is able to catch and reflect with almost photographic accuracy passing phases of life, should give us pictures that possess real historic value, aside from their worth as literature or their romantic interest.

"The Eagle's Heart" deals with a Western boy, a youth who grows up in an Iowa village. He has inherited from his father a vicious disposition. In an hour of rage he stabs a man and is sent to prison. While here he comes under the influence of a beautiful girl, who each Sunday afternoon visits the jail as one of a band of singing pilgrims, in the hope of helping the unfortunate ones. This girl becomes a lodestone and an inspiration to the youth during years of rough and turbulent life on the plains. But it is chiefly with the life of the boy who possesses the eagle's heart that Mr. Garland deals. His struggles, trials, hopes, aspirations, and failures are portrayed in simple but vivid language, and in the narration we are brought into *rapport* with the wild, picturesque Western life that is so rapidly vanishing. The story ends in the union of the young lover with the girl whose magic voice wrought so strange a spell over his boyhood's years. This novel is full of human interest and is one of the strongest and best long stories that have come from the pen of Mr. Garland.

SOCIALISM AND MODERN SCIENCE. By Enrico Ferri. Translated by Robert R. La Monte. Cloth, 214 pp. Price, $1.00. New York: International Library Publishing Company.

This is one of the ablest of the philosophic discussions of socialism and its relation to the fundamental law of progressive life that have yet appeared in literature. The author is a learned scientific writer. He has made an exhaustive study of the Darwinian theory of development; he is thoroughly convinced of the truth of evolution; and he is also one of the clearest and most logical advocates of social democracy of our times. The work is characterized by a spirit of fairness and candor that is beyond praise. It contains no intemperate utterances. It appeals to the reason of its readers, and the argument to prove that socialism is in essential accord with the fundamentals of the evolutionary theory seems to me unanswerable.

The work has so much in its favor as a valuable and thoughtful contribution to social literature that one regrets the presence of the spirit of atheism or crass materialism that has in the past been such a characteristic of socialism on the continent of Europe, and that we believe has cost the cause millions of adherents. We believe that no great ethical movement can ultimately succeed unless it appeals in a compelling way to the religious or spiritual sensibilities of the soul; and while recognizing the fact that dogmatic theology has been one of the great stumbling-blocks to scientific progress, general education, and not unfrequently to the cause of ethical progress, we are also persuaded that the spiritual element in man's nature, which demands satisfaction in even a greater degree than the intellect, cannot be ignored without the civilization or society that scorns it falling back into the night of sensualism and heartlessness. And yet it is not difficult to see how the hostility of the reigning or dominant churches to republican forms of government on the Continent, to socialism, and to the general emancipation of the individual has been largely responsible for the unhappy antagonism evinced by the leading social philosophers of the age. This does not alter the fact, however, that socialism must call to her loyal service the more enlightened and the more conscientious element among the religious people before it can hope to triumph.

So far as socialism seeks to actualize the dream of universal brotherhood it is not only in alignment with the law of progress, but also expresses the higher spiritual sentiments and aspirations of the most civilized. When, however, it seeks to ignore the spiritual side of man's life, it becomes a body without a soul. The next radical and fundamental upward step of humanity demands the union of the heart and the mind—of the soul and the intellectual faculties. With these, man's development from within will be in perfect accord with the juster environment that shall mark the outward relations of society, and growth will be well rounded and happiness, freedom, and love will blossom throughout the world; while peace shall take the place of war and the vast energies and resources of society will be turned from criminal destruction to the development, the enrichment, and the advancement of national and individual existence. This ignoring of the spiritual side of man, this contempt for religion, this atheism which is as paralyzing in its influence as dogmatic theology is destructive in its operation, is in our judgment the fatal flaw in this otherwise most admirable work.

The purpose of the scholarly author is to prove that contemporary socialism is in perfect accord with the underlying laws of development and the fundamental facts revealed in "the physical, biological, and social sciences, whose marvelous development and fruitful application are the glory of our dying century." In the opening chapter a full presentation is made by liberal quotations from Ernest Haeckel's and

Oscar Schmidt's famous attack on socialism, called forth by Virchow's historic declaration that "Darwinism leads directly to socialism." Taking these attacks as a text, M. Ferri examines each assertion with the fairness of a man trained to judicial methods and with the exactness of a scientist. He ably meets each argument, and in the course of his concise but masterly discussion he makes a luminous presentation of the essential demands of socialism and shows how they are in perfect alignment with the laws and demands of the fundamental truths revealed by Darwin and his great co-laborers in the domain of physical science.

This volume will be of great value to persons desiring to understand the case of modern socialism in its relation to the theories of Darwin, Spencer, and other leading evolutionists.

THE CHILDHOOD OF JI-SHIB THE OJIBWA. By Albert Ernest Jenks, Ph. D. Illustrated with 64 pen-and-ink sketches. Cloth, 130 pp. Price, $1.00. Madison, Wis.: American Thresherman.

In this fascinating little study of Indian child life Dr. Jenks has drawn from one of the richest of the native fields for romantic poetry. Longfellow, Cooper, Hathaway, and a few other scholars have dwelt somewhat extensively upon Indian life; but in some respects the strongest picture of the domestic life and the mental workings of the red man's mind is found in a unique story entitled "The Queen of the Woods," written by the late Indian chief, Simon Pokagon, of the Pottawattomie band of Indians. "The Childhood of Ji-shib" is equally sympathetic in treatment and far more finished from a literary point of view than is the work of the venerable chief, while the intimate knowledge possessed by Dr. Jenks of Indian life, habits, customs, and ideas enables him to weave into this beautiful little story a vast fund of information not hitherto accessible to the general reader. Moreover, the author has put into the work that loving heart-interest that invests any subject with an irresistible charm. The book is an imaginary biography of a little Indian boy from birth to manhood, and I have seldom read a simple story so thoroughly delightful from cover to cover as is "The Childhood of Ji-shib." Of its value from a scientific view-point, as accurately picturing forth Indian life and customs, no less an authority than Mr. W. J. McGee, of the Department of Ethnology at Washington, bears testimony in the following words from a note to its author:

> "The story is good ethnologically and geographically; your description of the habitat, habits, and customs of the Ojibwa Indians is accurate; your local coloring is faithful; and you have caught with exceptional success those elusive characteristics of Indian thought expressed in oblation, fasting, preparation for warfare, and other peculiar customs."

As a whole, the work is well written, simple, and dignified in style. In only one place do we find a slight exception, and that is on page 24, where the author introduces the slangy phrase, "Before he could say Jack Robinson," which seems strangely out of place in a piece of work which otherwise is so excellent in its literary form. The volume contains sixty-four excellent pen-and-ink drawings illustrating the text. It is a book that should find its way into the homes, schools, and libraries of our land.

THE WHITE FLAME. By Mary A. Cornelius. Cloth, 402 pp. Price, $1.25. Chicago: The Stockham Publishing Company.

In this work we have a psychical romance. It is a story full of action, and for those who are interested in the weird and the unusual it will doubtless hold a peculiar fascination. It contains much noble thought, and many of its lessons are suggestive and helpful. Yet from our experience in psychical investigation, and from the teachings given by many of the nobler exponents of modern spiritualistic and occult philosophy, we cannot feel that much set down is in perfect alignment with the probable, even though it may have been flashed on the sensitive consciousness of the author. The story of the strange inmate of the chair, for example, impresses us as being fantastic rather than probable; and much connected with Madam Laureola also seems to us strained beyond the point of probability, even to those who accept psychical phenomena as presented by modern spiritualism. Barring these features, however, the work is replete with truth and helpfulness. It is a unique story, entirely out of the beaten path.

AS IT IS TO BE. By Cora Linn Daniels. Cloth, 294 pp. Price, $1. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

A handsome new edition of Cora Linn Daniels's "As It Is To Be" will doubtless bring this strange and fascinating work to the attention of thousands who did not see the earlier edition. It belongs to the rapidly increasing psychical literature, and is one of the very best works of its class that have appeared. The work evinces an excellent literary style, and consists for the most part of messages purporting to come from the "other side," replying at length to a series of questions relating to the life that now is and to the to-morrow of existence. The ethical teaching and the general atmosphere of the work are high, pure, and invigorating.

POWER THROUGH REPOSE. By Annie Payson Call. New and enlarged edition. Cloth, 201 pp. Price, $1. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

In 1891 appeared "Power Through Repose," by Annie Payson Call, a sane and practical treatise devoted to the improvement of the health of body and mind through rational methods, and its excellence won for it a wide circulation. A new edition has just appeared containing three additional chapters in which the author discusses The Rational Care of Self, Our Relations with Others, and the Use of the Will. Our busy age, with its feverish life, calls for just such works as this, which not only raises the danger signal before a thoughtless age, engrossed in anxious care, but also shows in a practical way how to obtain rest and quiet, how to use the brain, and how to conserve energy and avert nervous strain. Its suggestions for disciplining the mind are very sensible. Indeed, this volume is one whose perusal will in many cases save large doctors' bills by showing the reader how rationally to help himself into a normal state.

LITERARY NOTES.

The G. W. Dillingham Company have issued a little booklet (price, 25 cents) entitled "The Religion of Abraham Lincoln," and containing the correspondence between Gen. C. H. T. Collis and Col. Robert G. Ingersoll on that subject. Gen. Collis is reenforced in his position by letters from Gen. Sickles and Hon. O. S. Munsell. The discussion, we think, is hardly worth the while. The fact is fairly well established that Mr. Lincoln did believe profoundly in the reality of an overruling God of wisdom and justice, and he believed in the presence of angels round about us, who were ministering spirits and who sought to aid and strengthen man. He also believed in prayer; but, though he attended church, he never identified himself with any sect.

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"Womanly Beauty of Form and Feature; or, The Cultivation of Beauty Based on Hygiene and Health Culture" is the title of an excellent book of over 200 pages (price, $1) issued by the Health Culture Company of Fifth Avenue, New York. It contains contributions from twenty physicians and specialists, embodying a vast fund of practical information, and is in alignment with the spirit of the age, which seeks rationally to develop the body rather than depend upon drugs and empirical treatment after disease has come as a result of the abuse of Nature's laws.

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A very suggestive and helpful little volume for those deeply interested in the New Metaphysics and psychic thought of our time is entitled "A Series of Meditations." It is by E. C. Gaffield and published by The Order of the White Rose, Syracuse, N. Y. An idea of the work may be gleaned from the following, which are some of the subjects treated: Aspiration; Spiritual Vibrations; Harmony; Man's Relation to Spiritual Law; How to Reach the Heights.

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THE KING ON HIS THRONE; or, Power of Will Through Direct Mental Culture. Cloth, 444 pp. Price, $2. Lynn, Mass.: The Nichols Press.

[*Reviewed by the Rev. R. E. Bisbee.*]

In a State where I once lived it was a common remark: "The snows will not leave the mountains until the warm weather comes, and the warm weather will not come until the snows leave the mountains." But the weather became warmer, and the snows began to leave the mountains, and with the disappearing snows the weather became warmer still. So with humanity. Society will not be perfect until the individual is perfect, and the individual will not be perfect until society is perfect. This simply means that each acts and reacts on the other.

Different classes of reformers are apt to ignore one side of this truth. The socialist turns his attention wholly to society. He ignores the individual, or considers him the helpless product of his environment. On the other hand, the individualist is apt to ignore the influences of society. He lays great stress on the power of will. Man, he says, is the maker of his own destiny. He can be what he chooses. The pessimist sits in helpless despair, demanding that all forces in progress become perfect before he will believe in any advance. How can it be warmer until the snow is gone; and how can the snow melt until it is warm? But in spite of him—

" . . . life shall on and upward go;
Th' eternal step of Progress beats
To that great anthem, calm and slow,
Which God repeats."

The Rev. Frank C. Haddock, pastor of the Boston Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Lynn, Mass., has taken an opportune moment to give to the world his carefully prepared and thoroughly practical book on the "Power of Will." It comes in time to check a tendency on the part of reformers to charge too much to society. This author is no dreamer and no pessimist. He believes that God has given the soul powers next to infinite. There should be in the world more of the spirit of Diogenes when he said to Alexander, "Stand out of my sunlight." The great philosopher was so rich in himself that even the conqueror of the physical world could add nothing to his wealth.

"Life," says Victor Charbonnel, "is within us. The highest life is only to be found in the deepest recesses of our own souls." In similar strain Mr. Haddock: "A purposeful mind says, sooner or later, 'I resolve to will!' After a time that phrase is in the air, blows with the wind, shines in star and sun, whispers with dreams of sleep and trumpets through the hurly-burly of day. Eventually it becomes a feeling of achievement saturating consciousness. The man knows now the end, because all prophecies have one reading. He has begotten the instinct of victory."

I have spoken of Mr. Haddock's book as thoroughly practical. It is also, I believe, thoroughly scientific. It remains simply to give the reader of this review some illustrations of the author's purpose, style, and method. The work is, as suggested, a scientific manual, analyzing the moods of mind and setting forth practicable exercises for the senses and the mental powers. Its underlying law is thus stated: "Continuous and intelligent thought on the growth of any power of the mind, with exercises carried out to that end, exerts a developing influence upon the function itself. In the case of the will this would follow without systematic practise, but regulated exercises tend to keep the mind on the desired goal and to increase the power of the idea of will-culture incalculably." This law is evident throughout the book. The mind seems capable of storing up reserve energy: "The brain is a kind of dynamo in which mental force is generated. The moods of feeling, energy, decision, continuity, understanding, righteousness, indicate the mind's dynamo in action. As the nerves store up energy, so the mind seems capable of storing the elements of these moods, and thus of the will."

In the five parts in which the author treats his subject, these basic factors of will-training are constantly employed. Part I. deals with theory and life; part II. has ten chapters devoted to physical exercises; part III. (five chapters) contains a large body of directions for mental practise; part IV. deals with the destruction of habit; part V. is notable for its discussion, among other things, of "The Personal Atmosphere" and "The Child's Will." Extracts at random will suggest the author's idea of will-training and incidentally indicate his style:

"Life must become habituated to right general principles."

"What men get out of life and Nature depends upon the amount of mind that can be put into the look."

"Whoever puts his whole hand to the growth of will-power has power of will wholly in hand."

"The ability to think clean through a subject sets a man apart as one of the victors of life."

"The secret of the will is anticipation based on memory."

"The man who strips his statements to the fewest possible words is not often an exaggerator, in the nature of the case, and is seldom a liar."

"If the habit is the result of a psychic desire, the will must be bolstered by a new psychic ideal, of any character whatever."

"Your want of symmetry shows your need of alliance with the nature of things."

"The predominant characteristics of a psychic atmosphere in its best estate may be expressed in the following words: health, self-control, intelligence, talent, education, will, energy, love, pride, hope, cheerfulness, belief, friendship, benevolence, justice, truth, moral purpose, worship."

The book is something more, however, than a dry manual. It abounds in helpful suggestions and striking sentences: "In the long run every man gets about what he deserves." "For the service of a sound soul the universe will pay any price." "Opportunity crowds upon the imperious will." "Many wills are like guns set with hair-triggers—they go off before good aim can be taken." "The honest soul need fear nothing." "The uncontrolled brain is a fool's paradise." "A bad word is like a mule's hind feet; it will wait years for its chance—and it usually gets that chance." "Questions are the crackling noises of an opening brain." "The universe as a field of endeavor reacts upon the individual, to be sure; but the true goal is to get the man to react rightly upon the universe."

The book contains hundreds of axioms and striking aphorisms. It is neither light reading nor dry reading. If it is patiently studied and practised, it should fulfil its promise—a stronger and more symmetrical will to every one capable of intelligent labor. The directions for practise are clearly and accurately set out. The general atmosphere of its pages ought itself to inspire the will of any reader.

Robert E. Bisbee.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Morning Echoes." By John E. Morgan. Cloth, 103 pp. Publisher not given.

"The Heart of David the Psalmist King." By A. G. Heaton. Illustrated by author. Cloth, 389 pp. Washington: The Neale Company.

"The Great Trial of the Nineteenth Century." By Samuel C. Parks. Cloth, 173 pp. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Pub. Co.

"Christianity in the Nineteenth Century." By the Rev. George C. Lorimer, D.D. Cloth, 652 pp. Fully indexed. Price, $2.00. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press.

"The Discovery of a Lost Trail." By C. B. Newcomb. Cloth, 282 pp. Price, $1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

"The Religion of Democracy." By Charles Ferguson. Paper, 170 pp. Price, 50 cents. San Francisco: Elder & Shepard.

"The Fall and the Restoration: A Study in Social Science." By Imogene C. Fales. Paper, 55 pp. Price, 30 cents. Loudsville, Ga.: Peter Davidson.

"The Mahogany Table." By F. Clifford Stevens. Paper, 234 pp. Price, 25 cents. New York: J. S. Ogilvie Pub. Co.

"Rending the Veil." By William W. Aber. Cloth, 507 pp. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Pub. Co.

"The Gospel According to Nature, together with certain references to the Kingdom of Heaven and Other Matters." By a North American Indian. Paper, 37 pp. Price, 10 cents. Address P. O. Box 443, Des Moines, Ia.

"Hermaphro-Deity: The Mystery of Divine Genius." By Eliza B. Lyman. Paper, 275 pp. Price, 50 cents. Saginaw Printing and Publishing Company, Saginaw, Mich.

"How to Live Forever." By Harry Gaze. Paper, 52 pp. Price, $1. Oakland, Calif.: Harry Gaze.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE article on "Farming in the Twentieth Century," by the Rev. E. P. Powell, which was announced to appear in this issue of THE ARENA, is unavoidably held over owing to the pressure upon our space. It will be published in our April number, and will be the first of a series of prophetic papers bearing upon the problems of science, commerce, industry, and economics of which the need of a solution is certain to become increasingly urgent as our new era advances. The second article of this series, to appear in the May ARENA, will be entitled "Geology in the Twentieth Century," from the authoritative pen of Charles R. Keyes, Ph.D., late director of the Missouri geological survey.

Of a somewhat analogous nature is the leading contribution to the present issue, in which Dr. Bixby's discussion of the relation that science bears to religion points inevitably to the early disappearance of the antagonism that for centuries has existed between theologians and materialistic scientists. The "concessions" to be made on both sides are shown to be in the direction of loftier views of *all* life, of saner conceptions of Deity and of the origin and destiny of man. That scientific studies are not inimical to the development of the true religious impulse, but rather contribute thereto, and in turn are *aided* in the consequent spiritualization of the commonest facts and truths of scientific knowledge, is becoming more clearly recognized by the broadest minds in both avenues of research.

Remedies for Trust abuses are abundant in American literature, and, with the onward march of the spirit of combination, discussions of this most odious and oppressive of the forms of monopoly become marked by proposals that are not only impracticable and absurd but frequently degenerate into mere denunciation, which is never argument. That the fault in this, as in all other forms of injustice, lies primarily with the people themselves, is plainly shown by Walter Clark, LL.D., who follows Dr. Bixby, in this issue, with a forceful paper pointing out how Trusts can easily be crushed. Justice Clark has been for a dozen years on the supreme bench of North

Carolina, and his rulings have been conspicuously able and his writings clear, judicial, and strong. His suggestions concerning additional legislation, both Federal and State, are commended to every voter.

Of perhaps equal economic importance in this month's ARENA is our interview with Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., on "Direct Legislation and Social Progress." The development of this great idea in lands supposed to be much less democratic than ours, as shown by Mr. Pomeroy, will surprise many Americans, although the fact that this proposal contains at least the germ of the solution of our social and political exigencies is conceded by most thoughtful minds. Editor Flower's biographical sketch of this modern writer and thinker is not the least interesting and suggestive feature of this contribution.

Mr. Marshall's article on "The Army Canteen" was written before the recent taking of definite action by Congress excluding the institution from all military posts. But many advanced temperance reformers agree with this writer's conclusions concerning the inexpediency of such legislation. The idleness that is a concomitant of militarism in time of peace encourages the drink habit, which under official regulation and control would assuredly be less demoralizing than when surreptitiously indulged. This fact is proved by the history of every prohibition community. Mr. Marshall's plea for temperate and rational action on the part alike of the individual and the State is weighty and convincing, and thoroughly in line with the progressive spirit and purpose of THE ARENA.

Among the papers in preparation for our next issue are: "The Empire State's Guardianship of the Insane," by Frank Leslie Warne, LL.B.; "Professor Fiske and the New Thought," by Dr. R. Osgood Mason, and "The Passing of the Declaration," by Prof. Leon C. Prince, of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. The last-named contribution will provoke widespread discussion and emphatic dissent in many political, social, and journalistic circles; but it contains much original thought, is a unique view of the "palladium" of American liberty, and is a literary production of a high order of merit.

J. E. M.

ERNEST H. CROSBY.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—HEINE.

THE ARENA

VOL. XXV. APRIL, 1901. No. 4.

THE PASSING OF THE DECLARATION.

IT is not the design of this paper to attempt either to justify or to arraign the motives and present tendencies of the United States concerning its self-evident ambition for international supremacy. That ambition, while unquestionably a fact, yet, so far from being in the nature of a transient fancy excited by recent military and naval successes, is an original instinct planted in the very constitution of Anglo-Saxon character and attested by the continuous drift of fifteen hundred years.

That the Anglo-Saxon is predestined by his own racial conditions to be a controlling factor in world politics need hardly be affirmed, and, if we may form conclusions from the past and present stages of his historic development, there seems to be no disposition on his part to avoid that destiny. He has been as inclusive in his ambition, as aggressive in his policy, as ruthless in his conquest, as the Roman ever was, and far more successful in his administration. But he will never admit that, like the Roman, the basic principle of his empire has been the domination of force. Both the Englishman and the American, but particularly the latter, have an inherent and apparently ineradicable hostility to calling things by their right names and looking facts squarely in the face—an inconsistency of precept and practise that tends not unnaturally to throw distrust upon the sincerity of our attachment to certain well-known and much protested principles. It was the consciousness of this fact in a few of the more sensitive minds and its application to contemporary conditions that furnished the main text for the fulminations of the Opposition during the recent period of political debate—an opposition sound in theory but contrary to the testimony of historical facts. As a matter of theory, "imperialism" in any form is repugnant to American ideals. As a matter of fact, we have been, and are to-day more than ever, an imperialistic nation, and an imperialistic nation with a more vital and intense significance than the most zealous expansionist of five months ago probably imagined.

It is not the purpose of this essay to disparage our national genius or to find fault with the "course of empire," but merely to submit in brief outline a few of the historic and material inconsistencies between government as theoretically conceived and government as practically administered by the American people; and finally, if the facts adduced shall warrant the conclusion, respectfully to suggest that we henceforth exclude from our political phraseology those extravagant professions of superior inspiration of which our national utterance is full, and concerning which our national history has been a continuous refutation.

It was urged during the recent campaign that the United States should not attempt the business of ruling subject colonies, for the reason that such a course would be contrary to the Declaration of Independence and a plain departure from our constitutional intent; or, as expressed in the somewhat specious phrase of the Kansas City [illegible]tform—"The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government." Undoubtedly it is contrary to the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence to hold the Filipinos as subjects under any pretense whatever, because such holding implies, first, the assumption of racial superiority, and, second, the right of the superior by reason of that superiority to rule—both of which assumptions the Declaration of Independence clearly denies. But, on the other hand, that instrument is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and not only that, but contrary to the common necessities of any government as well as to the common sense of mankind.

The Declaration of Independence tolerates no discrimination against persons, knows no superiority of one over another, and approves no government as just that does not find its source and sanction in the theory of popular sovereignty. The Constitution of the United States recognizes all three, and imposes an external and superior authority over a vast majority of inhabitants who are without any voice in government either direct or representative. It is difficult to harmonize "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" with the almost general exclusion by the various States of the Union of a majority of their inhabitants from the exercise of suffrage. Theoretically the forty-five States of the Union are forty-five commonwealths whose constitutional and statutory enactments are determined *voce populi*. Practically they are so many oligarchies based on qualifications of age, sex, mental acquirement, and whatever additional limitations the ruling class sees fit to make. It will be no innovation in principle for the United States to administer laws to colonial dependencies and govern distant subjects from the "imperial city." In a sense, all are *subjects* who owe allegiance to government; but there is a specific and technical sense in which the term properly belongs to our American system, however distasteful that fact may be to our democratic sentiments.

To begin with, the subject state may be predicated of all *women* in all States except five. They constitute more than one-half the population of the country. Add to these all men of less than twenty-one years of age, who form not far from one-half the remainder. These two classes, comprising the vast majority of the citizenship of this country, have no voice in its legislation and no initiative in the determination of their own interests. So with the Territories. Here all the inhabitants, whether men or women, minors or adults, are subjects *par excellence*, governed by an exterior power and taxed without any semblance to the right of representation. They may not vote for President, nor participate in national legislation, nor elect their own judiciary, but are governed by the Congress of the United States and by officials appointed by the highest executive authority. It is a fundamental principle of Anglo-American jurisprudence that judges shall be irremovable by the Executive power. This guaranty has been persistently denied to the Territories, and there is no Territorial judge who is not liable to removal at any time by the President of the United States—a fact that suggests the question, What becomes of the inviolability of the courts? There is no essential difference, so far as the matter of rights is concerned, between the American Territories of to-day and the thirteen colonies before the Revolutionary war. The rights of the colonies depended wholly upon the imperial will; that is, the will of the Executive power. So do the rights of the Territories to-day. When the imperial will changed, the rights of the colonies changed; and so at any time may the rights of the Territories change and even disappear with the fluctuations of the Executive mind. True, the Territories may in time become States, although the Constitution contains no guaranty that they shall, since it was the plain intention of the framers of that document that we should, if we wanted to, hold dependencies and hold them indefinitely and never allow them to become anything else. Utah was denied Statehood for fifty years. Arizona and New Mexico have been seeking admittance to the Union for more than fifty years, and are still on the "waiting list" with the apparent probability of remaining there.

Take another aspect of this same thought. This nation itself came into being through an act of unquestionably usurpative and imperialistic nature. The years immediately following the Revolutionary war found the newly independent States internally in a condition of grave danger—the result of financial disorder and general governmental inutility. At the instigation of a few prominent individuals a convention was appointed to remedy the existing defects by amending the Articles of Confederation. The purpose of the convention, as declared, was simply to ***amend;*** not to abrogate, not to substitute for the old government under Articles of Confederation a new and different government under a Constitution. It was not in any sense a popular body; it was not even a representative body. It met behind closed doors and remained there in secret conclave for four months, and when it emerged the old government had been overthrown and a new and essentially different government instituted in its place.

We are told that our political system is not adapted to imperial government, and that so long as it retains its present form such an event is impossible. It might be impossible if the reason alleged were true, but as a matter of fact the Constitution was conceived after the imperial type and has since steadily developed along imperial lines. There are but two kinds of constitution possible to any government—the *regal* and the *parliamentary.* In the regal the Executive, whether King or President, has independent executive powers, while in the parliamentary he has not. It makes no difference in the essence of the office whether the Executive be elected for four years and called a President, or whether he hold by descent and be called a King. Until the Revolution of 1688 the English government was regal; from then until 1832 it was in a transition period, and since 1832 it has been parliamentary. Now, the American Constitution was framed during this transition period of English constitutional development, but it adopted the regal type, which it has since continued to hold. Under the English Constitution to-day the Cabinet has all executive power and the monarch none, and the monarch may not even participate in the deliberations of the Cabinet. Under the American system the President is absolutely independent of the legislative branch. His Cabinet officers are appointed by himself and to him they are solely responsible. Congress has no authority over them whatever, and cannot even require them to account for anything they may do.

The last time the power of veto was used by the Crown in England was in 1707—in the reign of Queen Anne. Contrast this with the three hundred and one vetoes of President Cleveland during the four years of his first term. Contrast the dependency and limited executive power of the British Cabinet with the autocratic rule of Andrew Johnson, opposed by two-thirds and more of the Senate and the House and by a majority of the people of the United States. There is no monarch in Europe, with the exception of the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia, who possesses independent powers of so dictatorial a type as the President of the United States, and none to whom the title of *Imperator* may be more logically and truthfully applied. He cannot legislate, it is true; but he can annul legislation by refusing to execute the laws. He is Commander-in-chief of all the military forces of the United States on land and on sea, with every protection to secrecy of action and intent, and in time of war he is virtually censor of the press. In short, the possibilities inherent in the office of President for the exercise of personal tyranny are immeasurable.

The Presidential campaign of 1900 has so far familiarized the public with the main facts in the history of our territorial acquisitions as to render unnecessary their further citation for the purpose of argument. Suffice it to say that every addition to our national area, from the purchase of Louisiana in 1803 down to the Spanish cessions of 1898, was made without any consideration by our government for the racial and political prejudices of the purchased or stolen people, and in plain derogation of what in the phraseology of the Declaration of Independence we are accustomed to call the "inalienable rights of man."

In 1846, so lightly did we esteem the principles of that instrument that the United States Government authorized a military invasion of a foreign country in order forcibly to annex to its own domain a coveted slice of *terra firma* to which it had not the faintest shadow of legal or moral right, and the declared purpose of whose acquisition was to extend and perpetuate the institution of human slavery. Here we have three official disavowals, distinct and unequivocal, of the fundamental doctrines of the Declaration and a plain denial of any intention to be governed by them as a nation when in the pursuit of political or military advantage: first in unwarranted and forcible seizure of foreign territory, with a consequently unjustifiable war to back it up, followed by the devotion of that territory when acquired to the aggressive spread of an oppressive and inhuman industrial system; while the people, pleased beyond measure with the glorious achievement of their arms, took the earliest and most tangible method of expressing their satisfaction by elevating to the Presidency the man who had been the most conspicuous military figure of the enterprise, and who owed his popularity solely to the fact that under his generalship it had been brought to a successful termination.

There has never been an Indian war in the entire history of the country, from early colonial times down to the last feeble outbreak in the remote West, where the white man was not the aggressor—if not immediately, then primarily. His very appearance on this continent was an invasion of aboriginal rights, and the record of his conquests, inscribed in blood, quite obscures the sentimentalities of the Declaration of Independence.

But the capital instance of the exercise of imperial powers by the United States Government, and its sanction by a majority of the people, is the American civil war. Now, as a question of purely abstract right, the seceding States were undoubtedly correct in their position. The Constitution was originally a compact between thirteen independent sovereignties whereby certain rights were surrendered by them to the Federal Government and certain others were retained. Among the latter the right of secession was expressly reserved by the States of New York and Virginia, and Rhode Island and South Carolina refused to enter the Union until that right had been put beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt. The right of secession was subsequently affirmed and reaffirmed by different States on different occasions: notably in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-'99, three times by the Legislature of Massachusetts (in 1802, 1844, and 1845), and by all the New England States during the war of 1812. Nor was it at any time prior to 1860 seriously questioned in any quarter except under the exigencies of party politics. Moreover, the action of the seceding South was supported by actual precedent; for when the nine States of the old Confederation accepted the Constitution they seceded from their former government. It was a secession in the literal sense of the term, since it was a withdrawal of territory; and the fact that it was accomplished behind closed doors, without an appeal to force, does not affect the character of the act.

But there was another and a philosophical reason to support the principle of secession. It is to be found in the fact that, since the parties to the contract were sovereign States, there was no superior tribunal to which the question of State rights could be referred. The Federal courts were not competent to pass upon it, because they were the creatures of the Union and the Union was in turn the creature of the States. In the event, then, of a dispute between the States and the Union over the question of respective powers, should the Union, the creature, be permitted to say how much power it received, or should the State, the creator, determine how much power it conferred? In all logic and justice there can be but one answer. Manifestly the seceding States had the *right* to go. They had a right under the Constitution and they had the further right of *revolution,* expressly affirmed by the Declaration of Independence as being inherent in all communities and upon which each of the thirteen States had justified its secession from the mother country in 1776. But when the seceding States attempted to enforce that right, what did the Government of the United States do? It invaded their territory with all the military forces at its command, terrorized their inhabitants, destroyed their homes, violated their constitutionally guaranteed right of property by an executive act of unparalleled usurpation, and put to death on the field of battle as many as possible of those inhabitants who dared openly resist. And when at last the United States Government, by virtue of its superior resources and greater strength, had reduced the seceding States to subjection, it deprived them of their Statehood, overturned their home rule, nullified their statutes, displaced their civil by its military jurisdiction, and forced upon them the alternative of either accepting the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution or remaining forever in the status of subjugated territory.

Far be it from any design of mine to call in question even for the intellectual pleasure of debate the decision of a controversy that ended in agony and blood thirty-five years ago. No reasonable man believes to-day that the result should have been in anywise different from what the stern arbitrament of war decreed. For, while logically and in principle secession was right, yet it was most fortunate for the South and for the country at large that it did not succeed. The strife and horror of that period, great as they were, have found this ample compensation in the establishment of a *nationality* whose power and fame have proved both the advantage and the necessity of a stronger Union than could have existed without the civil war. But the point I make is that the entire action of the United States Government toward the South, from 1860 until the last seceding State was "reconstructed," was imperialistic and usurpative in the extreme, and there is no possible constitutional or legal aspect that can make it anything else.

The purpose of this essay, as developed in the foregoing pages, is not to depreciate in any way American motives or intents as interpreted in the light of historic facts. It is simply to show that, notwithstanding its frequent and perfunctory avowals to the contrary, the United States has persistently refused, wherever its own interests have so dictated, to be governed in its conduct by that instrument whose maxims it pretends to accept as its God-given and infallible guide. Not that our military conquests require an apologist to set them right: they are merely so many necessary stages in the evolution of a Nation for which no justification is needed. But in their historic analysis their motives will not be found materially different from those that have actuated other portions of the human race in wars with which the records of the past abound. It may be within the range of possibility for a great and powerful nation to make war for the real interests of humanity, and to extend, without the hope or expectation of reward, its active support to a weak and defenseless people in a life-and-death struggle with tyranny. But it has never yet been done, and the events of the last two years sufficiently prove that the United States is no exception to the rule.

The main trouble with the Anglo-Saxon in both branches of the family is that he constantly professes to act on higher principles than those that govern the policy of other nations. He is too fond of praying upon the housetops and in the public streets. Hence, when, in the pursuit of common ends or ambitions, he resorts to the usual methods of attainment, he is apt to be met with the not unreasonable charge of hypocrisy. This characteristic has distinguished the foreign policy of England to an almost nauseating degree, and is undoubtedly the secret of her unpopularity among the European powers. However benevolent may be the alleged objects of her design, that benevolence always coincides with the direction of England's real or fancied interests. As to our own government, we are compelled to admit the justice of similar conclusions if we accept the testimony of facts. Magnificent in its optimism as was the conception of a nation engaged in war for the relief of oppressed humanity, the chivalry of the situation is materially impaired by the indecorous and ill-concealed haste of the protector to avail himself of its commercial and political benefits. We went into the war with Spain professedly to free Cuba. We emerge with new and valuable possessions in two hemispheres; and the incorporation of Cuba itself with our system is a foregone conclusion of no distant date. So that virtually all the war accomplished, so far as any change in the actual relationship of Spain's former colonies is concerned, was to effect a transfer of sovereignty from Spain to us. Neither Cuba, Puerto Rico, nor the Philippines has achieved independence. They have simply exchanged masters—that is all: lenient masters in all probability, but masters nevertheless. Manifestly, in the light of previous history, nothing else could reasonably have been expected. For fifty years the United States has been endeavoring to annex Cuba, advocating legal or forcible measures according to the expediency of the moment and only awaiting a favorable opportunity to act. Europe understands this perfectly, and is herself sufficiently accustomed to that sort of procedure to experience no surprise at the embarkation of the United States in predatory warfare.

The preëminent significance of the Spanish-American war lies in the fact that it has uncovered the essential humbug of the Declaration of Independence and demonstrated to the rest of the world the pretense and insincerity of our devotion to the doctrines therein set forth. Any attempt to explain our present policy, its causes or its results, as due to the "force of circumstances" and in Providential accord with the march of events, must fail to palliate the obvious aggression of the proceedings and can only react to the further discredit of the United States. Logically, then, there should follow the cessation of vain and inconsistent prating over the "consent of the governed," the "inalienable rights of man," and other claptrap phrases of the demagogue that we are accustomed to declaim on patriotic occasions and incorporate in political platforms for the purpose of catching votes.

It is fortunate for the immortality of Mr. Jefferson that his fame rests upon a more substantial basis than the authorship of the Declaration of Independence. It is not true in law; it is not true in history; it is not true in the possibilities of the human race. All men are *not* created free, but subject to restraint, human and natural. All men are *not* created equal, but conditioned by differences of various sorts placed upon them by Nature through the agencies of environment and heredity and by the distinctions of society. Governments do *not* "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Governments *have* no just powers, in the accurate and philosophic meaning of the term. They have *necessary* powers, since the constant presence of recognized authority is essential to the integrity of the social structure; but these powers are asserted and in no sense delegated by the units of society. Nor is there, outside the sovereign power, any such thing as an "inalienable right," but all rights inhere in the *State,* whence they proceed and by whom they may be withheld or withdrawn at will. In discarding the Declaration of Independence, then, we shall lose nothing of political or moral value. We shall merely drop a few glittering phrases of French sophistry and exploded sham borrowed from the agitators and pamphleteers of the Revolutionary period, and which never have and never can become a serious part of any system of political truth.

We are engaged in building an Empire; that is to say, a great Nation, which is to incorporate other peoples and extend its laws and government to remote corners of the earth. This will necessitate the employment of methods distinctly hostile to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. The extinguishment of petty States means the abrogation of the doctrine of self-government, but it should occasion no regret. It is not the course of Empire in conflict with the God-ordained principles of justice; it is presumptuous fallacy disputing the right of way with progress and necessity. The subjugation of small, independent States and their assimilation by the great Powers will remove the most fruitful cause of international jealousy and discontent; and it is the only proposition that offers any assurance of the ultimate fulfilment of the world's dream of universal peace.

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PROFESSOR FISKE AND THE NEW THOUGHT.

THE charge of the religious world against science has always been that it tears down the old religious faiths and gives nothing to take their place; and to a degree the charge has, in the past at least, been well founded. The attitude of science has been indifference, agnosticism, and even aggressive materialism. Its avowal has been that science deals with facts having a material basis; that religion is an affair of the emotions—and so they have nothing in common. Then, unfortunately, religion had bound itself to a cosmogony, a chronology, and a theory of causes that science has gradually undermined and proved erroneous or altogether false; and literary criticism—only a branch of science—has shown religion pledged to many contradictions and errors of fact and history.

Science, finding religion associated so closely with much that was absolute error, discredited it altogether; and religion found itself constantly and often unsuccessfully upon the defensive. Then science, in turn, became aggressive and arrogant, claiming for itself the whole field of biology and psychology, declaring mind to be only a product of organism. It allowed itself to be represented by such men as Büchner and Haeckel, who declared off-hand that evolution *forbids* us to believe in a future life, and Moleschott, the author of the favorite epigram of the materialists, "No thought without phosphorus." Not that these men actually represented the best thought upon this subject in the scientific world, but they were outspoken and aggressive; and they gave an atheistic and materialistic coloring to the inductions of science that made the charge of destructive activity brought against science seem all the more valid.

But, notwithstanding all this hue and cry, the religious sentiment in man was not destroyed, nor even one whit diminished; and it arose in rebellion and indignation at the unproved *ex cathedra* statements of these self-constituted oracles of science.

But who at that time—in the sixties and early seventies—

had the scientific knowledge and the necessary courage, combined with a reverent spirit, to face these statements and show their falsity? On the religious side no champion appeared; but in 1874, at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Belfast, John Tyndall, the incoming president of the Association, stood up in that august assembly of savants and pronounced these memorable words: "Abandoning all disguise, the confession that I feel bound to make before you is, that I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of experimental evidence and discover in matter, which we, in our ignorance, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of every form and quality of life." In other words, Tyndall found the intelligent Force and Cause of evolution in matter itself. It was in all the matter in the universe, organic and inorganic; and, while Tyndall did not then so affirm, it was divine—it was the immanent Deity in Nature making all Nature divine, and man divine.

A howl of dissent went up from the world, both of Christianity and science. "He has gone out of the realm of science," said the scientific world. "He has found God," sarcastically growled the agnostic and materialist. "But it is not *our* God!" cried orthodox Christianity. So they stoned Tyndall, each in the name of his own particular shibboleth.

But the word had been spoken. Religious men with real scientific knowledge and reverent scientists joined hands; the first step toward a reconciliation between science and religion was taken, and *God manifest in Nature* was the first article in the unwritten compact. The old man-like God—outside his universe, working in man-like ways—is falling into desuetude, and the immanent God is hailed with joy by all to whom he manifests himself in the infinite grandeur, beauty, and uses of Nature. And so the foundation of a natural, in place of a supernatural, religion is laid; evolution has been accepted as a primal fact in every modern system of thought; God in Nature and the universality of law have been accepted by the best minds both in science and religion.

But long-cherished forms of thought disappear slowly; and, while the idea of the universality of law was in a general way accepted, it was thought necessary to preserve certain dogmas and doctrines of a supernatural character, the belief in which was deemed essential to accepted Christianity. To the support of these dogmas came a class of semi-scientific writers, and scientific writers with strong religious prejudices, maintaining that these dogmas were grounded in science and were in accordance with natural law. The best known of this latter class of writers was the late very earnest and fascinating author of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," a book of special pleading for certain sectarian dogmas, upon the ground of their accordance with natural law extending into the spiritual world. Doubtless the book made some very nice people think better of science—the kind there presented; but it is safe to say that it never made one really scientific person think better of religion.

Professor Fiske's still recent book, "Through Nature to God," is one of an entirely different stamp. It occupies a unique place, especially in its relation to the current of thought at present most deeply stirring intelligent minds throughout the world; namely, conceptions of God, an after life, and the consequent reality of religion. First he deals, from a scientific standpoint, with the troublesome problem of the existence of evil in a world supposed to be planned by an all-powerful and benevolent God; and the author makes this point: If the object of the evolution of man was the production of a moral being, that object could not in the nature of things have been accomplished without the presence of evil. Pain as a warning and guide was necessary for the evolution of the highest forms of physical organization, or even for the knowledge and enjoyment of pleasure; and moral evil as a background and contrast was necessary for the evolution and understanding of the highest moral good. No real moral quality could exist where only good was known or was possible. But evil was not introduced from without, nor unwillingly permitted by a Creator unable to prevent it; but both pain and evil were necessary elements in evolution—for the production of antagonism, strife, effort, through which alone strength and forward movement were possible. And, looked down upon from a higher standpoint of wisdom, evil and pain are seen to be only comparative; and as evolution advances their most odious forms disappear, become eliminated, or at least they approach, and perhaps, as seen from the *highest* standpoint, become identical with good, "or lapse into a memory only, in which the shadowed past shall seem as a background for the realized glory of the present." But evil is not therefore to be indulged in; on the contrary, it is by antagonism and strife against evil, on the part of the individual, that moral progress is made, and it is also by that antagonism and strife that its more hideous forms are destroyed and the gradual approach to good accomplished.

In the second part of his discussion the author points out the relation of love and self-sacrifice to cosmic process—so introducing the ethical element, and showing that cosmic process has relation to moral as well as organic, physical ends. There he is on his own ground and shows his full power.

Calaban's theology, "As it likes me each time, I do: So He," is not satisfactory; nor in its bald statement is the sentiment of his friend Huxley, that "there is no sanction for morality in Cosmic Process," satisfactory. The earlier evolutionists in speaking of cosmic process referred almost exclusively to "modifications wrought in plants and animals by means of natural selection"; for it was by the observation of this process in Nature that the fact of evolution was established. But natural selection as a cosmic process working on physical organisms alone could never bridge over the immense psychical chasm between apes and man; "for, while for zoological or structural man you can hardly erect a distinct family from that of the chimpanzee, for psychological man you must erect a distinct kingdom."

How can this tremendous contrast between the slow physical changes, and the wonderfully rapid psychical changes, that went on in evolution from the primates to man be accounted for? Here two important elements in evolution are brought clearly into view—elements not always taken into account, and perhaps hardly known to the general reader. The clue to one of these elements was furnished by Alfred Russell Wallace, the distinguished co-discoverer, with Darwin, of Natural Selection, and was in substance as follows: In the evolution of intelligence in the primates, or man-like apes, a point was at length reached where variations in intelligence were of more consequence to him in "getting on in the world" than variations in physical structure; and so intelligence instead of bodily peculiarities became the leading factor in natural selection. Intelligence then went on by gradual but rapid increments, adding new powers and new capacities, while the body changed but little; and by and by, after millions of years perhaps, he arrived at something approaching human intelligence. Natural selection had taken a new path; the more intelligent sought the more intelligent for mates instead of seeking advantages secured by organic peculiarities, and so by heredity the grade of intelligence began gradually to be raised. This was an observation of immense importance and threw a flood of light upon the causes of the great contrast between the structural difference appearing between man and the primates, which is only slight, and the psychical difference, which is world-wide.

The other important element in the psychic development of man was "the enormous increase in the duration of infancy, or the period when parental care is needed." The observation of this fact is the author's own special contribution to the subject of evolution, and he makes its importance distinctly manifest. There is abundant evidence that the speechless primates, like the inferior apes, were gregarious creatures; and the mother, like mothers in the still lower races,—the sheep and the cow,—while fully exercising the maternal instinct during the comparatively brief infancy of her offspring, soon lost that special regard for it. Her special affection lapsed into indifference, and later she hardly distinguished her own grown-up progeny from other members of the herd or troop of apes. But gradually, with the lengthening of the period of infancy and immature youth, in which the necessity for maternal care and help was still strong, intelligence increased; the signals and vocal explosions—expression of pleasure or pain, hunger or repletion, love or hate, command or submission—developed into well-understood language, and so communication of thoughts and experiences was possible.

During the early and still immature years of the first-born, other progeny appeared—brothers or sisters—all still demanding the mother's care and affection; and so family ties, common interests, clanship—all arose in consequence of the lengthened period of infancy and immaturity, and the natural instinct of love and self-sacrifice, transitory in the lower races, now became permanent and continuous. Then, with the production of family ties and clanship, "there naturally arose reciprocal necessities of behavior among the members of the family and clan—its mothers and children, its hunters and warriors." They must stand together in advancing and protecting common interests; henceforward the conduct of the individual must be subordinate to the general welfare. In this way the ethical sense was established; for, the moment a man's voluntary actions are determined by a conscious or unconscious reference to a standard outside of himself, he has begun to live in a moral atmosphere; egoism has ceased to be all in all—altruism has begun to assert its claim to sovereignty. So love, self-sacrifice, ethics, altruism—all have their origin in cosmic process, and come forward to constitute a moral order, not by being injected into advancing humanity from without, but by the unfolding of that which was within through a continuous cosmic process of evolution.

The third and last division of the book deals with the religious sentiment in man. Our author considers that one of the greatest contributions ever made to scientific knowledge is Herbert Spencer's "profound and luminous exposition of Life, as the continuous adjustment of inner relations to outer relations." Whether this constitutes a satisfactory definition of *Life* or not, I may not be a competent judge. I can only say that to me it does not. It does most beautifully collate and represent to the mind the *conditions* of life, but life itself is a thing too subtle to be so held; and, when we attempt so to hold it in mind, it escapes, and we have left only a definition that does not define; for the principle of affinity in the crystal is just as much an adjustment of inner relations to outer relations as is life. But as expressing the conditions under which life exists and without which it ceases to exist it is wonderful—and for the purpose of this argument that is all that is needed.

The argument goes to show that life and all its increments arising in the course of evolution appear in response to environments already prepared for them. "Step by step in the upward advance toward Humanity the environments have enlarged," and every increment in the enlargement and development of life and intelligence has had reference to actual existence or conditions outside of itself: "The eye was developed in response to the outward existence of light—the ear in response to the outward existence of acoustic vibrations; the mother's love came in response to the infant's needs; fidelity and honor were slowly developed as the nascent social life required them: everywhere the internal adjustment has been brought about so as to harmonize with some actually existing external fact. Such has been Nature's method—such is the deepest law of life that science has been able to discover."

At a critical moment in the history of humanity, love was beginning to play an important part; notions of right and wrong were germinating in the nascent human soul; the family was coming into existence; social ties were beginning to be formed and altruistic feelings to be evolved. At the same critical moment another psychic element came into view; another increment was added to life and intelligence—an increment that quickly raised humanity to a plane far and away above all the races which it had already outstripped in its forward and upward march. The idea of an Unseen World took possession of the human mind—of an Eternal Presence in that Unseen World, and of some relationship existing between itself and that invisible realm and its mysterious occupants. Here is a cardinal fact—the child-like mind of the still child-like race was groping to put itself into relation with an ethical world not perceptible to its senses. It was the birth of the religious sentiment—a sentiment that has played a most important rôle in the subsequent evolution of human society.

The turning point of the argument is this: To suppose that during countless ages, from the seaweed up to man, the progress of life had been achieved, without a break, by adjustments of internal to external realities, and that then suddenly an attempt was made to adjust one of the most important of internal realities to an external non-reality, "is to do sheer violence to logic and to common sense." "And the analogies of Nature fairly shout against the assumption of such a breach of continuity between the evolution of man and all previous evolution." To suppose that this almost universal internal sentiment regarding an unseen world, a power represented under various forms as Deity, and an after life, is striving to adjust itself to a non-existent unseen world, Deity, and after life, is absurd.

This is a mere outline—perhaps an unsatisfactory one—of the book under consideration. It is a serious attempt at constructive religion upon truly scientific grounds. The religious element in man is a fact. The study of comparative religion shows how permanent this sentiment has been in humanity and how industriously it has labored to satisfy this sentiment by an adjustment to a corresponding external reality. Our author shows us that this sentiment is justified by science.

There are many books we like to read, and we then let them pass out of our hands without regret—we have secured the grain of wheat from the abundant chaff and have no further need of them; but this is one of the books that we want by us. It is in the line of the new religious thought that is so rapidly coming; in it science and religious thought meet on a higher plane than they have before been accustomed to occupy, and a noble plea for the religious sentiment in man is presented by a representation of the best scientific thought.

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FARMING IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

FARMING in the nineteenth century began in the age of cord-wood. It ran into the age of coal and steam—about 1840 to 1850. So far the steam age has lasted about fifty years. It has succeeded in that short time in transforming farm life and revolutionizing all life.

(1) It took away home industries. During the quiet age of cord-wood the farmer made nearly everything he used, from the clothes worn by his family to the soap and candles and carpets. He raised his own mutton, while his wife carded their own wool, spun their own rolls, wove their own yarn, and sewed their own clothes. A girl of ten had a home-made dress with tucks in it, and the tucks were let out each year as she grew taller. Boys were clothed in homespun linsey-woolsey. Steam took soap-making to one factory, candle-making to another, carding to a third, and weaving to a fourth. So it soon came about that the farmer must buy everything he used to manufacture, and he must manage to sell something to buy with. The age of barter passed into an age of trade. Home industries were narrowed down to digging and cheese and butter making. Then came the cheese factory, and the creamery. I do not say that farm life could not have been readjusted to the new age, but it could not have been done at once; and it really never has been done at all. Farm life became less attractive, and rural homes more dull and monotonous. This is the chief trouble to-day—that our farm home-life lacks the varied industries that it once included.

(2) The steam age built up great cities. Steam power cannot be carried far. It must run its spindles in close proximity. The factory, therefore, grew bigger and bigger. Factories and manufactories required shops and stores, and tended to agglomerize population. Our cities doubled and trebled; and with them grew not only business but misery, and not only wealth but poverty. To-day one-half the residents of cities

are dependent on fluctuations of business for a living. One-third of their people are paupers or criminals. Three generations, we are assured by statisticians, will run out a city's population if it be not steadily renewed from the country. The herding instinct, which had been decreasing, has of late increased in America. And it has been our farm boys and farm girls who have fed and still feed city life. They have left the farms as fast as possible for more attractive chances. Yet Abbott Lawrence tells us that "ninety business men out of a hundred fail once, eighty out of a hundred fail twice, and seventy out of a hundred fail three times." The attractions of business life are on the surface. A city is like a maelstrom for most who enter its circle of influence. We began in 1790 with ninety-six per cent. of agricultural population. This has gone on decreasing, decade by decade, till now we have less than forty per cent.

(3) The steam age massed wealth as it never had been massed—except in Rome, by the hand of war. These two powers alone, steam and war, have been able to pile up enormous fortunes in the hands of the few. A ton of coal stands for 1,300 horses, for a day of ten hours; but a factory will consume one hundred tons a day—equal to using up 130,000 horse power. Vanderbilt's engines use 10,000 tons a day: that is, Mr. Vanderbilt every day drives thirteen millions of horses. Says Prof. Orton: "Never before has such extreme inequality prevailed in the distribution of wealth as in this country. The individual fortunes of our day, mainly gathered in the last forty years, overtop all that have been known before and render the standards of comparison which the world has used for the last two thousand years ridiculously inadequate." And this living for accumulation has touched farm life. Our homes are run largely on the speculative spirit. Crops are raised to get rich on, at the expense of crops to get comfort out of. But farming has not been able to compete with manufactures and commerce. They have the steam: the farm has not. Farmers will always in the steam age be the relatively poorer class.

(4) The steam age has legislated for commerce and manufactures in preference to agriculture; that is, the laws have been made by steam. It would be strange if a man that drives thirteen millions of horses didn't drive faster than a man with one horse, or with a two-horse team. Protection has been demanded and secured for the factories, which do what we used to do in our homes without asking for protection. As an employment apart from others, agriculture has demanded and required very little of the time of Congress. Nor is there the least hope that the increased legislation demanded by farmers will be of much advantage. Laws lie about us as thick as leaves in the woods, and nobody knows one-tenth of the annual output. Is it any wonder that a class is growing among us that denounces all laws, and is ready to smash the whole machine of government? Farmers are not interested in selfish legislation, but in stopping class legislation of any sort they are deeply concerned.

(5) The worst of it all is that, while steam and coal have transformed everything else, they have left our *education* almost exactly what it was. If we send our boys and girls to school they ought to be taught what will make farm life intelligent, interesting, and successful. What we need to know and have known on our land, for successful agriculture, is chemistry—a knowledge of soils, manures, grains, waters; botany—plant-growth, plant-food, plant-habits; zoology—knowledge of animal life and animal structure. But what common school gives these things? It would amaze our school boards beyond measure to have such things displace dear old geography—with a large amount of grocery and store knowledge. "Surely," says Prof. Teegan, "the teaching of practical school-gardening would be as valuable as setting the pupils to memorize the height of the principal peaks of the Rocky Mountains." But are not these sciences too abstruse and difficult? Can we get the pupils to comprehend them, or get teachers qualified to instruct? Chemistry and botany are knowledge of the things children see and handle most. In their elementary form they are more simple than geography

or grammar or arithmetic. Such sciences consider stones, flowers, trees, insects, birds, brooks—exactly what our children long to study. As for teachers, what are our normal schools for? To make merchants? or farmers? Or are they to turn the whole population into middlemen and consumers? Why can they not furnish teachers of geology as easily as teachers of geography? Give a boy a right sort of schooling till fifteen, and you cannot coax him away from the *land.* Everything he sees or touches or hears is full of delight and interest. "Rural education," says U. S. Commissioner of Education William T. Harris, "is now the greatest of all our national interests—and it is colossal." But he does not say that the trouble with which we have to deal is not too little education, but too little of the right sort.

It is very probable that the age of coal and steam is near its close. The English Parliament has appointed two commissions to determine how long English coal would endure. The conclusion is that it will not last much beyond one hundred years longer; but it will not endure the increased draft of progress one-half that time. Professor Orton, the ablest authority on American coal, tells us that all known deposits in this country, with the exception of the Pittsburg seam, will be practically exhausted for keeping up with increased demands by the middle of the present century. The territory that holds coal deposits is pretty well known and measured. There are about 400,000 square miles of the earth's surface known to be carboniferous. Estimates cannot be exact, but they are not far astray. The coal famine of Europe has begun already, and the draft on American coal enormously increased. We are rushing by steam toward the end of the steam age. It has been a fierce, furious age, full of tremendous struggle of man with Nature—and man has been victorious. The enormous task of girding the world with steel has been accomplished. We have sounded the depths of the oceans, dropped cables under their mountains of waters, and have made neighbors of all mankind. Can we conceive of an age less plunging, less turbulent, less cyclonic; an age in which we gather up our achievements, and turn our minds to make all men happy rather than a few wealthy; an age of culture, of peace, of love? At any rate there are signs that the work of steam is waning. It no longer pays to build railroads. Very few have been built for the last ten years. The network is woven. The railroad comes about as near our farms as we can expect. It still costs the farmer more to get his produce to the depots than it does to have the same produce carried to New York or Boston.

We have no quarrel with the railroad age. It was necessary, for fifty years, to subsidize the world to get these marvelous iron roads. But now the want is (1) better dirt roads, and (2) a different power from steam. The government granted favors and gave our public lands to railroad corporations; now the united force of the American people must create solid roads for short haulage. Europe is ahead of us; all the civilized world is ahead of us. We have for common roads only such as were used in colonial days. The loss from their use in New York State alone is annually, from haulage of a single crop, not less than ten millions—besides loss in taking prompt advantage of markets; loss in vehicles, harness, and animals; loss in comfort, health, and decency—while our annual road tax is almost absolute waste. The twentieth century will surely see the bog-road system abrogated. It will see the American farmer moving as smoothly as the middlemen move on their steel rails, or merchants on their Telford pavement. It will cost us five dollars an acre from ocean to ocean to get such roads; but it will add twenty dollars or more of inherent value to each acre, and ten dollars to the salable value. But, aside from pecuniary considerations, we want agriculture lifted out of the mud. We want the same grade of comfort everywhere that is possessed by the cities.

The second great need of the farmer is, as already said, a new power in place of steam—a power that can be specifically adjusted to farm wants. Electricity is possibly just that power. In the first place, electricity can be carried a long distance from the plant. You cannot profitably carry steam one-quarter of a mile; you may carry electricity ten miles, or a hundred. Steam concentrates labor, and therefore population. Electricity distributes force, and therefore population. The electric age will put an end to the packing of people like sardines in tenement-houses. It will take the people to the food, instead of carrying all the food to the people. Instead of factories, home life will be emphasized. Work will not need to be done so exclusively at great centers. The miseries of gorged streets and the problems of municipal misrule will steadily lessen. But electricity will do more. Already in the prairie States they are building short-haulage roads, to drag farmers' wagons direct from the door to the market. We will soon see all over America strings of farm wagons moving as we now see long trains of freight-cars. Power will be taken from the same plants to run barn and house machinery, and to heat and light houses—possibly to do much more than that.

Farming will have not only the roads and the new power: it will have the schools. I will picture what I believe to be the common school of the twentieth century. There will be handsome schoolhouses in abundance, placed in the center of large gardens. The children will study books half a day, and things the other half. The brain will not get any more training than the hands. Manual culture, which is already a part of the school life of a few towns, will be a part of school life everywhere. The school will have its shops and its gardens —and to use tools will be the chief end of culture. Man got away from the monkey by his power to make and use tools. He goes back to the ape when his hands have to be cased in gloves and his brain is ashamed of decent labor. In these school-gardens botany will be applied to horticulture. In the shops our boys and girls will learn to create things. The trouble with education now is that it divorces knowledge from work—the brains from the hands. I asked a college boy the other day what he intended to do when he graduated. "Well," he said, "I've thought of everything under the sun, and I don't believe I could succeed at anything. I guess I'll have to teach."

In the twentieth century the glory of American education will also be a thorough knowledge of economics, civics, and history, applied to good citizenship. Colleges will surely be a part of the common-school system, and just as full of modern life. I believe we shall see the days when boys and girls who are in our common schools together, without damage, can be coëducated in all other grades of school life. The farmer will then not have a separate and specific college for agriculture, while the rest have one for "mental culture"; nor will college boys in those days be ashamed to look ahead to farming as a profession. There is no occupation that requires as much wit and educated tact, and as much positive knowledge, as farming. When we get the schools, we shall get a style of farming that will be as keenly intellectual as our present style is wasteful and unintelligent.

Having won the new power and the schools, agriculture will control the laws also. Tariffs, if they exist at all, will protect production as much as they protect traffic; they will encourage the farmer as well as the hired laborer. I think that by and by we shall be able as agriculturists to understand that the steam age has been naturally and needfully in the interest of manufacturers and traders. Jefferson insisted that the future of the Republic depended on agriculture—that the great aim of the people should be to develop land-culture. The best way to develop agriculture is through equality. What we need is to obliterate half the laws rather than to make more. Every sun that shines on America sees about one hundred new statutes enacted, on an average. It has become a passion with us to legislate. Our legislatures will probably hereafter meet less often, while all laws of general importance will possibly be referred back to the people to be confirmed or vetoed.

Our homes will never again be of the old industrial type. We must adjust ourselves to the new days and new things. With proper agricultural schooling we shall learn to adopt diversified crops, instead of speculating or venturing on one or two. Our houses will be, like our schools, made up of more shop and garden life. There is no reason why every home shall not have laboratories and museums as well as libraries. Along our homes will be, not only good public driveways, but ornamental roadsides. A rural district in Michigan took the initiative in another way. A telegraph line of eight miles was provided, connecting a large number of farms with the post-office and depot and general store, so that each farm was brought into immediate relation with every important interest of the town. If a farmer expected an important letter he could wait till notified of its arrival. The total cash expenditure for the outfit in this case was $200.

This experiment was in the eighties. Since that time we have seen a revolution that has reversed nearly every phase of farm life. Independent telephone companies are constructing lines that connect farm houses in social and economic routes. These already number many thousands, and are irregularly spread over New England, New York, and the mid-West as well as the Pacific States. The idea is spreading so rapidly that the number of 'phones placed in country houses is said to have doubled in 1899. The cost to the farmer is from ten to fifteen dollars a year, including rental and supervision of the lines and instruments by the company or contractor. In a few cases the lines and the instruments are owned by the farmers themselves. The social consequences are so great as at first to overshadow the economic. Farm isolation, which has been the chief drawback of agriculture, is abolished. The remote farm-house is brought within speaking distance of a dozen neighbors, and in all probability a village or town. Long-distance routes are easily formed. The farm wife hears the cheery good-morning of her neighbors and gives it in return. Friendly gossip and the news are transmitted as easily as over the fences of city lots. Telephone tea-parties are said to be in vogue—while the women of a circuit sit by their 'phones, drink their own tea, nibble their own cakes, and distribute the gossip. Music is as easily transmitted as conversation. Phonographic concerts are a common affair. The writer has heard the fiddle, the parlor organ, and the piano at a distance of a mile. A circuit generally consists of about one dozen houses; but two or more of these circuits can be connected, and altogether have a long-distance connection with the general telephone service of the United States. In Ohio a minister has his whole parish wired to his church. There is really no reason why the country parish shall not be served by the ablest preachers in the land. But the economic consequences are still more important. The farmer can now buy and sell to customers in remote towns—himself not leaving his home. He consults prices by 'phone, so that speculators cannot readily outreach him. He is brought within conversational distance of the great markets. On every one of these circuits or groups of circuits is sure to be a physician, and probably a grocer.

It is rapidly becoming possible for a physician to live far away from any town and yet have a large clientage. The tendency is to take away the importance of city residence and even of that old-fashioned grouping called the village, which was originally only a collection of houses of laborers around the villa. The drift to congested towns is reversed. Population is spreading out. The increased uses of electricity as a motive power combine with the telephone thus to spread out and equalize the distribution of population. Nor is even this the end of the evolution. A new era has begun in social grouping. We are beginning to hear that this or that family belongs to a certain circuit. The social unit is no longer the town. The farmer of the twentieth century will be known not by the village nearest to his land, or by the city to which he carries his products, but he will be known by his 'phone connections; that is, Farmer Smith will be 'phone 10, in circuit 5, in County X.

The source of power for the establishment of plants will be waterfalls, tides, and windmills. Storage batteries will collect the current on windy days from the million windmills in the United States to be used when and where needed. A whole State can be supplied with half a dozen plants. The problem of supply involves no serious difficulty.

But we must not fail to look indoors. When electricity enters our households to do a very large share of our kitchen work, another problem will be hurried toward solution. The most serious question now affecting American life, after that of waste, is help. We are just now in the terrifying crisis. It is growing more and more difficult to secure for our households competent assistance, while the need of good help is greatly increased. It is impossible to build the ideal home simply because we must as a rule admit freely into our houses persons bred in vulgarity, or our wives must do work that stands in the way of higher work, culture, rest, and enjoyment. The advent of a power that can wash our dishes, wash our clothes, do our cooking, churning, sewing, and that without noise or dirt, is to be hailed with acclamations of joy. There is no doubt that we are approaching an entirely new age of homebuilding and housekeeping. Electricity will help us to get rid of the invasion of our homes by a purely menial class. At the same time let us not forget that this menial class will be itself helped to escape from a subject position by the same new power. Smaller homes will be brighter, cheerier, cleaner, and warmer, as well as less expensive. Coal bills and oil or gas bills will be abolished. Fuel and light will be so lessened in cost as to be practically, like education, free.

Those who attended the Columbian Exhibition will remember with special delight the quality of certain foods offered freely to the passing crowds, and that were cooked in ovens where the only power used was a current of electricity. But equally delightful to remember is the fact that, as electricity abolishes superfluous heat and dirt and waste of fuel, it introduces the beautiful. The electric fountains—who will ever forget them? Decorative lighting of our houses and lawns will produce effects beyond our imagination at present to picture. So the useful and the ornamental blend—unite to make our lives better worth living. Word comes that electricity is to be

method of heatin

What is to follow this discovery it would be difficult to foresee. But the marvel is that while our professors are saying what is impossible, or pointing out limitations, the impossibles are swept away. The construction company for utilizing Niagara tells us that every step of their way was hindered by new and often astounding discoveries or inventions. They had to go over their work again and again to pick up and incorporate these new discoveries.

There is, however, no outlook more pleasant for us than the effect that will be produced in the way of sanitation and health. When our homes are heated by electricity, says a noted writer, "consumption and many other diseases will wholly disappear—not in a day or a single year, but as certainly as yellow fever disappears before a frost. Its uses in the household will be to ventilate it by means of fans, to supply power for pumps, sewing-machines, dumb-waiters, elevators, bells, and cooking apparatus." The idea is not abstruse, nor is it visionary. The removal of stoves and furnaces and gas-pipes, and attendant dust and bad air, will easily revolutionize the sanitary conditions under which we live. Our heating and lighting appliances of the steam age are positive elements of danger. It is almost impossible so to conduct our homes as to avoid unsanitary conditions from coal, steam, and gas. Our worst diseases most prevail in winter months—when our houses are most closed.

One hundred years ago Burke said that America could never be represented in Parliament: "Some of their provinces will receive writs of election in six weeks, some in ten. After election, if ships are promptly ready, it will take them six weeks more to reach London. Meanwhile Parliament has far, far advanced its business—nay, perhaps been dissolved. So that before their arrival they are themselves discharged of duty, and the writs issued are on the way for their successors." This was the age of wind power. Then came steam power, which shortened the passage of the Atlantic from six weeks to six days. Electricity may do even greater wonders than this; yet as a power it belongs not to commerce, but to agriculture. It is not so much the power that links nations as the power that links farm to farm; that does what, after all, steam cannot do—move in all directions: up hill, or down hill, and across lots. Mr. Frank Hawley tells us that the railroads of the country are only waiting for improved accumulators to substitute electricity for steam. And he is confident the change will soon be made.

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A CIVIC LEADER OF THE NEW TIME.

I.

THE old apostolic spirit is again abroad among our people—that spirit which made primitive Christianity so great a moral power that, but for the corruption and fall of the Church when overtaken by worldly ambition she sought union with a State pagan to the heart's core, would have soon transformed the world; that spirit which made the Reformation so mighty a moral force ere its adherents took up the sword; that spirit which fired our patriotic fathers and made the American Revolution invincible in spite of the fact that a pitiful handful of poorly armed and scantily clothed patriots were pitted against one of the mightiest powers of the world. Now, whenever this vital moral influence becomes active in a nation a great upward and onward step is sure to follow.

The history of civilization is a struggle toward the light. It is a toilsome struggle marked from time to time by the retrogression of peoples through the failure to be true to their high mission. If there is any truth that the past makes very plain it is that if in the age-long struggle of the people against injustice and oppression a nation or civilization allows its attention to be diverted even in moments of great peril from without, traitors enter the temple of freedom only to betray; while that people which permits itself to slumber under the pleasing delusion that its freedom is secure will surely awaken to find itself bound hand and foot and the Philistines upon it. This is much the condition of the American people to-day. There can be no denying the fact that the reactionary element is intrenched in municipal, State, and national life; and the forces that are seeking to form the most dangerous and oppressive kind of despotism are becoming as arrogant as was Belshazzar when the Medes and Persians were secretly draining the Euphrates, and as confident as was Xerxes on the eve of the battle of Salamis. And yet, while I would in no wise minify the great evils that so seriously menace free institutions, I am far from being discouraged, because the schoolmaster has been too long abroad in the land; and when the giant who lives and breathes in millions of homes, and whom we call the people, awakens, he will not be the ignorant, craven serf of other ages. Moreover, the oppression is bearing on almost every class, while above and beyond this is the moral awakening that, though not heralded in the sensational press or proclaimed from the street-corners, is nation-wide in its extent.

He who is in touch with the undercurrent of society knows full well that there are everywhere indications in the gathering together of forces dedicated to social righteousness such as have rarely been seen in our era. The spirit of Thermopylæ lives in many times three hundred Americans, and the life and teachings of the great Nazarene are being felt in the soul and are quickening the spiritual energies of tens of thousands of our people, as they have moved and stirred the imagination of man only in crucial moments in history—when the spirit of progress and civilization has nerved itself for a supreme stand against some deadly evil or a giant wrong.

To-day throughout the Republic—in cities, towns, villages, and hamlets—there are young men and women stepping out of the ranks of slothful conventionalism and devoting all that is best and finest in their natures to the service of progress. I doubt if in the last forty years there has been a time when anything like the same number of young Americans have been silently and unostentatiously, but intelligently, seeking to further the principle of the Golden Rule as are at the present. True, they are as yet working at a disadvantage owing to the fact that they are not organized and therefore not in touch with one another; but the fact that they are laboring for social righteousness, and are ready to make great sacrifices to hasten the day of better things, promises well for the near future.

Nor is this all. We have with us to-day many fine scholars in the early flush of manhood's prime who are voluntarily turning their backs on position, wealth, and worldly fame that they may aid in furthering the cause of justice. The lives of these men, like the examples and teachings of the true prophets of other days, are an inspiration to all who come under their influence, and it is our purpose from time to time to notice some of these young Americans who represent in so large a way the ideal of what twentieth-century manhood should be, believing that the story of their lives will encourage and stimulate other young men and women; for we are all influenced by the ideals and mental images held before our minds. This is true of nations, not less than of individuals. Who imagines that we would to-day behold the spectacle of our Republic engaged in a war of criminal aggression if during the last generation the public mind had been centered on the lives and teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Lafayette, Cobden, Bright, Gladstone, and Mazzini, instead of having been engrossed as it has been by the consideration of the multitudinous biographies and laudatory sketches of Napoleon, Cæsar, Cromwell, and Alexander?

II.

In opening these papers dealing with twentieth-century manhood, I desire to notice briefly the life and writings of Ernest Howard Crosby, as in him we have a fine representative of the new moral leadership which is appearing, and which in the name of justice and freedom dares to break lance with Church, State, and society, when they stand for intolerance, injustice, greed, and aught else that tends to corrupt manhood or work injury to the weak.

Mr. Crosby is one of the comparatively few college men of our time whose education has been well rounded. As a rule our young men are trained intellectually, while the moral sensibilities are either neglected or made subservient to mental development; and as a result we find all professions filled with trucklers and time-servers—men that substitute expediency for right or duty as the governing factor in life. This is the fatal flaw in our educational system, for which school, church, and family are all measurably to blame, and which to-day more than aught else retards enduring progress.

Mr. Crosby from his earliest childhood was taught the supremely important lesson that a sacred responsibility rested with him; that his duty to humanity was such that, unless he consecrated life's best gifts to the service of civilization, he would be recreant to his trust. Such was the lesson that he learned at the fireside of his father's home, where culture, refinement, and loving concern for others were ever present. The home influence was directed toward bringing out the finest elements in the child's nature. Here the youth imbibed that sturdy morality and reverence for duty so essential to leadership in conflicts of right against might.

He was prepared for college in the Mohegan Lake School, and thence entered the University of the City of New York, from which institution he was graduated in 1876. In 1878 he was graduated from the Columbia College Law School, after which he practised his profession for several years. In the years 1887-8-9 he was a member of the New York State Legislature, during the last year of which he served with distinction as chairman of the most important committee of the Assembly—that on the Cities.

In 1889 he received the appointment from President Harrison as Judge of the International Tribunal at Alexandria, Egypt—a nomination that was ratified by the Khedive. The position of judge in Egypt is virtually a life office, but the brilliant young jurist and statesman who thus far had steadily risen in the political world suddenly realized that he was at war with himself. The modern spirit of materialistic commercialism had taken him to the mountain's height; the prospect was pleasing; all that was necessary was for him to fall down and worship the tempter—that is, to conform to the prevailing low ideals, to close his ear to the cry of justice, his eye to the misery of the poor and the unfortunate, and to steel his conscience against the warning voice of duty. But this was precisely that which the best in his nature recoiled from, and, fortunately for the cause of progress, about this time some of Count Tolstoy's works came into his hands. One, called "Life," proved a trumpet call to the wavering soul. In an hour the choice was made. He threw his lot with the minority to whom the voice of duty is divine. He resigned his position in 1894, and on his way home visited Count Tolstoy at the latter's home at Yasnaia Poliana. Since his return he has worked unceasingly for social progress. He was the first president of the Social Reform Club and was recently elected to the important position of president of the Civic Council of New York, a body of social reformers representing more than one hundred organizations, formed for the purpose of turning the light on the dark places where corruption, injustice, and oppression hold sway, and of educating the public conscience on questions that bear most intimately on social conditions in municipal life. Mr. Crosby is also president of the New York Anti-Imperialistic League. He is an uncompromising foe of war and has done valiant service in combating the brutal spirit that has been rampant in the Republic during the last few years. In this field of missionary work some of his best efforts have been put forth to arouse the Church from its moral lethargy. In a notable protest against the action of the Church in upholding war, made before the Episcopal Church Congress in Providence, R. I., on November 15, 1900, Mr. Crosby said:

> "War is hell, as General Sherman long ago told us; but he did not go on to tell us why. There is only one possible reason. Hell is not a geographical term; it is merely the expression of the spiritual condition of its inhabitants. War is hell because it transforms men into devils. . . . War is hate. Christianity is love. On which side should the Church be ranged? War is hell. The Church is, or ought to be, the Kingdom of Heaven. What possible truce can there be between them? And yet it is a fact that the Church favors war. Can you recall a single sermon condemning war, or even severely critical of it?
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> "A great movement against war has been going on in England during the last two years. I find among its leaders Frederick Harrison, the positivist, Herbert Spencer, the agnostic, and John Morley, the atheist, but the whole bench of bishops has been on the side of bloodshed. In France the Church has given its unanimous support to the military conspiracy against Dreyfus, and left it to the free-thinking Zola to show 'what Jesus would do.' In Germany and Russia the Church is the mainstay of military despotism. Is it true that things are so very different in this country? . . .
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> "Is it strange, then, that outsiders should criticize us? A

Japanese writer, Matsumura Kaiseki, uses this language in a recent article: 'To the Oriental Christian there seems to be something absolutely contradictory in the gospel preached by the missionaries and the action of their governments.' And the eminent Jew, Max Nordau, is surprised to find that 'the Church does not seem to see that it is blasphemy to ask of the God of love to look with favor upon murder and destruction.' May we not have something to learn from Jew and Gentile?

"This backwardness of the Church to do the work of Christ, while those beyond the pale are endeavoring to accomplish it, has a precise analogy in the history of the anti-slavery movement. It was such 'infidels' as Garrison and Phillips that were fulfilling the obligations of the Church fifty years ago, while she was searching the Scriptures to find authority for a sin which the world had outgrown. War is going to be condemned by the conscience of the world just as surely as slavery was condemned. I do not say that wars will cease. Murder and theft have not ceased, though they are condemned by mankind. But I do say that war will be adjudged a crime, like other murders and robberies, and that those who take part in it will know that they are doing wrong. The only question is, What instrument will God use in bringing this about? Shall we allow him to use the Church, or shall we ask him to look for other agents? It is because I believe the Church may still be persuaded to volunteer for this great task that I am here to-night. . . .

"We condemn arson, adultery, murder, burglary, lying, and theft. War includes them all, and in a form more exaggerated, more self-evidently wrong, than any one of them taken alone. War repeals the Ten Commandments and explicitly places a portion of the human race outside the universal obligation of Christian love.

"Every age has had its barbarisms. We wonder now at slavery, at the hanging of boys for stealing a shilling, at imprisonment for debt, at the torture of witnesses, at the rack and thumbscrew and stake. All these things were supported by Christians and the Church. Are we to suppose that our age is the first without sanctified barbarisms? And if not, what barbarism of the day is so conspicuous as war? No, it is an awful hallucination, a fatal delusion, that war can be Christian. Let us fill our hearts with love and look forth upon our enemies, if we have enemies, with that love, and we shall see clearly that a Christian war is as impossible as a Christian murder."

At the present time the Church, not less than the State, inclines to the wholly vicious and immoral doctrine that it is right to do evil that good may come. You cannot, as Mr. Crosby well says, "love men with bombshells," and the Christian church that, under whatsoever pretext, justifies or upholds a war of subjugation against a people struggling for freedom has betrayed its founder and reputed leader, and has crucified him afresh by giving the lie to his most solemn teachings and injunctions and to the spirit of his gospel.

In the crusade for social righteousness and individual development Mr. Crosby has been as brave, outspoken, and earnest as in his warfare against war. He has been no signboard, pointing up the rugged path of progress while remaining stationary in the green valley below. On the contrary, he has shown his faith by the sacrifices he has cheerfully made and by his work in behalf of the weak and the oppressed. Hence his writings, while affording an excellent key to the life of the man, possess a value not present in the utterances of the "sleek, comfortable, and prudent" opportunist, who, while saying many good things, fashions his life primarily with a view to ease and self-comfort.

In Mr. Crosby's unique work, "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," we have a bold, consistent, but thoroughly unconventional volume, full of the spirit of that One who scourged the money-changers from the temple; who said to the erring woman, "Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more"; and who on the cross cried, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" It is in the truest sense a book of the new time, which throughout reflects the spirit of the coming manhood that shall transform civilization. The volume opens with these fine lines addressed to the high-minded and austere prophet of progress in Russia, whose life has been a veritable beacon to those working for freedom for all through love:

Hail, Tolstoy, bold, archaic shape,
  Rude pattern of the man to be,
From 'neath whose rugged traits escape
  Hints of a manhood fair and free.

I read a meaning in your face,
  A message wafted from above,
Prophetic of an equal race
  Fused into one by robust love.

Like some quaint statue long concealed,
  Deep buried in Mycenæ's mart,
Wherein we clearly see revealed
  The promise of Hellenic art,

So stand you; while aloof and proud,
  The world that scribbles, prates, and frets
Seems but a simpering, futile crowd
  Of Dresden china statuettes.

Like John the Baptist, once more scan
  The signs that mark the dawn of day.
Forerunner of the Perfect Man,
  Make straight His path, prepare the way.

The desert too is your abode,
  Your garb and fare of little worth;
Thus ever has the Spirit showed
  The coming reign of heaven on earth.

Not in kings' houses may we greet
  The prophets whom the world shall bless;
To lay my verses at your feet
  I seek you in the wilderness.

The rugged simplicity and directness characteristic of "Plain Talk" are in bold and refreshing contrast to the trimming and time-serving spirit which at the present time is on all sides seeking to curry favor with the powerful and avoid the possibility of offending the modern, emasculated, dilettante critic. The ethical spirit is that of the prophet, who refuses to speak smooth things when injustice, ignorance, and crime are everywhere masquerading under the mantle of probity, law, and respectability. Nothing has been more painfully evident during the last two or three decades than the prostitution of government at the instigation and through the powerful and oftentimes thoroughly corrupt agencies of special privileges and class-protected interests. The rich heritage of the people has been shamelessly given away to predatory bands who are being annually enriched by millions upon millions of dollars that should justly be pouring into the city, State, and national treasuries, but which now, apart from the amount used in debauching public opinion and corrupting public servants, are going to swell the abnormal wealth of a few scores of individuals. This notorious fact is admirably stated by our author in the following lines, entitled "The State-House":

Up to the State-House wend their way
Some score of thieves elect;
For one great recompense they pray:
"May we grow rich from day to day,
Although the State be wrecked."

Up to the State-House climb with stealth
Another pilgrim band,—
The thieves who have acquired their wealth.
And, careless of their country's health,
Now bleed their native land.

And soon the yearly sale is made
Of privilege and law;
The poor thieves by the rich are paid
Across the counter, and a trade
More brisk you never saw.

And we, whose rights are bought and sold.
With reason curse and swear;
Such acts are frightful to behold,
Nor has the truth been ever told
Of half the evil there.

At last the worthless set adjourn;
We sigh with deep relief.
Then from the statute-book we learn
The record of each theft in turn,
The bills of every thief.

Now at a shameful scene pray look;
For we who cursed and swore,
Before this base-born statute-book,
Whose poisoned source we ne'er mistook.
Both worship and adore.

"For law is law," we loud assert,
And think ourselves astute;
Yet quite forgetful, to our hurt,
That fraud is fraud and dirt is dirt.
And like must be their fruit.

We laugh at heathen who revere
The gods they make of stone,
And yet we never ask, I fear,
As we bow down from year to year.
How we have made our own.

We all deny the right of kings
  To speak for their Creator;
May we not wonder, then, whence springs
The right divine to order things
  Of any legislator?

Many of the psalms are highly suggestive. What is implied but left unsaid is quite as helpful and important as what is uttered. This fact is illustrated in the following lines. entitled "Not the Lord":

I.

Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor a world stored with all riches:
Stone in the mountain, brick in the field, timber in the forest to build
  them their houses;
Wool and cotton to make them clothing;
Corn and fruit and every manner of plant for their food.
Who hath shut them out from the fullest enjoyment of all these things
  which they themselves produce?
It is not God. Praise ye the Lord.

II.

Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor brains, and eyes and ears of the best,
So that they might know the beauty of the landscape,
So that they might acknowledge the sway of the old masters of art.
And feel the thrill of the noblest music,
And take to their bosom the greatest poets,
And love their books as themselves.
Who hath shut them out from all this fruition?
It is not God. Praise ye the Lord.

III.

Praise ye the Lord,
For he hath given to his poor hearts to love their fellows,
So that they might have the key to the kingdom of heaven.
Who is it that taketh away the key and shutteth up the kingdom
  against them?
That neither goeth in himself nor suffereth them that are entering to
  go in?
It is not God. Praise ye the Lord.

How many of us go through life worshiping at the shrine of the past or sighing for the golden age to come, heeding not the eternal now, which the philosopher has characterized as "a king in disguise!" In the following lines, entitled "Prophet, Priest, and King," Mr. Crosby emphasizes this thought in a simple and impressive way:

"Man is one. All ages are bound together.
The *is* grew out of the *was* and in turn becomes the *will be.*
We all travel the same road, in the same caravan; some before, some
behind;
The prophet in the van linking us to the religion of the future,
The priest in the rear linking us to the religion of the past.
We trudge on between, looking forward or backward,
But forgetful, most of us, of the real religion of above;
Blind to the eternal now, in which priest and prophet are at one together, united in the present king,
And where old types and symbols tally with the newest dreams."

Victor Hugo, in a brilliant criticism of genius and art entitled "William Shakespeare," observes that: "We live in a time when the orators are heard praising the magnanimity of white bears and the tender feelings of panthers." He discerned a tendency, which has rapidly grown in recent years, of praising, or at least condoning, glaring wrongs, injustice, oppression, and corruption, when they bear the seductive label of success. The tyrant who usurps a place of power is surrounded by fawning sycophants. The weak ruler who allows vicious men to shape his policy is excused when not held up to the young for emulation. The corrupt but rich financier, who through the aid of special privilege and by means of indirection and injustice has crushed out competing rivals and silenced opposition, is fulsomely praised in goody-goody publications as a type of success, and young men are admonished to emulate him; while all those who seek to wrench apart the rivets that shackle man, or who strive to broaden the vision of the age and to brighten the common life, are belittled when they are not denounced as demagogues and dangerous characters. Breathing the spirit of revolt against such moral poison, Victor Hugo in another place thus boldly speaks with prophetic voice as to the real needs of the hour:

"Help from the strong for the weak, help from the great for the small, help from the free for the slaves, help from the thinkers for the ignorant, help from the solitary for the multitudes;—such is the law. . . Indignation and compassion for the mournful slavery of man are but two sides of the same faculty; those who are capable of wrath are capable of love. To level the tyrant and the slave—what a magnificent endeavor! Now the whole of one side of actual society is tyrant, and all the other side is slave. A grim settlement is impending, and it will be accomplished. All thinkers must work with that end in view. They will gain greatness in that work. To be the servant of God in the task of progress, and the apostle of God to the people—such is the law which regulates the growth of genius."

Many of Mr. Crosby's psalms show that he also fully realizes the duty of the true thinker to stand for the cause, even though he stand alone, to refuse to kneel to injustice or corruption, though a dukedom were to be won by such degradation. Hence, he shocks easy-going conventionalism by this apostrophe to "Revolt":

I.

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of the ideal, daughter of the far-away truth!
Without thee the nations drag on in a living death;
Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth;
Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in China's lethargy,
Smothered in the past, having no horizon but the actual.

II.

Hail, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of eternal love,—
Love rebelling against lovelessness, life rebelling against death!
Rise at last to the full measure of thy birthright;
Spurn the puny weapons of hate and oppression;
Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all the myriad shams
    of man, and they will fade away in the thinnest air;
Gaze upon thy gainsayers until they see and feel the truth and love
    that begat and bore thee.
Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest inspirations,
And we shall see done on earth as it is in heaven
God's ever living, growing, ripening will.

In keeping with this spirit are two excellent poems, much too long to quote—one entitled "The Prison," and the other "William Lloyd Garrison."

Here are some stanzas for the present time, bearing a message of wisdom and truth, which, if not heeded, will be sooner or later impressed most terribly upon the nation to whom has been given the high and divine charge of leading the forces of light, liberty, peace, and progress. They are entitled "Song of the New Freedom":

Americans, ye once were free,
Your country led the nations' van,
Proclaiming new-born liberty,
The lost self-sovereignty of man.
All Europe then was glad
To follow in your train.
The glory that ye had
Would ye once more regain?
Then know, ye trust your arms in vain.

In vain ye build your battle-ships,
In vain ye fortify the coast;
Still many an armament outstrips
The devilish frenzy of your boast.
Think not to lead by force.
Ever have men relied
In vain on such a course.
Be free and far and wide;
The world will rally to your side.

Be free. Ye brag of freedom yet;
But do ye not, while glorying, feel
The tightening bonds? Can ye forget
The fetters dragging at your heel?
Each battle Freedom wins
Transforms her foe of old.
Another strife begins;
A tyrant new behold—
The sullen, swinish god of gold. . . .

Your heart is ruled by love of pelf;
Your land is ruled by pelf amassed.
Cast down the former; free yourself,
And soon you'll bind the latter fast.
Hark to our country's call,
And let us all unite;
The tyrant soon will fall.
Yea, as our cause is right,
Freedom again shall gain the fight!

In a poem addressed to England we have the following stanzas, which are to-day quite as applicable to our own land as to the mother country:

Call back home your wandering sons
With their Testaments and guns.
Whither are their footsteps bent?
Here they might have found content.

Here they have at their own price
The making of a paradise.
Nowhere will they find a stage
So fitted for the Golden Age.

There are more than a hundred psalms and parables in this work. Many of them are very beautiful; others are rich in practical hints and lessons; occasionally the prophet becomes a stern accuser, and we are reminded of Isaiah or Savonarola; but for the most part the spirit of gentleness is present. Perhaps the character of the book is nowhere so well typified as in the following poem, entitled "The State," in which the barbarism of the present is placed in bold antithesis with the higher and truer civilization that waits on the work of such earnest men as Ernest Crosby and other leaders of the oncoming social and economic revolution:

I.

They talked much of the State—the State.
I had never seen the State, and I asked them to picture it to me, as my gross mind could not follow their subtle language when they spake of it.
Then they told me to think of it as a beautiful goddess, enthroned and sceptered, benignly caring for her children.
But for some reason I was not satisfied.

And once upon a time, as I was lying awake at night and thinking, I had as it were a vision,
And I seemed to see a barren ridge of sand beneath a lurid sky;
And lo, against the sky stood out in bold relief a black scaffold and gallows-tree, and from the end of its gaunt arm hung, limp and motionless, a shadowy, empty noose.
And a Voice whispered in my ear, "Behold the State incarnate!"
And as I looked aghast, the desert became thickly peopled, and all the countless throngs did obeisance to the gibbet;
And they that were clad in rich raiment bowed down the lowest of all.

II.

The sheriff is reading his warrant to the condemned man in his cell.
He stammers and hesitates, and his voice is husky.

The executioner takes off his victim's collar and unbuttons his shirt, while the unhappy man smoothes down his new black coat with twitching fingers, and watches the sheriff's fat hands, and wonders whether he can get his gold ring off his little finger or not.
Now his hands are tied behind him, and the procession moves.
There is the doctor, the soldier of life, turned deserter, and serving in the army of death.
There is the priest, holding out hopes, in an undertone, of another world, where the inhabitants are less inhuman than in this.
There are the correspondents of the press, eager for any news that will sell.
The majesty of the law leads and brings up the rear—the sheriff and his deputies, the attorneys and the police.
All that is respected in the community is represented here.
They have congregated like vultures scenting carrion from afar.
The doomed man has braced himself up for a supreme effort, but his knees are unsteady, his underlip quivers, and his face is livid.
In these last weeks he has died a thousand deaths, and in his mind has suffered every kind of torment.
How often has he gone through this scene before, and yet how different it is—so much more trivial and usual, and yet so much more dreadful!
The ordinary words, "Good morning," and "Thank you," sound like a foreign language, and still the day strangely resembles other days.
As we turn a corner in the jail yard, and the frightful hanging machine appears, he averts his eyes, and stumbles and nearly falls.
At last he is in place, the black cap is pulled over his face and the noose adjusted.
The sheriff drops his handkerchief, the floor gives way with a creak—there is a sickening jerk, and the rope stretches taut;
Then after some minutes of convulsive struggle, that seem like years, all is quiet.
The doctor comes forward and feels the dying man's pulse.
He nods his head, and the little crowd disperses, while four men lower the body into a box.
There was not one man in that company but felt that something awful was happening which ought not to happen;—
Not one who did not know that the punishment was infinitely more devilish than the crime;—
Not one who at the bottom of his heart believed in his right or in any one else's right to dispose of the life of his fellow-man, and trifle with the mystery of death.
Yet with inexorable precision they went on to the end.
Even the felon himself accepted the inevitable, and never in all his talks with his confessor did he think of asking how forgiveness and love of neighbors and enemies was consistent with all this.
What was it that urged them relentlessly on?

When the sheriff's little boy climbs on his knee in the evening, and hides his face against the breast of his coat, and says, "Father, why did you do it?" what will he answer?
Was it fate and destiny, or divine justice?
Or was it not rather a poor, human makeshift for these—a necessity, a justice of the imagination?
"Don't cry, my child; you cannot understand now, but I am a servant of the State, and must do as the State directs."
The State?
Ah, thus it is that men conjure up specters out of nothingness, and name them, and cast their sins upon them, and fall down and worship them.

III.

I feel the force stirring within me which in time will re-form the world.
It does not push or obtrude, but I am conscious of it drawing gently and irresistibly at my vitals.
And I see that, as I am attracted, so I begin unaccountably to attract others.
I draw them and they in turn draw me, and we recognize a tendency to group ourselves anew.
Get in touch with the great central magnet, and you will yourself become a magnet;
And as more and more of us find our bearings and exert our powers, gradually the new world will take shape.
We become indeed legislators of the divine law, receiving it from God himself in the Mount, and human laws shrivel and dry up before us.
And I asked the force within my soul, "Who art thou?"
And it answered and said, "I am Love, the Lord of Heaven, and I would be called Love, the Lord of Earth.
I am the mightiest of all the heavenly hosts, and I am come to create the State that is to be."

It is well that the twentieth century finds men like Mr. Crosby writing, speaking, and working against the wrongs that, canker-like, are eating at the heart of our civilization; and it is good to know that he is only one of a rapidly growing band of young men and women who are consecrating their lives to the service of man and the making of a higher, juster, and truer civilization, where the key-note shall be love, expressed in coöperation for mutual help, growth, and happiness.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE EMPIRE STATE'S INSANE.

WHETHER or not one has had the sad experience of close acquaintance with a person of unsound mind, there is in the very word "insanity" that which always jars upon and even shocks the finer sensibilities of humankind, and tends to stir within the sympathetic soul the deepest emotions of compassion.

There doubtless have been, and there may still be, cases in this country of harsh treatment of the insane at the hands of officials in whose care they have been placed. Such charges have, from time to time, been preferred, and have often been supported by apparently incontrovertible evidence. But as a result of my own observations, made under circumstances most favorable to correct conclusions, I am impressed with the belief that while the great State of New York has made progress unrivaled with her commerce, her inventions, her manufacturing, and her educational systems, she has kept pace in equal ratio in her provision for the care and treatment of those unfortunate citizens who are adjudged insane, and whose limited means will not permit their admission into one of the many excellent private hospitals of the State, as such institutions are as a rule conducted with a view to financial gain, and are therefore not necessarily philanthropic.

The views that I shall here present are based upon personal observations extending over a considerable period spent upon the grounds and within the buildings of one of our twelve State hospitals for the insane, and it is safe to assume that whatever may be said of this institution may be said with equal truth of the others; for all are maintained and conducted under the provisions of the same statutory laws, and their affairs are administered by resident officials acting under the general direction of one official body—the State Commission in Lunacy.

There is a somewhat prevalent though happily erroneous idea that the sole purpose in the maintenance of insane hospitals by the State is that the *sane* may be protected from the *insane* —by confining the latter behind grated windows and guarded doors, where their illusions and delusions cannot lead them to do harm to persons or to property. From reports in years past, some doubtless overdrawn but others too true, I think the time was, rather, when some measures were necessary to protect the *insane* from the *sane*. But it would seem that a happy medium has at last been reached, in this State at least, and that the unfortunate beings now committed to our hospitals, whatever may be the real motive of friends or relatives, are nevertheless under a care (State) that is truly and earnestly solicitous of the best welfare of its insane citizens.

It is a belief, founded in part upon facts, that all State institutions in this and other States are subject in a measure to the influences of politics, and may therefore to a degree become the prey of political intriguers—of selfish and dishonest persons who by reason of unscrupulous shrewdness, money power, or the magic of some "political pull" are clothed with a little brief authority in matters concerning which they know absolutely nothing, and in which they have no honest or unselfish interest or intent. I would be happy indeed to believe that such conditions throughout our Republic were of the past, and that altruistic principles had at last gained a supremacy in our national and State politics. Such would, in truth, be in harmony with our religious and educational advancement. But we have not yet, in full, reached that happy condition. Recent investigations into the administration of the affairs of institutions of various States have proved that we are still far from the full realization of such hopes. But may it not be that Providence has decreed that the affairs of our State hospitals for the insane should be first (as they are already, in great measure) to be freed from the machinations of partizans and parties? Whatever may be the questionable practises, if there be such, that still influence the affairs of such institutions in other States, I am firmly of the opinion that the officers intrusted with the administration of the affairs of our hospitals for the insane in the State of New York are at once competent, conscientious, sincere, and faithful in their performance of such duties.

Many State and Federal officers of trust, so called, might fittingly be designated "officers of rust," for no public good is accomplished and the only act that the incumbent can be relied upon to perform with any commendable certainty is the arduous task of drawing his salary. How fortunate it is, then, that, at the head and in the chief executive offices of her hospitals for the insane, New York State has placed men of unquestioned professional and business ability! For the position of superintendent of a hospital for the insane exceptional qualifications are requisite, for, together with his knowledge of medicine, his technical information upon the causes and conditions of insanity, and the most practical, modern, humane, and effective modes of treatment, such an officer must combine a rare executive ability with a capacity for details and routine work. Moreover, he must be tactful and resourceful in his methods, for a large number of persons, sane and insane, are under his constant supervision and care, and nothing less than tireless energy, eternal vigilance, and an always conscientious motive will enable the superintendent of an insane hospital fully to meet the manifold demands and exactions of his position.

Of the thirty-two prominent causes of insanity reported by the authorities, I shall mention but the first two: intemperance—the most frequent of all causes—and "adverse conditions" (loss of friends, business troubles, etc.), these two being in the ratio of five to three. Intemperance thus claims as its victims one-fifth of all the insane, and it is an awful and startling fact to contemplate that nearly *one-third* of that number are women.

Of the various vocations, the largest number of insane are from the mechanic class—outdoor workers. The commercial occupations, agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and the learned professions follow in the order named—the last furnishing about one-fourth the number of the first. Among these patients are to be found representatives of all races—men and women of all ages, though the average is above middle age—and patients in all stages of insanity, from the mildest form to the most violent. One refusing ever to be quiet, another refusing ever to speak; one possessed of a delusion that he is a king, and controls a kingdom or owns it in his own name, and another ever protesting that he has been robbed of millions; one proclaiming himself the Saviour of the world, and another profaning all things sacred; one always happy and cheerful, smiling and singing, and another ever with an overwhelming sorrow.

The foregoing are but suggestions of the multitudinous forms and phases of insanity that may be observed in a State hospital for the insane, and, by analogy, the problem that daily confronts the authorities of such an institution is an appalling one. If the sole object in the confinement of the insane were the safety of the lives and property of the sane, the problem would lose much of its perplexity; for grated windows and vigilant guards would easily solve it. The paramount aim, however, is not confinement, but freedom; not enforced solitude and idleness for the patients, but rather diversion and exercise to the greatest possible degree with a view to the best results to the individual inmates. This method is in vogue in our State hospitals to an extent that to the lay mind seems quite incomprehensible; for men have been committed to hospitals under affidavits by friends or relatives setting forth evidence of an utter loss of reason and a marked tendency to violence or to suicide, but who have, under hospital treatment, soon been at work about the grounds of the institution, orderly and contented, and often many of them in a fair way to permanent recovery. But these same patients, if left with no diversion or occupation, in enforced solitude, would ever brood over their troubles, real or imaginary, and eventually become incurables.

The influence that experienced attendants and trained nurses exert over a ward of insane men or women is truly marvelous and speaks volumes for the mode of dealing with patients in our State hospitals. I have seen two or three young male attendants in full charge and control of a hall containing fifteen or twenty patients, any one of whom alone could terrorize a neighborhood and in the judgment of the inexperienced would require a dozen strong men to control him and prevent his doing violence to himself or others. It is not unusual for the attendants, upon calling for a patient whose commitment has been duly issued by the judge of the county in which he is a citizen, to find such unfortunate locked and barred in a room, or being guarded and overpowered by a dozen robust and trembling neighbors. The one or two attendants, however, seldom find difficulty in safely conducting the patient to the hospital. These facts do not prove that the man may not be really and even violently insane, but rather illustrate how much there is in the mode and method of handling cases of insanity. When it is remembered that many of the most violent lunatics are still in possession of robust physical health, their muscular strength often greatly increased by their disordered mental condition, the problem of controlling such patients without resort to the old methods of force and almost violence becomes the greater, and its solution (for it is solved) the more remarkable. And only when it is remembered that in New York to-day there are confined in the State hospitals more than twenty thousand patients are the magnitude and responsibility of the State's charge in the matter of its insane fairly comprehended.

Enormous expense is necessarily involved in the support of these twelve institutions—several millions of dollars annually. But surely in this case the end justifies the means; for, in striking contrast to the neglect, cruelty, and inhumanity of the madhouse of less than half a century ago, we have the almost perfect methods of to-day—the results of wise legislation and of the labors of efficient medical and executive officers. By the modern method of interesting the patient whenever possible in some useful work or occupation, much of the routine work of the institution is accomplished by the inmates themselves; and though economy is not the real and important object to be attained, much expense is saved, in fact, while the benefits that accrue to the patients from this exercise and diversion are almost inestimable.

It may be interesting to note here the many trades and occupations represented among the inmates of a State hospital. Every learned profession as well as every industrial pursuit has its representatives, as also has every grade and condition of society—the highest and the lowest, the Christian and the scoffer, the educated and the illiterate;—all are here to be found. Patients from the wealthy classes are not as a rule committed to State institutions, but are well cared for in private hospitals, where the best of treatment is afforded and special privileges and even luxuries may be secured at a proportionate expense; but I doubt much whether wealth there insures to such patients more skilled treatment or better care than is afforded to patients of lesser means who are the wards of the State of New York: though with the former more individual attention is possible, and more regard for each inmate's choice of associates is practicable.

The matter of entertainment and recreation for the patients has also received thoughtful consideration from the officials, and during the summer frequent field-days are arranged and athletic sports are participated in by the attendants and by many of the patients as well; bands and other musical organizations are maintained; frequent lectures and theatrical entertainments are provided for long winter evenings; and a weekly ball in which a large number of the patients take part is allowed—the rule being that each woman patient shall have as a partner a male attendant, and *vice versa.* To be sure, the patients are not all graceful dancers, but that may as truly be said of the dancers at any "sane" ball; and as to their deportment, that too compares very favorably with the deportment at any public ball. It is remarkable how many delusions of the insane are apparently lain aside for these social occasions, and how much real pleasure and enjoyment the patients derive from such recreations.

Religious services are held regularly, and are attended by a large proportion of the inmates. The Sunday evening sacred concerts are looked forward to with much pleasurable anticipation, and many of the patients take an active part in the readings, the chorus, and the solo singing, as well as in the instrumental music. Strange as it may seem, a congregation made up largely of insane persons is by no means the least attentive of audiences. Though not all the patients may comprehend the discourse, they are nevertheless quiet, orderly, and apparently appreciative listeners—probably as attentive as the *average* church congregation. I heard of a well-meaning but deplorably absent-minded clergyman who accepted an invitation to address an assemblage, on a Sunday morning, in one of our State institutions, and, facing his audience of several hundred inmates, said, "Gentlemen, I am glad indeed to find so many of you here this morning." The writer would not go to so great an extreme in these observations, but our insane are in truth fortunate that they are cared for in the way the State of New York is now discharging that great trust.

It is naturally concluded that life in such an institution for a man adjudging himself *sane* would be always gloomy and distasteful; but that is by no means true. The physicians in the State hospitals, if they are conscientious—and I believe most of them are—are as deeply interested in the improvement, the mental and physical welfare, of the several patients under their personal care as if they were engaged in a private practise where their success and standing as physicians, as well as their financial success, would depend entirely upon faithfulness to details and their skill in the performance of professional duties. There are always cases of exceptional interest to the scientific mind, and always an opportunity for study and research—an illimitable field; for no two forms of insanity are identical. Then, too, there are occasional humorous incidents even amid so much that induces pity and compassion. One patient, a dignified and scholarly man of past middle age, for many years himself a successful practitioner of medicine, resolutely and emphatically proclaims that "all doctors are cranks and quacks," excepting only from this sweeping assertion hospital physicians, whom he not inaptly terms "brain-testers." Another patient adjudges all men "insane," excepting only himself, and with considerable logic and much ingenuity of argument proceeds to prove his statement that "the world has gone daft." Still another firmly asserts that "the world is all upside down and going wrong," because of its politics and parties—their bosses, with their "grabs" and "steals."

As one reflects upon these sayings of insanity,—in this day of patent medicines and bogus remedies, of faith healers and ward heelers, of specialists and cranks and creeds, of frauds and treachery and trickery in politics,—and finally upon the shams and hypocrisies in the so-called higher circles of society, the question arises as to whether, after all, there is not something of a "method in the madness" of each and every one, in turn, that I have quoted. The logic of the language with which the bard of Avon armed young *Hamlet* to play upon his mother's guilty conscience was not more deep than is produced by the disordered mind of many an inmate of the hospitals for the insane.

The prevalence of insanity throughout the world must ever remain a source of infinite regret, but the progress that has been made and that promises to be made in providing for the care and treatment of such unfortunate beings must be of infinite satisfaction to every thoughtful mind. A full consideration of this question from the standpoint of the statistician would necessarily involve a comparison between the numbers of insane in this and in other States and other countries; but such comparison is not within the scope of this article. The number of insane provided for by our State hospitals, increased by the population of the many private institutions within our State, might seem disproportionate, if considered on the basis of areas only; but when we consider our dense population, the large number of immigrants annually entering our great metropolis, and finally the extreme intensity of the competition that marks the struggle for the acquisition of wealth among our citizens, we may conclude after all that the number of our insane in New York State, though large, is not disproportionate, all conditions and circumstances being weighed.

In conclusion, as a citizen of New York I am glad to believe that the State, through its Commission in Lunacy and its boards of managers, and they through their respective medical and executive officers, is wisely and well discharging its great trust. I doubt much whether the insane of any other State, or of any other country, receive more humane, more studied, more skilful, or more effective treatment than do those who by virtue of their residence are fortunately entitled to the wise guardian care of the imperial State of New York.

FRANK LESLIE WARNE.

Willard, N. Y.

ITINERANT SPEECHMAKING IN THE LAST CAMPAIGN.

DURING the recent Presidential campaign there developed a unique phase of political oratory. Formal addresses in the large towns yielded chief place to the new spellbinding from the special car. By the aid of this traveling rostrum, a score of speeches in as many counties were often made within a single day, and a hundred meetings between Monday morning and Saturday night became of frequent occurrence. It is patent, therefore, that peculiar requirements were made of rhetorical composition and delivery. It was demanded of the orator to speak almost continuously with small preparation; to combine, in a five-minute talk, thought and expression in striking and convincing form; to suit with plan and style the ever-changing character of the audiences, and to contend with the omnipresent unrest of a crowd out for excitement or a holiday. Hence, it is natural that the speeches, constructed to meet these new conditions, should present many novel features of character and style.

Usually but a small part of each was calculated to convince through the reasoning faculties of the audience; this part was approximately from one-sixth to one-seventh, and the remainder aimed to influence solely through direct or indirect appeals to the feelings. The passages devoted to argument were, on account of their necessary brevity, unavoidably fragmentary and often comprised but a few sentences. One of Senator Depew's arguments, for example, began with the premise that Mr. Bryan had once urged the payment of $20,000,000 for the Philippines; and in semi-serious vein it continued: "And now he says our title is not good. And he is a lawyer! If he worked for the payment of $20,000,000 for a country to which we have no title, he is not fit to be President. He would ruin the Treasury."

On the other hand, the Democratic candidate often expressed his contention in the form of a series of questions that, arranged in syllogistic order and implying in themselves the answer, led to an apparent *reductio ad absurdum*. Thus he asked: "If the Trust is good, why did the Republican platform denounce Trusts? If bad, why did the Republican Administration allow more Trusts to be organized? If some are good and some are bad, can you tell me the difference?"

Many of the other arguments were advanced in similar style, and, though they may be termed successful in view of existing difficulties, yet the main attention is drawn not to them but to the more numerous appeals to feeling as most fairly representative of the character of the orator's productions. An examination, therefore, of the different phases of feeling that were addressed, and of the methods displayed in so doing, will indicate the general nature of the speeches—not always, perhaps, as they were intended, but as they would reasonably come to the ear of the ordinary listener.

As a first result of such an examination, it is evident that the phase of feeling to which most conspicuous appeals were made was that of desire in the hearer for his personal welfare. Not only were the main efforts of the orator put forth with reference to this desire, and the most famous political shibboleth of modern times, "the full dinner pail," founded upon it, but to the correlative fear of personal evil was addressed the bulk of the so-called "calamity howling" that was frequently in evidence. Thus Governor Roosevelt implied a warning by the words, "When the dinner pail is empty it is serious business"; Mr. Bryan accomplished a like result through the remark, "When a Trust closes a factory it does not invite a President to be present at the closing"; and Senator Depew made a similar insinuation—more by the significant arrangement of his words than by their actual meaning—when he began a speech by saying, "Well, my friends, time is short, and so I'll leave just this with you to paste upon the wall: '94 to '97—'97 to '99."

The majority of the passages addressing this fear, however, were far more direct, and Mr. Bryan was not far out of fashion when he prophesied "an industrial despotism that compels millions of people to get on their knees and pray to the Trust, 'give us this day our daily bread.'" In the second place, the speeches were calculated to influence through the liking for personal righteousness or dislike of its opposite. Under this head may be noted Mr. Bryan's declaration that "striped clothes should be put on big thieves like little ones," and Governor Roosevelt's statement: "Beyond all other issues are those of orderly liberty under the law and of civic honesty." As third in importance, the feeling of national pride was addressed, and the speakers often said in effect what Governor Roosevelt once said in terms: "I know you will not, in the face of the nations of the earth, allow this flag to be dishonored," and "every man who is worth his salt is proud of his country." In the fourth place, the love of humor was appealed to by the orators. Frequent sarcasm and ridicule at the expense of their opponents were indulged in; these, though well enough adapted to raise a laugh by the audience and to concentrate attention upon the speaker's words, were not always of a dignified nature. In this manner Mr. Bryan, during a speech in the celery-growing district of Michigan, referred to the alleged hostility of the Republicans to the Boers and requested the newspaper men present "not to mention the fact that the celery was raised by Hollanders, for I am afraid the Republicans will boycott celery and use onions." In similar vein Senator Depew expressed his view of the situation by the sentence, "We are not called upon to plow a new theory with a Nebraska colt," and again implied ridicule in his usual genial manner by opening a speech with the words: "I understand Brother Stanchfield was here this afternoon and quoted my views. The only difference between me and Brother Stanchfield is that I have studied the question."

A remark should also be made of the strikingly numerous expressions everywhere in evidence that were merely claims of strength open or veiled, and that consequently could derive force only through the peculiar form of love of victory that impels so many persons to vote with the party most likely to succeed. These expressions range from Mr. Depew's frank prophecies of party triumph to Governor Roosevelt's congratulation of a negro audience that "so many had determined to vote according to conscience," and to his mention of the "few" gold Democrats who would vote against his party.

The divisions of feeling less prominently addressed were the love of national uprightness, resentment for wrongs real or fancied, prejudice of class, love of flattery, admiration of national heroes, and reverence for Deity. In addition, Mr. Bryan at times addressed the broader form of altruistic sentiment through such sentences as: "If the cause of Liberty triumph here, then it will triumph around the world," and others of similar import. As might be expected, the speeches in common contained abundant charges of evil-doing by the speaker's opponents, generally insinuated rather than direct; and only slightly less numerous were the florid praises of his own party. There were also many promises of party good conduct if successful, while not a few direct requests for votes were made.

Several other methods were employed to increase the general effect. References were made, whenever possible, to the locality in which the speech was delivered. At Milton Senator Depew remarked, "This town bears the name of a great poet," and then proceeded to typify the conditions under Democratic and Republican rule by the names, respectively, of the greatest two of that poet's works. The same speaker often aroused the enthusiasm of his audience directly by calling for "three cheers" for the candidates or for the probabilities of party success. On one occasion Governor Roosevelt took a soldier of the United States army with him upon the platform, and, while arguing that the army was not too large in proportion to the country's population, introduced an object-lesson by saying, "Compare this soldier here with this audience, and then the army with the nation." Probably, however, no method of reaching the listener was more successful than that employed by Senator Hanna. During a speech in Indiana he said: "I hear on every side, 'What's the matter with Hanna?' Now I want to know what's the matter with Indiana!" Needless to say, the assemblage gladly answered for its State in the usual manner.

In style of wording, these semi-extemporaneous addresses were, first of all, noticeably direct and vigorous. Never before have orators spoken to large audiences in so frank and personal a fashion. Every-day, man-to-man talk was the rule; the meaning of a sentence was always clear to the dullest understanding, although its construction was often inelegant and slovenly or even grammatically incorrect. There were many isolated phrases, also, that were well turned and crowded with meaning; there were epigrams of graceful form and considerable brilliancy; and in almost every speech was embodied an informal peroration undeniably striking, if sometimes savoring too greatly of the highly-colored and turgid eloquence of the frontier. The terminology was emphatic, almost to the point of roughness; this, while at times calculated to prevent a desirable moderation and polish, caused the sentence to convey the extreme of meaning to the average ear. An alleged misstatement was not often mentioned otherwise than as a "lie," and it was with comparative mildness that Governor Roosevelt affirmed that another speaker "did or ought to know, not only that the statements were not true, but that there was not one shadow of excuse for them." The epithets employed regarding other transactions were equally terse and expressive.

The use of slang was frequent. Governor Roosevelt told an audience, "You'll vote right because you're built that way," and Senator Depew's listeners were assured that they could "bet their lives" and be "dead sure" in many instances. Well-known phraseology was sometimes applied in a novel connection, as when Mr. Bryan said, "God himself implanted in every human being love of liberty, and what God has joined together let no man put asunder"; or as when he charged his opponents with having altered the commandment to read, "Thou shalt not steal on a small scale."

In somewhat similar style, Senator Depew translated the

Democratic promises to mean in effect, "If you'll only go through hell, I'll get you into heaven"; while the Nebraska orator once asked his audience "to place Mr. Lincoln at one end of the Republican party and Mr. Hanna at the other and watch the toboggan slide." In contrast with such expressions was the more pretentious and impassioned rhetoric sometimes used. Of a great issue Mr. Bryan said: "God never made people selfish enough to want to govern other people and then unselfish enough to govern them well. Republicans, do you want to tear down the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor and send it back to France to tell them we are out of the liberty business? Instead, we ought to put another Statue of Liberty in the harbor of Manila and proclaim liberty throughout the Orient." In like manner, but on the other side of the question, Governor Roosevelt declared: "Woe to the man who preaches such a doctrine! Danger of Imperialism? Aye, but the danger will never come till our people are foolish enough to allow anarchy, license, mob violence to take the place of that orderly liberty under the law which we inherited as the most precious heritage from the fathers."

Outside of what has been considered, a quite different phase of the itinerant speaker's work is of peculiar interest, both because it was not present by his own choice and because, like the reason of its advent, it was completely new in American speechmaking. For the first time, something akin to the English "heckling" made its appearance, and the immunity that has hitherto protected the rostrum, like the pulpit, disappeared. The audiences demanded a part in the discussion, and, through various forms of interpolation, sought to test the arguments presented. Each meeting involved an impromptu debate, with a new opposition forever changing and never overcome. How to meet such interrogatories, to silence them while retaining credit with the audience, and to regain control of the discussion, presented a varying problem for the speaker. The method adopted for its solution was necessarily determined by the different circumstances of each case. But, in general, a question of remark that imputed blame to the speaker's party was met successfully by a direct denunciation of the alleged greater offenses of his opponents.

Thus to a question regarding the suffrage law in North Carolina Mr. Bryan usually responded by enlarging upon a similar law in Puerto Rico; and to those regarding the "Trusts" Governor Roosevelt replied by references to the Ice and Cotton Bale Trusts as connected with his opponents. The aid of some sarcastic expression was usually employed, the Governor saying that he must ask the Democrats "to write the essay on that subject," while Mr. Bryan fortified his assertions by a bulletin issued under the McKinley Administration, adding that, therefore, he know "it must be right."

To the mere calls for "cheers for Bryan," Governor Roosevelt would respond "Why?" and, as the disturber was seldom prepared to defend his position, the Governor had a free field to show why the cheers should *not* be given.

On one occasion Mr. Bryan effectively trapped a questioner. "How about the Cotton Bale Trust?" was asked; and the orator replied that the Trust alluded to controlled but five per cent. of the total output of cotton, while the Salt Trust controlled ninety-five per cent. of the product of salt. Then he demanded, suddenly, "Are you honest?" "Yes," replied the man. "Then you must be ignorant," said the candidate; "for no honest man would condemn a five per cent. Trust and defend a ninety-five per cent. Trust because it was Republican."

Mr. Bryan, however, was not so successful when he attempted to allay the rather violent interruption at Ann Arbor by the remark, "If I were an Imperialist, I should call out an army to suppress you." The confusion continued until the firm hand of the law was laid upon the principal offenders.

Governor Roosevelt lost patience at times, and during one of his meetings commented upon the ignorance of a questioner by saying, "If you really believe that, I don't wonder you cheer for Bryan or anything else."

But perhaps the most simple and effective quietus was put upon a turbulent auditor by Senator Depew. After one of the speaker's assertions, a man shrieked from the crowd: "You are a liar!" "I will answer you later," urbanely answered the Senator; and the audience cheered.

A welcome change from the usual character of the interruptions was made when some listener audibly supported the argument advanced. Thus the Governor of New York asked his audience "to contrast present conditions——" And a kindly supporter interjected, "with those of eight years ago." "Yes," rejoined the Governor; "but without ice," added another man. After acknowledging this final assistance the candidate was allowed to proceed alone.

Mere outbreaks of rowdyism such as Senator Depew experienced at Cobleskill need not be considered. Generally speaking, however, where in ordinary respectable meetings questions have been propounded to the orator, the answers made, if not fully responsive, were given in good temper and in effective language; and, appealing to the predominant thought or feeling, they satisfied the audience.

Should this tendency toward dialogue in place of monologue increase, the effective speaker must employ greater keenness and foresight with more rapid, concise, and direct expression than have been necessary hitherto. Whether a permanent modification of campaign oratory will result is a question yet to be solved.

In addition to what has been mentioned, many incidents external to the speechmaking have contributed to its setting an interesting and unique one. On the one hand, the speakers have been assailed with stones and other missiles, their car windows have been broken, and their improvised rostrums have collapsed. Thus serious injury menaced Senator Depew by the falling of a temporary speaker's stand, and Governor Roosevelt narrowly escaped the stones that entered the window of his car. In contrast, many displays of friendliness were amusing and unmistakable. New York's Chief Executive was not likely to doubt the significance of the placard which, as his train rushed past, displayed the sentiment, "*Teddy is O. K.*"; nor could he reasonably mistake the meaning of such a transparency as was held aloft by the Cornell students with the inscription, *"Vive le bon Teddy; a bas Bryan, dit l'ecole d'architecture."*

The first appearance of the orator was often set for seven in the morning, and Mr. Bryan was scheduled to make more than thirty addresses in one day. In a single week, Senator Depew spoke one hundred and ten times in forty-three counties, and was heard by one hundred and fifty thousand people; while the tours of Mr. Bryan and Governor Roosevelt were the most remarkable ever made. During eight weeks the latter candidate visited twenty-four States, made six hundred and seventy-three speeches in five hundred and sixty-seven towns, traveled twenty-one thousand two hundred and nine miles, and was heard by three millions of persons. This trip alone included more miles traveled and more speeches made than were represented by the campaign work of all the previous candidates for President and Vice-President during the last century, excepting only the labors of Mr. Bryan.

Such facts as these, together with the other characteristics of last year's speechmaking, force the conclusion that a new phase of political oratory has developed, and that, however one may regard its desirability, not since the days of the anti-slavery excitement have meetings attracted interest so wide-spread and audiences so vast. Far from the voice having lost its power as an instrument of instruction, one may well question if a new career for the orator has not just begun.

CLEVELAND FREDERICK BACON.

New York.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

IV. ADVANTAGES AND ABUSES OF SOUTHERN PENAL SYSTEMS.

THERE can be no doubt that Southern penal laws are unequally administered. In some instances this encourages crime, as where there is collusion between lawyers and magistrates. A negress asks a lawyer how much it will cost her to whip Laura Brown, against whom she has a grievance. He goes to the justice and arranges that the fine shall be $10. She is cautioned not to carry any weapons, or do any "cutting"; and if her grievance is equal to the sum named, she administers the whipping and is fined according to contract.

The office of justice is shunned by the better class of men, and few honest persons accept it. The salary is small, and the rule is: no conviction, no fee for either justice or jurors. This is a direct bribe for conviction. There is often small chance for appeal, as most negroes cannot secure the $100 bond required. Justices and constables are often in collusion. A constable will give a negro called a "striker" money to go out and play craps. He is informed when and where the striker will gather his crowd, and then swoops down upon them. The striker gets a dividend after the constable and justice have their share. When a man cannot pay his fine, he goes to the county farm or on the road gang, where he works out his fine at the rate of about thirty cents a day. In any case the county gains through his conviction, while in the North it is often the loser. In the rural districts there is not so much fraud. If a striker appears, or the justice comes down and fines a number of a planter's negroes during the busy season, they are reasonably certain to get horsewhipped for their untimely interest in justice. The planter has little respect for the justice. Negro justices are less fair than the whites, and they are often unwisely chosen. There are but few of them remaining.

The following incidents illustrate their methods. A negro was tried, and the jury brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

The justice said: "That doesn't suit me. I discharge the jury, set aside the verdict, and will retry the case." Some of the penalties were so severe for trifling offenses that the white officers have taken the convicted negroes outside and simply turned them loose. In the higher courts the criminal meets with more consideration, but even here there is haste in his trial and indifference in appointing his counsel. Penalties for the same offense are most inconsistent. It may be one year or ten. In some of the States there is no distinction between petit and grand larceny, and there may be seen a negro serving three years for stopping by a field to feed his mule some corn. His labor is worth at least $180 a year, so it is no hardship to the State to keep him. On the other hand, judges sometimes good humoredly dismiss cases in which a light penalty would serve as a good lesson.

Negroes are more numerous and of less value than white men, and are dealt with more summarily. A Southern officer put into humorous English what is really, though often unconsciously, the practise. He said: "If two white men quarrel and one *murders* the other, we imprison the culprit, and in due season pardon him; if a white man *kills* a negro, we let him off; if a negro murders a white man, we like as not lynch him; if a negro kills a negro we imprison him." As a matter of fact, in crimes concerning negroes alone the penalty is more often imprisonment than hanging. When white men are arrested for gambling they are fined or released, but if they are caught gambling with negroes they receive the full penalty of the law—"just for the indignity of the thing." In the administration of the law, both consciously and unconsciously there comes in this prejudice. This can be seen in the application of lynch law. Immediately succeeding the war, the negro was lynched for rape alone. Within the last six years nearly nine hundred persons have been lynched in the South. Among the causes are such crimes as rioting, incendiarism, robbery, larceny, stock-poisoning, and barn-stealing. Five women are included in this list. In Georgia a strenuous attempt was made to lynch a negro editor who had printed some scathing comments upon election frauds. Those who think the law fairly administered will have some difficulty in paralleling these facts among the whites. There is no excuse for the plea that the law will not take its course; for judges, jurors, and lawyers are almost exclusively white men and will mete out the proper proportion of that variable quantity called justice. This unequal administration of the law applies also between negro and white women. The criminal is first a negro and then a woman —in the whites' estimation. Their sympathy may be aroused, as when the woman is a mother, but rarely their chivalry. Some States have conditions superior to this; others are inferior.

The penal division consists of three correlated systems—State, county, and municipal, which work in closer harmony than in the North. The State system includes penitentiaries, convict farms, and camps; the county consists of jails, county farms, and road-gang camps, and the municipal embraces the city prisons and street gangs. Before comparing the individual States, let us see what features are common to them all. In the State systems they are as follows:

1. The emphasis is laid upon hard labor and punishment. All institutions and criminals must be self-supporting. Hard labor means actual work from sunrise to sunset, with only time out for meals. During July and August, in most States, two hours are allowed for the noon meal in outdoor work, but it is less than an hour for indoor work. Labor on the farms, carefully estimated and including the days out due to inclement weather, is slightly in excess of the hours for unskilled labor in the North. In mills and other industries the time is longer. Institutions are not only self-supporting, but are a source of revenue to the State. This revenue is not used to pay the cost of conviction and for the improvement of the convict's condition, but goes into the general State fund. This is an unwise use of it. Even in States where the revenues are large, so extreme is this desire for profit that I have known pardons to be delayed until after the busy season on the farm was over.

2. Total absence of reformatory measures. A superintendent

is valued, not for his enlightened administration, but for the dollars he turns in. In all institutions are found children ranging from eight to fourteen years of age. They eat, sleep, and work with the older criminals. The age of criminal intent seems to be less definite with reference to negroes, for in my investigations I saw no white children. The following facts show how detrimental such a condition is to the prevention of crime: In Mississippi there are 110 out of 913 criminals who are under 18 years of age; in Georgia, there were, in 1896, 234 under 18, in Virginia 76, and in North Carolina 60. From the latest reports obtainable I find in 5 States 530 convicts who are of an age when they would be in reformatories in the North. When the free social intercourse among convicts is remembered, it is seen how great is the opportunity of these juveniles for finishing their education in crime, gambling, bad habits, and immorality.

3. The States all have some form and degree of the convict-farm system. Some combine industries, but the more usual way is to lease the labor of the convicts. These constitute the convict camps. By the farm system is meant that the State owns or leases the land and works its own convicts.

4. Each State permits social intercourse among convicts. In some States there are certain restrictions, as silence at meals; but this is the exception rather than the rule. The absence of this in the North is the most marked characteristic of the system.

5. With the exception of North and South Carolina and Virginia (for the women), there is the congregate cell system. Usually there are from one to three large rooms, which accommodate the convicts at night. This is conducive to social intercourse.

6. Except in Virginia and North Carolina, there are no matrons, nor any female officers to protect the women convicts from immorality while in the camps and at work in the fields.

7. The discipline is whipping and solitary confinement. In South Carolina a thumb strap is occasionally used. Where the

convicts are disciplined by the State officers, the number of lashes rarely exceeds twenty-five. In lessee camps there are no such restrictions. These punishments are applied indiscriminately to both sexes. With the exception of Louisiana, criminals are guarded by armed attendants, and are tracked with dogs when they escape. Notwithstanding these measures the escapes are numerous. Under the lessee system they have reached 150 in one year. They now average 50 per year.

8. All the Southern States have passed through the lessee stage, and Mississippi alone has no form of hired labor of its convicts.

9. Most penal institutions are now controlled by regularly appointed boards. A few retain the commission system. Formerly railway commissions controlled the convicts, because their labor was upon railways. Florida's convicts are still under the charge of the commissioner of agriculture, as their labor is of that nature.

10. There are no systems of identification, and with a few exceptions the institution reports consist only of the names of the convicts, together with the deaths, escapes, pardons, and nature of the crime.

11. Almost all the States have good time laws, and Virginia has a parole system. These laws usually allow two months' time each on the first two years, three months upon the next two, and four months each in the succeeding years. This generally applies only to first offenders, and it is allowed only during good conduct. An attempt to escape causes forfeiture of all the good time earned. In North Carolina they have a commutation plan. The convict receives five days off every month for good behavior and has placed to his credit $1 for every ten days he secures. When he earns $5 in this way he is entitled to an additional five days of good time.

12. The food varies but little. It consists of pork, corn bread, rice, and molasses. Sometimes beef and coffee are allowed, and vegetables when obtainable. Where prisoners earn money for overtime work they are permitted to buy additional food and other luxuries.

The characteristic features of the county and municipal systems are as follows:

1. Bad sanitary and social conditions in the jails and city prisons. Innocent and guilty, young and old, are thrown together. There are no matrons.

2. The labor system, which, for the county, consists of a farm and chain-gangs who repair and construct roads. County farms are inferior to State farms. The sentences are short and there is little interest in the convicts. They have more unwholesome food, secure their own clothes, and work in more inclement weather. There is not the interest that the State has in their good health. In Alabama county convicts are leased to the mines under State supervision, and in Georgia one county leases to another. The municipal system of labor is street gangs, while the women work in public buildings. In a few instances they work on the streets and in quarries.

The following comparison of States includes: evolution of the present system, buildings, labor, discipline, food, clothes, rest and recreation, and reformatory influences. The position of women in these institutions is shown under each head:

1. *Systems.*—Mississippi has adopted the State farm system more completely than any other State. Before the civil war, the prison population was about 125, all whites. At that time manufactures were conducted within the prison. After the war the negroes began coming in, and in the reconstruction period of the State the convicts were turned over to a lessee. He had full control of them, and was given a bonus of $20,000 to relieve the State of their care. Most of them worked upon farms. Later they were leased for a revenue. They were often sublet to planters and railway companies. They were not under the slightest control of the State and could be overworked, lost, or killed. In 1888 the evils were so great that an investigation was held, and in 1890 the abolition of the system was decreed, to take effect in 1894. The State now owns three farms, but also works its convicts upon other farms, which it has leased. This is undesirable, and they will be consolidated upon one farm of about 12,000 acres. Upon

this farm plan, the revenue to the State varies from $30,000 to $100,000 a year. The method of control is through a State board and the warden is the chief executive officer.

Louisiana presents a marked contrast. The lessee system is in full operation, although it has been abolished by the constitutional convention. The new law goes into effect in 1901, when the present lease expires. The revenue under this lease is $50,000 a year, regardless of the number of convicts. Louisiana began her State system in 1834 by erecting a penitentiary. Manufactures were conducted here. After the war the lessee system began, first within the walls, and finally leasing the men outside. They were leased to numerous parties and in many enterprises. The practise is now to lease them to one contractor. Louisiana is the only Southern State, excepting Florida, that has a complete lessee system. The penitentiary is still retained, and here the sick are cared for and the white women remain. The new plan contemplates working the strongest convicts upon levees, an inferior class upon farms, and the infirm will be kept at the walls, as now. There is a board of control, and a State warden who inspects the camps; but the food, clothing, management, etc., are under the lessee's control.

Alabama combines both the farm and lease systems. Of all Southern States, Alabama has passed through the most difficulties. Prior to 1866, the convicts were kept within the walls, and worked at manufactures. After the war they were leased, but as there were no State inspectors the abuses were many. In 1872 a farm was bought and stocked and an attempt made to work it. This was a failure, and in 1875 the lease system was revived. It is only with the present excellent management that serious abuses have been abolished. Alabama has had numerous investigations into alleged cruelties. Barbarous punishments, as shower baths, crucifix, yoke and buck, and by water, have been practised up to within a short time ago. In this last penalty, a man is strapped on his back and water poured slowly upon the upper lip. It quite effectually stops breathing and is very dangerous. These conditions led to the appointment of a board of inspectors in 1885. They now have quite complete supervision and there are State representatives in every convict camp. In 1890 the State provided farms. There are now two such farms, and upon one is located a large cotton mill, in which the women and children are employed. The remainder of the convicts are leased in the mines and saw mills. The farm in Alabama is not designed to solve the problem, as in Mississippi, but was made necessary by the large number of broken-down men from the various camps who would be useless unless lighter outdoor work were found. The farm is the recruiting place for the men from the different camps.

Georgia is the last State to abolish the lease system. As early as 1817 she established a penitentiary where the whites were worked. Manufacturing on State account was the method. The lessee system was in force from 1868 to 1897. The full control and custody of the convicts were with the lessees. More comments have been made upon Georgia's barbarous system than upon that of any other Southern State, and from its history this would seem justified. In no States are there evidences of such brutality to women, for women were leased out in the same way as the men and at the same occupations. As in Alabama, there is now a State farm, where women, children, and infirm men are worked. Georgia still has a "contract" system, which involves some of the old abuses of the lessee system. The lessors are usually owners of mines, lumber camps, brickyards, etc. There is now a prison commission and a warden who visits the various camps.

Florida's system is similar to that of Louisiana, but in some respects is less favorable. The convicts are leased out in fourteen different camps and have only one inspector. The women are leased in twos and threes in various camps, instead of being confined together in one. Turpentine mills and phosphate mines are the industries. The control of the convicts is vested in the commissioner of agriculture.

South Carolina's system resembles the Northern systems more than those of the other States. She thus far has the only penitentiary building not used solely for a hospital. She has passed through all the evils of the lessee system and now combines farming and manufacturing. The farms are for the same purpose as those in Alabama and Georgia. Most of the convicts are employed in a large cotton mill. Their labor only is contracted for, the State retaining complete control of them. The management of the convicts is vested in a board and the warden is the chief executive officer.

North Carolina maintains a large penitentiary, conducts manufactures, operates three farms, and leases some convicts. It includes every phase of the Southern methods. The lease system has been gradually abolished, for the same reasons as in other States: it is more profitable to the State to work its own convicts, and they are more humanely treated. The women and less able men are kept within the walls, while the boys and other convicts are on the farms. North Carolina is the only State that still leases or hires convicts to railway companies. There have been few fierce conflicts in this State; it has been a gradual change from the lessee system. In outward form the penitentiary resembles Northern institutions, but its management and discipline are upon a much different basis and are somewhat lax.

With reference to Virginia almost nothing need be said. Her system dates back to the days when mutilation was a common penalty. The white criminals were first confined in the county prisons. She has the oldest prison building, modeled after Thomas Jefferson's ideas. The lease system existed in this State also. Its present method consists of farming and manufactures, which are conducted upon the contract plan, the institution retaining control of the convicts. The main industry is the manufacture of shoes. Virginia combines some of the evils of the old system with the more advanced practises, and presents incongruities that show that tradition and progress are still at war.

It will be seen that all the Southern States have had the lease system, and that all but Florida have abolished it. The State farm is popular, but the States seeking large revenues still cling to some form of the contract system. It will be seen also that the freeing of the slaves was the cause of the establishment of the lease system, and only the growing away from the slavery ideas is making the more humane changes possible.

FRANCES A. KELLOR.

The University of Chicago.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

ERNEST H. CROSBY

EMBODYING PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF

COUNT TOLSTOY AS PHILOSOPHER, PROPHET, AND MAN.

Q. Mr. Crosby, as one of the American pilgrims who have journeyed thousands of miles to far-away Russia in order to see the great apostle of renunciation, and as a student of his works, you are, I think, among the best qualified of our countrymen to speak of Count Tolstoy and intelligently interpret his social and religious views. Hence, I hope you will tell us something of the man and his theories. What were your impressions of Count Tolstoy? We always like to know whether the prophet who bids us seek the heights has himself journeyed along the steep, rugged, and brier-strewn pathway; whether he is consistent; whether he is a doer as well as a teacher of the higher law. Of course, we know that the illustrious author and philosopher has made what the world considers a great sacrifice, but beyond this is he, in his daily life, in his home, and among his humble neighbors, all that we have pictured him from his writings?

A. Count Tolstoy has often been charged with being inconsistent, and I do not suppose that he would claim that he is consistent; but from my own observation when I visited him at his home at Yasnaia Poliana I should say that he is one of the most consistent men in the world. To abolish at once all the distinctions which centuries of rank, privilege, wealth, and education have made between a man and his neighbors was an undertaking of no small difficulty, especially when his family only agree with him in part. Tolstoy's food and raiment are as simple and inexpensive as those of the peasants around him. He does all the cleaning, sweeping, and chamberwork connected with his own room and person. As far as he can, he has banished all luxury from his house. When I was there, there was not even a rug or carpet on any floor that I saw. With the exception of a few family portraits, a piano and a guitar, and some shelves of books, there was nothing visible in the house except necessaries. The service at table was simpler than in many an American poor man's house. He was not well during my visit of two days, and I did not see him engaged in manual labor; but it is well known that he does as much of it as his age and health permit. He told me that he preferred plowing to any other manual work. Like the peasants, he was accustomed to lead a horse with a harrow, while plowing with a one-horse plow. A pair of boots made by the Count are exhibited at the Museum at Moscow. They are doubtless better adapted to a museum than to the human foot, but they show the earnestness of his endeavors to cope with the disadvantages of his education as a man without hands or muscles.

The question of consistency recalls Count Tolstoy's advice to me on that subject. "Speak out what you think," he said, "and you will be furnishing weapons against yourself." It is certainly true that criticisms of inconsistency have the effect of making a man redouble his efforts to be consistent.

I think I have said enough to show that Tolstoy approaches so near to absolute consistency that no American would be likely to find fault with him on that score. But this is not true of the Russians. They are, I think, the most logical people in the world. Persuade a Russian that autocracy is a bad thing, and the chances are that he will at once begin to manufacture bombs for the Czar. Convince him that private wealth is wrong, and in half an hour you may find him on the street-corner with his pockets turned inside out, distributing his money to the poor. We Americans are not built upon that plan. We sometimes get new ideas too, and more or less revolutionary ones at that, but in our prudence we usually think them over for thirty, forty, or fifty years, as the case may be, and death at last relieves us from responsibility. You may remember the story of the Irishman and the parrot. He heard that parrots lived to be two hundred years old; so he bought a young one to see if it was true. Our ideas usually survive us, like the parrot, and we never put them to the test. There are advantages on both sides, in the Russian and in the American system. The American is less likely to go off at half-cock, and the Russian is more likely to make valuable contributions to practical ethics.

In judging Count Tolstoy's consistency we must also remember that he is a non-resistant. So far as he can persuade his wife and children to do away with superfluities, he has his way; but when Madame Tolstoy puts her foot down his very principles require him to yield. This undoubtedly accounts for the piano and the guitar. I have sometimes thought that it would be a good plan to have one of the parties a non-resistant in all marriages. As far as my observation goes, it would usually be the husband.

But on one point Count Tolstoy is very strong. No inconsistency on the part of any man, no apparent inability to live up to his ideals, should induce him to modify those ideals or weaken his principles an iota. Opportunism, compromise,—even if they find their way into your life,—must leave your principles intact. He gives as an illustration the case of the straight line. No one has ever drawn a straight line. It does not exist in Nature; yet I must not for this reason alter by a hair's breadth my idea of a straight line. It is true that I shall always draw crooked lines; yet by sticking to my ideal I may approximate the standard more and more. But if in despair I make a crooked line my ideal, there is no hope for me.

The question of consistency is in the last resort one of sincerity, and no one can see Count Tolstoy, as I have seen him, without being convinced of that. The whole man is in his frank, serious, kindly face. Although he is dressed like a peasant there is not the least suggestion of pose or self-consciousness in his appearance. He never thinks of the gallery. Victor Hugo had many of the ideas of Tolstoy. He rebelled against the distinctions of rich and poor, of governed and governing. He showed his deep sympathy for the poor by directing that he should be buried in a pauper's coffin, and as a matter of fact his body was placed in one while it lay in state in the midst of mourning thousands. But Hugo knew that he could not have dressed as a peasant during his life without becoming hopelessly theatrical. He lacked the simplicity, the single-mindedness, which, in Tolstoy's case, convinces all who see him that he dresses and lives as he does because he cannot do otherwise. His inmost being has revolted against the injustice of the whole gentility business, and he must show it in his life or die of repression.

Q. In sacrificing the beauty of his home and insisting on living the rigidly plain and prosaic life of his rustic neighbors, do you think he is accomplishing as much good as he might do if he had retained more of beauty and culture in his home surroundings and sought to enrich and beautify the homes of the peasants and bring into their barren lives something of the joy that comes from an appreciation of the beautiful? I may be wrong, but it seems to me that the Count laid too little stress on the refining, exalting, and ennobling influence of beauty. Stern duty, in her simple and austere mien, appears to have filled his mental horizon. His splendid imagination has in a way been starved, it seems to me. There is a moral grandeur and heroism in this noble apostle of the higher life which calls for the tribute of every high-thinking man and woman, but in spite of this it seems to me that the Count has fatally overlooked the fundamental demand of life: he has not considered the lily, with all that that implies; and, strangely enough, with all his natural wealth of imagination he has failed to learn the lesson that the Creator has striven to impress on the minds of the simplest of his children. Everywhere Nature spells out the word *Beauty,* that the imagination of man may be satisfied and that he may learn the lesson taught by a million tongues. To me it seems that he who seeks to divorce beauty from utility seeks to separate what God has joined together. Now, is it not true that Count Tolstoy has in a way repeated the fatal error of the cloister of the Middle Ages and the brutal warfare that Puritanism later waged against the beautiful? He has conceived it his duty to serve his fellow-men. Well and good. He believes it his duty to go to the poor and be as one of them. Well and good, if it is to enrich their hard and prosaic existence, giving them an ampler life, richer in all that enriches being. The spirit of altruistic service, the overmastering desire to aid the poor, as manifested by the great Nazarene, calls for the tribute of our love and admiration; but at the same time I deplore his failure to see that with his rich imagination and strong sense of beauty he might, but for mistaking a partial appearance for the whole truth, have enriched a hundredfold the lives of those about him and inaugurated a movement destined to grow rapidly. Yet here I may be mistaken; but you who have communed with him, and who know the conditions of life environing him, can better judge than I.

A. I think there is much force in your criticism. Tolstoy is a great artist, but his revulsion of feeling against the society in which he lived so long has made him suspicious of its art. The art of the day is preoccupied, he says, with three insignificant and worn-out feelings—pride, sexual desire, and weariness of life. He wants a new art built on something higher. "Art is a human activity," he tells us, "consisting in this—that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings and also experience them." "It is a means of union among men, joining them together in the same feelings." If we accept these principles, and to me they seem manifestly true, we can understand how Tolstoy has come to protest against a dilettante art, produced for a small and pampered portion of the community and tending to separate men into classes rather than to unite them. In a new and brotherly world Tolstoy expects a new and real art to arise, of which indeed he is the forerunner, crying in the wilderness, *Make straight the way of the Lord!* Meanwhile he is ready to dispense with the half-art that we have. It is another exhibition of relentless Russian logic, which leaves us unconvinced although we accept its premises. There are pretty things in life, and it is better to have them around us than ugly things; and, while it is quite true that our education has vitiated our taste, we must make the best use we can of such taste as has survived in us. To beautify our lives, where we can do it even in mere externals (without dealing unjustly with any one), is clearly a duty; and it does seem to me that Tolstoy has failed to see this. He virtually admits the claims of beauty, at least in one passage: "The subject-matter of all kinds of ornamentation consists not in the beauty, but in the feeling (of admiration of, and delight in, the combination of lines and colors) which the artist has experienced and with which he infects the spectator. Among these feelings is the *feeling of delight at what pleases the sight.*" Beauty, then, is a unifier too, and as such a proper element of art.

In considering this matter of art we must remember that Tolstoy is not an "all-round man" by any means, but a prophet; and a prophet must in the nature of things be one-sided—he must lay the emphasis in one direction. It is notable that Jesus showed little interest in external art. He was an artist in literature. (Was there ever anything written more artistic than the first part of the parable of the Prodigal Son?) But when his disciples called his attention to the wonders of the temple architecture, he had no eye for them. Although his father was a carpenter, and he may have worked at the trade himself, yet he never dwells on form. His life work lay in another direction. Tolstoy has not been able to divest himself of his literary art; it was too deeply bound up with his nature. His "Resurrection" shows it in all its original splendor, and Sir Henry Irving recently said that one of his two dramas was the strongest play of recent times. But he has turned his back on the plastic arts, feeling that a divided world cannot do justice to them. If Tolstoy and William Morris could have been united in one man, we should have had an all-round man indeed. While Tolstoy has shortcomings on the external side, Morris has them on the spiritual. But would a man so balanced have been such a force in the world as either of these incomparable men? I doubt it.

Q. Do you think that the views of Count Tolstoy are having as much effect on thinking Russia as upon scholars throughout western Europe and the New World, and that he is producing a lasting impression upon the peasants around him; or do they reflect in a large measure the narrow bigotry and prejudice of the priesthood and regard him as an atheist who, though he may have a kind heart, is nevertheless to be regarded with suspicion and whose teachings are to be shunned as imperiling the soul?

A. I have no means of knowing how great the influence of Count Tolstoy is in Russia. I know of individual instances of noblemen who have followed his example and devoted their lives to their fellows. One noteworthy example is that of Vladimir Tchertkoff—formerly an officer in the imperial guards at St. Petersburg and a personal friend of the late Czar, with whom he used to play lawn tennis—who has been exiled on account of his democratic and humanitarian activities, and lives in England, where he conducts the "Free Age Press," which prints cheap editions of Tolstoy's ethical writings in both English and Russian. I met Mr. Tchertkoff last summer in London—a thorough-going aristocrat in appearance, despite his flannel shirt. It was odd to think that not so many years ago he was attached to the Embassy there and on intimate terms with the great people of London society. It stands to reason that a genuine Russian like Tolstoy must have more influence in his own country than abroad. There is something distinctively Russian in his thought and it appeals to the Russian mind.

As for the peasants, it is not easy to get at them. They cannot read, and depend upon rumor for most of their knowledge. In his own village of Yasnaia Poliana they are devoted to him, and I was told that this village was far superior to the general run; but, as it was the only one I examined, I could not judge for myself. When the peasants do think, they think independently in the line of Count Tolstoy's thought. Indeed, he claims to have learned the truth from them. Russia is honey-combed with peasant sects, more or less inclined to non-resistance and fraternal principles. The Doukhobors, of whom we all have heard so much, are a conspicuous example of this. Nine thousand of them are now settled in Northwestern Canada, largely through Count Tolstoy's efforts, having emigrated to avoid military service, which offends their consciences. Tolstoy has written many tracts and moral tales for the peasants, and they have a wide circulation. We may be sure that they have an extended influence, following as they do the natural bent of the people.

Q. In his purely religious views, what are his conceptions, as you understand them, of Deity, of the future of the soul, and those questions over which churches have warred and great religious bodies have chiefly concerned themselves?

A. Tolstoy's religious ideas have not been at a standstill. It is easy to quote his books for almost any assertion on this subject, but the fact is easily explained when we consider the regular development of his views from the beginning. He was, until he reached the age of fifty, an agnostic if not an atheist. The faith that has grown in him since has been altogether the work of his own experience. The only use he has made of the experience of others has been in inducing similar experiences in himself, and even this he has not done deliberately, but naturally in the search for the truth. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine." Tolstoy has found this statement to be true. In the experience of love to God and men, he has become conscious of possessing an immortal soul. He told me, when I asked him, that all true life was immortal. He answers the question specifically in a recent leaflet:* "As to the question about what awaits us after death, I would answer by the conjecture that the will of Him who called us into this life for our welfare leads us somewhere through death—probably for the same purpose."

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* Free Age Press Leaflets, No. 4. These publications may be obtained of the "Straight Edge," 240 Sixth avenue, New York City.

But it is in the apprehension of God that Tolstoy has gained most from experience. I remember that I was delighted with his book on "Life" because it never mentions God and did not postulate what seemed to me an assumption as the best of its reasoning. As the result of reading that book I concluded that love for one's neighbor was the basis of religion, and I told Tolstoy so when I met him. "Not at all," said he. "Love for God comes first. Why should you love your neighbor, if you do not first love God?" I told him that I thought I did love my neighbor first, but he would not believe it: "No, you don't understand your own sensations." This conviction has grown upon Tolstoy until he has become, what Spinoza was said to be, a "God-intoxicated" man. His recently published "Thoughts on God"* shows a realization of the presence of God as striking as is to be found in the Psalms. I give here a few passages:

"Somehow, while praying to God, it became clear to me that God is indeed a real Being, Love; is that All which I just touch and which I experience in the form of love. And this is not a feeling, not an abstraction, but a real Being; and I have felt Him.

"All that I know, I know because there is a God, and because I know Him. Only upon this can one firmly base one's relations with other men and with one's self, as well as with life outside space and time.

"He is the origin of my spiritual self—the external world is only my limit.

"I found Him as it were afresh. And I was filled with such joy, and such a firm assurance did I gain of Him, and of the possibility and duty of communion with Him, and of His hearing me, and my joy grew so great that all these last days I have been experiencing the feeling that something very good has come to me, and I keep asking myself: 'Why do I feel so happy? Yes! God! There *is* a God, and I need be neither anxious nor afraid, but can only rejoice.' . . Perhaps this is what some call the 'living God.'

"There is not one believing man to whom moments of doubt do not come—doubt in the existence of God. And these doubts are not harmful; on the contrary, they lead to a higher understanding of God. That God whom one knew has become familiar, and one no more believes in Him. We entirely believe in God only when He discloses Himself afresh to us. And He discloses Himself to us from a new side when we seek Him with all our soul."

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* Free Age Press. These "Thoughts" are also included in the very interesting volume of Tolstoy's "Essays, Letters, and Miscellanies," just issued by the Crowells.

"I too for long did not name Thee. . . But Lord I named Thee, and my sufferings ceased. My despair has passed. . . I feel Thy nearness, feel Thy help when I walk in Thy ways, and Thy pardon when I stray from Thee. . . Lord, pardon the errors of my youth, and help me to bear Thy yoke as cheerfully as I accept it."

Q. What would you say were the focusing points of his social theories, or upon what chief foundation truths does his philosophy of life in its larger relations rest?

A. Tolstoy's great discovery and central theory is the old, old truth that *love* is the natural spiritual energy of man, and that all circumstances, laws, and institutions must bend before this prime function of his soul. In short, he takes Christianity at its word, not because "it is written" but because he has found its truth attested in his deepest experience. All of his apparent eccentricities become intelligible, or even necessary, when we trace them back to this paramount obligation of loving. While he is not a constructive philosopher, his spirit must underlie any sound piece of construction. "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Tolstoy's great importance in the bringing in of a new day is his dramatic value. Himself a great dramatist, he has always seen things dramatically, and he has at last become a dramatic representation of the need of the age. Scenes, pictures, and events have always impressed him more than arguments and books. The freezing of his coachman at Kazan, while he was dancing at a ball, first called his attention to the grievances of the working classes. An execution by guillotine, which he attended at Paris, first shook his faith in government. It was his own experience in the Crimean war that revealed the horrors of wholesale murder to him. The contrast between himself and a peasant, as they both dropped a coin in a beggar's hat, opened his eyes to the defects of a rich man's charity. His dramatic instinct made him a great novelist and dramatist, and made him understand the Gospels as few men have understood them. As he explains them you see the events as if they occurred in the streets to-day, and you comprehend why the Pharisees speak thus and the disciples answer so. And now unwittingly, but by an unerring instinct, he has become himself the protagonist in a great drama. Like the Roman knight he has plunged into the abyss yawning between class and class, and in his own person is endeavoring to realize the reconciliation of a world divided against itself. Tolstoy has written many great works, but the greatest is his simple, pathetic, inevitable life. If he could have helped it, we might criticize his rôle; but it has been as much the work of destiny as Mont Blanc or the Atlantic.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

The recent death of Queen Victoria closes a long reign, which will ever be known as one of the most memorable in the history of England. While it is true that the splendid progress made by the British nation in the direction of democracy was not the work of the Queen, it is equally true that a reactionary monarch, like George III., for example, would have obstructed progress, even had he not precipitated a revolution. Victoria possessed little of the tyrant in her nature. She understood the temper of the age, and had the good judgment to allow the great statesman who voiced the public sentiments of the hour to remain unfettered in shaping the policy of the government.

It was fortunate for England that the young Queen was long under the influence of Lord Melbourne, who, though neither a great statesman nor a radical reformer, was a temperate liberal, measurably *en rapport* with the new spirit of the time. The early years of the reign were marked by turbulent unrest, general discontent, and terrible suffering among the poor. Had the Queen displayed an arbitrary or despotic spirit, or even favored reactionary measures, it is highly probable that England would have been the theater of war, from which, owing to the unorganized character of the discontented groups, a despotism would likely have arisen with the reactionary spirit in the ascendency, as was the case in Germany after the revolutionary outbreak in 1848. The Queen, however, wisely elected to be a constitutional sovereign and to favor that wider measure of freedom that alone renders the unrestricted march of mind possible. Hence, under her government, England has made greater political and economic advances than during any other period of history. To appreciate this fact we have only to call to mind a few of the progressive steps that have marked the last sixty-three years. Thus, for example, the brilliant and statesman-like solution of the colonial problem accomplished chiefly by Lord Durham in Canada, which solved one of the gravest problems facing the Empire by giving the colonies home rule and virtual independence, yet holding them as members of one great family; the revolution of the postal service accomplished by Roland Hill during the earlier years of Victoria's reign—one of the greatest reforms of the nineteenth century, whose beneficent influence has been world-wide in extent; the repeal of the corn laws, which had oppressed the masses for four hundred years; the establishment of free trade; the passage of the income tax; the enlarging of the franchises until manhood suffrage has been virtually established in England; postal savings banks; governmental ownership of the telegraph; voting by ballot, and other electoral reforms; the steady growth in popular favor of municipal ownership and other rational socialistic measures.

The relation of the home government to Canada, Australasia, and the British colonies in South Africa has as a rule been marked by wisdom and enlightenment, as the general policy formulated by Lord Durham has been generally adhered to. On the other hand, the treatment of Ireland has been far from satisfactory, and the action of the government in her treatment of alien races and weaker neighbors with whom she has come in conflict has been far from what humanity had a right to expect from a nation that aspires to be a leader of civilization.

The intellectual development of the period far surpasses that of any other reign. Not even the Golden Age of Elizabeth, made forever illustrious by Shakespeare, Bacon, and a coterie of poets and philosophers who have won a permanent place in English literature, can compare with the advance of the Victorian age—a fact apparent when we survey the intellectual progress of the last reign. In the domain of science and philosophy this age stands alone in its splendid preëminence, with Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Sir Charles Lyell, Alfred Russell Wallace, John Tyndall, Thomas Huxley, and Richard Proctor as prominent representatives of the greatest philosophic and scientific revolution and advanced movement known to history.

Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson stand as representatives of the profound and the popular in poetry. Charles Dickens, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Lytton, and George Eliot have made the Victorian era memorable by their fiction, while Carlyle and Ruskin among essayists, and Macaulay, Froude, and Carlyle among philosophic historians are but a few names justly representative of the most brilliant era in the intellectual history of England.

The cause of ethical advance was marked by a growing spirit of toleration, especially shown in the treatment of the Jews and the Roman Catholics; while the personal character of the Queen, standing as it did in such bold and beautiful contrast with that of most of England's sovereigns, contributed in no small degree to the cause of morality throughout the nation.

In future years, when reviewing Queen Victoria's reign, it is probable that progressive historians will point with sadness to her failure to rise to the heights demanded by justice and civilization at two great crucial moments in English history. If after Gladstone had succeeded in carrying the Home Rule bill through the House of Commons, the Queen had bravely seconded her most illustrious prime minister and had signified to the peers her desire that the bill should pass, in the same way that William IV. indicated his desire in regard to the Reform bill of 1832, there can be but little doubt that the great measure would have become a law, and her reign would have been lighted up by one of those simple and noble acts of justice which add much to the true grandeur and the real strength of nations, and which in a way forward the cause of enduring civilization. And if when the Transvaal trouble arose the Queen had insisted upon England taking the broad position of leader in the procession of peaceful progress, and thus giving far more than a perfunctory emphasis to England's position as a member of the Peace Congress, by insisting that the grievances with the South African republics should be settled by arbitration, she would have won a splendid preëminence among the sovereigns of the nineteenth century, and have become worthy of the title of noblest of monarchical rulers. These great opportunities, however, were allowed to pass unimproved, and her failure in regard to the Transvaal doubtless hastened her death.

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SOCIALISM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

I. A NEW SOCIAL CRUSADE IN THE UNITED STATES.

The plan recently announced in the daily press for the establishment of a free university, under the direction of Professor Herron, in which enlightened and Christian social ideals could be taught by conscientious and able teachers, without their being deprived of their places and livelihood through the influence of predatory wealth, has, we believe, been abandoned. This is probably largely owing to the decision of Prof. Herron to dedicate his life to the furtherance of a "social apostolate" organized by himself and several other earnest young clergymen, who under the banner "Back to Jesus" have consecrated their lives to the cause of human brotherhood. The movement inaugurated by Professor Herron was foreshadowed half a century ago in the noble work of Canon Charles Kingsley and Frederick D. Maurice, while the John the Baptist of the present movement may be said to have been the great Italian patriot, reformer, and philosopher, Joseph Mazzini.

This group of leaders may be termed radical socialists in contradistinction to the moderate social reformers who are seeking economic emancipation by the step-by-step method. Their position also differs radically from the great majority of the socialists of continental Europe, in that while the latter incline to materialism, or at least are in open hostility to the Church, Professor Herron and his co-workers insist upon taking the spirit, teachings, and life of Jesus as their guide and example—"What would Jesus do?" being the key-note of their social evangel, which has inscribed on its banner this positive declaration: "The right of the humblest human soul to the resources and liberty needful for living a complete and unfearing life is infinitely more sacred than the whole fabric and machinery of civilization."

II. Why European Socialists have Opposed Christianity.

It is often asked why it is that European socialism is so actively opposed to the Church, when the central aim of the reformers is the actualization of the noblest dream of the ages—that of freedom, fraternity, and equality, or the happiness, comfort, and growth of the children of men through simple justice. It is frequently pointed out that the essence of Jesus's ethical teaching is in perfect accord with the ideal of justice for which socialism contends. The explanation of this indifference to religion and hostility to organized Christianity, though due in part to the materialistic reaction which marked the rise of the evolutionary theory and which was coincident with the rise of socialism on the Continent, is chiefly found, I think, in the action of the dominant church of the various European nations, which has as a rule systematically and vigorously opposed the republican aspirations of the people and upheld the reigning despotism. This position has doubtless been due to the union of Church and State, together with the natural tendency of strong, rich, and conservative bodies to uphold the existing order in a conflict with new theories of human rights.

Thus, unhappily for both religion and social advance, the Church as a rule has taken the side of Cæsar in the struggle for freedom and justice, and the leading humanitarian philosophers and economic reformers, when not skeptics themselves, have been virtually forced to take sides against the Church in which they have been reared, because they were impelled by what they conceived to be the demand of God to serve loyally the cause of human brotherhood, rather than declare allegiance to the religion that aggressively opposed what was to them manifestly the cause of justice; and naturally the more independent among the masses gravitated toward the apostles of human rights, whose teachings were so much more in accord with those of the great Nazarene than with the doctrines of the dominant churches. This fact is strikingly illustrated in the case of the Italian patriot Mazzini, who was passionately loved by hundreds of thousands of Roman Catholics, not only in Italy but throughout Europe, notwithstanding his bold opposition to the action of the Pope.

III. MAZZINI'S INFLUENCE FOR PROGRESS.

Mazzini was probably the truest embodiment of the Christ spirit of his time, and for that reason his life continues to be an inspiration to liberty-loving souls the world over, while his teachings were never so potential for good as to-day; but the great Italian differed radically from many economic reformers of his time. He was too great a philosopher to allow the false position of the Church to draw him to intemperate extremes or to blind him to the fact that permanent progress and enduring civilization require the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the moral nature in the life of man and the nation. He realized more clearly than did any other social philosopher of his time that *"The chief evil of the day is the fact that the intellect has far outstripped morality in its advance."*

IV. The Fatal Mistake of European Socialism.

Unfortunately for socialism, its chief exponents on the continent of Europe failed to discriminate between the life and teachings of Jesus and the primitive Church and the dogmas of organized Christianity after it had become rich, powerful, ambitious, and arrogant, drawing sustenance from the State and touched by lust for worldly dominion and greed for temporal gain. They therefore too often looked upon religion with hostile eyes, while many of them came to regard man's spiritual nature as a sentimental and unreal figment of the imagination. Accordingly, they made their appeal to the intellect rather than to the conscience or the moral side of life. Instead of addressing at once the heart and mind of the age and emphasizing the supremacy of the spiritual, insisting with Mazzini that "life is a mission" and that the law of duty must reign supreme in the soul, and with Victor Hugo that "to love is to have justice, truth, reason, devotion, probity, sincerity, common sense, right, and duty welded to the heart"—in a word, that "life is conscience," they pitched the key-note of their gospel upon the materialistic plane and appealed to the physical and intellectual sides of life in such a way as to leave the spiritual nature in the background. The moral enthusiasm that makes a great advance movement irresistible can only be present when the ethical varieties are uppermost, when the recognition of man as a spiritual being dominates the imagination of the people and draws to the cause the most profoundly religious natures of the age. Hence, it seems to me that European socialism has made a fatal mistake in ignoring the great fundamental spiritual verities which, if incorporated in their propaganda, would make the movement irresistible. They have concerned themselves too exclusively with the bread-and-butter side of the problem, and have thereby failed to realize the fundamental truth that liberty, freedom, growth, and happiness can only come when "the egoism of intellect" is replaced in the mind by the religion of duty.

No social theory has ever been promulgated that demands more imperatively than socialism, as an essential to its proving a blessing, that the moral verities be ever kept uppermost in society. Socialism can be made the handmaid of civilization and progress only on the condition that the spirit of freedom, reverence for justice, and the loving concern for the rights and opinions of others that is comprehended in the Golden Rule be at all times recognized as a fundamental and inalienable right to be preserved at all times and at all hazards. Without the ascendency of altruism over selfishness and the presence of the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount running through the web and woof of life, socialism might easily degenerate into an intolerable but wellnigh all-powerful bureaucratic despotism, whose baleful influence would first be seen in the suppression of free thought. On the other hand, if socialism is carried forward on the plane of man's higher nature, it can be made the servant of freedom and progress, developing all of the best in human life. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that no great reform movement can be carried forward to a peaceful and permanent victory or can successfully combat the sordid side of life that is not dominated by spiritual or moral enthusiasm.

V. ETHICAL IDEALS DOMINATE SOCIAL LEADERS IN AMERICA.

The social-advance movement in America has been largely permeated with a deeply religious spirit. The great majority of its exponents have been men after the type of Canon Kingsley and Frederick D. Maurice. They have in many instances sacrificed lucrative positions that they might be true to the spirit of the teaching of the great Nazarene. They have reflected in a large way the ideal held up by Mazzini in his last published utterance, written in 1872, in which he said:

> "Let us remain republicans and apostles of our faith, for the people and with the people; reverencing genius, but on condition that, like the sun, it diffuses its light, life, and warmth upon the multitudes. Truth is the shadow of God on the earth, and he who seeks to monopolize it to himself is an assassin of the soul—even as he who hears the cry of an agony he might relieve, yet passes on, is an assassin of the body. Intellect, like every other faculty given by God, is given for the benefit of all; a double duty toward his brother-men devolves upon him who has more than the rest. Our life should be an incessant apostolate—in word, in deed, and in example—of that which we believe to be the truth. He who sets bounds to that apostolate denies the unity of God and of the human family; he who despairs of the intellect of the people denies history, which shows us the unlearned ever the first to seize and comprehend, through the heart's logic, the newest and most daring truths of religion."

The socialistic propaganda in America will, we believe, become more and more an appeal to the spiritual side of man's nature. If such is the case it will grow with great rapidity in spite of all opposition until it has become the religion of millions of consecrated lives. Once let the Golden Rule burn brightly as a deathless torch on the altar of the human heart, and let the Sermon on the Mount mean something more than idle words to the Church—once let the life of the great Nazarene take hold in a compelling way upon the conscience of society—and predatory wealth, creedalism, and conservatism will be powerless to stay the onsweeping wave of social righteousness that shall mark the awakened conscience of the New World.

* * *

OBJECT-LESSONS IN MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OFFERED BY TWO AMERICAN CITIES.

The experience of the city of Detroit in municipal electric lighting should prove interesting to citizens of all American municipalities. According to the last municipal report, the quality of service is greatly improved under city ownership. Thus, for example, under private ownership during the year 1893-4 the lamp arcs reported by the police as out equaled 86,426, while the greatest number of arcs reported out during any year since the city owned the plant was 7,405. This great improvement in service has also been accompanied by a marked decrease in cost, as will be seen from the fact that the lowest offer made by a private company was $102.20 per arc. The cost under municipal ownership, including interest and a liberal allowance for depreciation, was $75.56, or a clear saving of $26.24 per arc.

Duluth, Minn., is another American city that is proving the practical value of municipal ownership. After a year of ownership of the gas and water works the city is able to report, first, reduction in charges, and, second, a net profit of over $15,000. The experiment has led the city to vote bonds for a municipal electric-light plant.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The success of municipal ownership in England has been so gratifying that it is rapidly gaining favor throughout the Island. Towns that tentatively and timidly began the experiment are now extending municipal operations in directions that, were they seriously proposed in this country, would call forth the most direful predictions from the great dailies in America. The following, from Dr. Bliss's *Social Unity,* will give our readers some idea of what Great Britain is doing in this direction:

> "The parliamentary report on municipal trading reports 339 municipalities engaged in corporate industry, involving a capital of $500,000,000. These industries, besides street-cars, gas, etc., include lodging-houses, wash-houses, garbage plants, insurance, bazaars, shops, saloons, and nurseries. The net profit on gas works alone is put at $2,000,000. All this shows that socialism is utterly impracticable. Municipalists in Birmingham and elsewhere are beginning to argue that Town Councils should build model homes, not in the cities but in the country."

HOW A FEW CAPITALISTS PICKED UP OVER ONE MILLION DOLLARS IN THE STREETS OF BOSTON.

The dividends declared during the last year by the West End Railway Company of Boston amounted to $1,147,950. This amount under municipal ownership would have been used either to reduce fares or in lessening the tax rate of the city, and, but for the baleful influence of private corporations operating public utilities, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of Boston would to-day be enjoying the enormous profits rendered possible by the use of the city's highways. Instead of the city reaping this benefit, however, the immensely valuable street franchises are enriching a few capitalists, many of whom live in other States; while in return for the use of our highways the service of the car system is so poor that a large proportion of the citizens of Boston, both men and women, are compelled to stand in the cars or on the platforms, summer and winter, instead of enjoying the seat that is supposed to be the right of those who pay fares. But how could the families of our great capitalists have it in their power to spend tens of thousands of dollars in Europe or elsewhere, each summer, if the cities did not give the beneficiaries of natural monopolies immensely valuable franchises and permit them to render poor service in return—such, for example, as the collecting of fares from the working men and women of Boston for "cattle-car" accommodation in lieu of comfortable seats? Some day Good Government Clubs throughout the land will awaken the people to a realization of their rights in spite of a silent daily press and unfaithful public servants; and then will come a day of reckoning.

THE MOSQUITO AND THE MEDICAL MAN.

An interesting illustration of the uncertain character of medical theories is found in the complete revolution wrought during the last few months by the mosquito, in overturning one of the most time-honored and cherished theories of the regular profession. Should a man, even though eminent in the world of thought, one year ago have had the hardihood to have asserted that no germ of contagion lurked in the clothing of a yellow fever victim, or that the disease could not be transmitted by physical contact with the patient, he would have been savagely and mercilessly denounced by the regular profession as an ignoramus or the victim of an insane delusion: just as the famous New York alienist, Dr. Hamilton, has recently intimated that every one of the more than one hundred thousand Christian Scientists in America is insane, as evinced by their belief in the power of God to overcome certain diseases without the intervention of material remedies. It would have been shown, by evidence that would have been accepted as proof positive, that yellow fever was among the most contagious of diseases, that the house in which a person had had the scourge was full of contagion, and that the clothes were impregnated with disease germs. And should this original thinker have gone a step further, and have come from the bedside of a yellow fever patient without taking the regulation precautions to prevent the spread of the contagion, a cry for a shotgun quarantine would have gone up quite as loud, as general, and as hysterical as that raised a short time ago when a physician in Appleton, Wis., went to a pest-house, handled a victim, and then, without conforming to the orthodox preventive regulations, returned to his family and the world in which he lived and moved.

A year—only a brief little year—has elapsed since such universal and unquestioned belief reigned throughout the orthodox medical world as to contagion through contact with yellow fever patients that even to have questioned it would have subjected the skeptic to the scorn, ridicule, and contempt of the profession. But during that year a revolution in the faith of the fathers in medicine has been wrought by the mosquito and some curious medical men, through the aid of a few dare-devil laymen, who, for the cause of science, were willing to allow the mosquito to banquet off their bodies, even at the risk of poisoning their blood. This sudden change of front, like the numerous other revolutions that have attended the medical profession, illustrates anew the fact that medicine cannot be called an exact science. The most that can be said for it is that it is a progressive art; and it is equally true that many of the really valuable and important discoveries that have proved beneficial in revolutionizing the practise of medicine, or modifying it, have come from without the regular practise and have long encountered the fierce opposition of orthodox medicine. Their beneficent influence has only been possible owing to the healthful freedom that prevailed before the regular doctors succeeded in securing class legislation or medical laws that virtually gave them a monopoly in the healing art. Legislators should carefully bear in mind the fact that this profession, which is the most empirical of all professions, is also the most dogmatic and arrogantly intolerant, and the most hungry for special privileges and class laws of any profession. True, as is always the case, the plea for class restrictive laws is made in behalf of the "dear people"; but, as Herbert Spencer has well expressed it, they (the doctors) are "moved, as are all men under such circumstances, by nine parts self-interest gilt over with one part philanthropy." These class laws have been lobbied through legislature after legislature, ostensibly in the interest of the public, regardless of the fact that the people have never asked to have their freedom abridged; and one of the most effective arguments urged by the beneficiaries of the medical trust legislation, which takes from the citizen the right to employ whomsoever he desires in the hour of sickness and gives to the regular profession an enormously valuable monopoly, has been the cry of danger to the community through the spread of contagion.

But to return to the mosquito. It has now been shown, in a manner that the medical profession seems to regard as practically conclusive, that owing to recent experiments both malaria and yellow fever are due to the mosquito instead of to atmospheric conditions in the first instance, or to contagion through contact, as heretofore has been believed to be the case in regard to yellow fever. Dr. James J. Walsh, in a recent signed editorial in the New York *Journal,* under the title of "The End of Yellow Fever in Sight," says:

> "The proofs are convincing. People who have never had yellow fever have, for purposes of experiment, slept in the rooms in which yellow fever patients were being cared for, and have lived there for weeks without contracting the disease. All that was necessary for their protection was that they should be effectually screened off from the approach of mosquitoes that had fed on the yellow fever patients.
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> "On the other hand, it was not difficult to obtain in Havana individ-

> uals who were ready to run the risk of taking yellow fever for experimental purposes. A number of them were exposed to the bites of mosquitoes of the genus *culex* (the common house mosquito) that had previously been known to have fed on yellow fever patients. Of those bitten by mosquitoes under these conditions over eighty-five per cent. contracted the disease, though many of them had been previously in intimate contact with yellow fever patients without contracting the disease.
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> "There seems no room for doubt. As for malaria, so for yellow fever, the intermediate host of the disease germ is the mosquito. Not the same kind of mosquito, though to any but the trained eye they may look quite alike, for malaria is carried by the anopheles mosquito—known by certain marks on its wings and the length of its palpi, or feelers. The disease is never by any chance carried by any other form of mosquito."

Alas for the orthodoxy of yesterday! How many, many lives have been sacrificed through the dogmatic assumption of the medical profession that yellow fever is contagious! I well remember some years ago, when the yellow fever broke out in New Orleans, how fear spread over the whole Mississippi Valley. One day the news came to Memphis that yellow fever victims had reached the city. The town was in consternation. People gathered together the few things absolutely necessary and began fleeing to the country. Trains were crowded. In a short time a strict quarantine was established, and the fear-canopied citizens became victims by hundreds and died by scores in Memphis, while the refugees seemed to carry the disease with them to various towns in southern Kentucky, Tennessee, and elsewhere. This was before the days of the mosquito theory, when all men believed that those who had come in contact with yellow fever patients were marked victims of the contagion. In the light of the present discovery one cannot help wishing that the mosquito had enlightened the profession at an earlier stage. How many thousands of precious lives might have been saved, which through fear, through quarantine, and through heroic but blundering medical treatment have been sacrificed!

It is far from our desire to assail the medical profession. What we protest against is its unjust and dangerous demand for class restrictive laws that shall give its members a medical monopoly. In this we believe, with such men as Professor Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Professor Youmans, Professor William James of Harvard, and numerous other leading scientists and careful reasoners, that these laws infringe on the rights of the citizen, that they are a menace to the public rather than a protection, and that they retard rather than foster the progress of science.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

REVIEWED BY B. O. FLOWER.*

A VENERABLE JUDGE ARRAIGNS A RECREANT ADMINISTRATION.

THE GREAT TRIAL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Judge Samuel Parks, A.M. Cloth, 174 pp. Price, $1.00. Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co.

A Book Study.

Nothing in history is so unutterably sad as the spectacle of a nation, which has advanced so far along the highway of progress that it has become an inspiration and a lodestone for the friends of freedom and human rights in all lands, falling back into the night from which civilization has toilsomely and with bleeding feet emerged; for it speaks of the surrender of the higher to the lower. It tells of a betrayal of a sacred trust vouchsafed to those who had followed the vision of progress; and the higher and truer the mission, the more terrible will ever be the retribution when the wheel of effect has made its circuit. Unhappy indeed is that people who slumbers through crucial moments, when the fundamental principles that have made a nation morally great are pushed aside for sordid ends; for in that fatal hour the handwriting is again traced on the wall of time—"weighed and found wanting."

Since the close of the civil war, our people have been to a certain degree hypnotized by greed for gain. A passion for material prosperity has seemed to fascinate the public eye and paralyze not only the higher consciousness but the faculty for clearly discerning between what is ethically just and right and what slothful conventionalism and wealth sanction. Even the lofty precepts, the vital truths, that rang from the lips of the Founder of Christianity two thousand years ago now fail to hold the Church true to her holy charge; and the Golden Rule and the gospel of peace are ignored, while the war of conquest is being waged for material gain and political aggrandizement, without any serious protest on the part of Christian citizenship.

Unhappily for the United States and the cause of freedom the world over, the dawning of the twentieth century has witnessed a supreme tragedy. The great Republic—which, until war was inaugurated against the liberty-loving Filipinos, was the greatest moral world power, and the nation among nations to whom the eyes of all true democrats throughout the world were turned—became recreant to her high and sacred mission, closing her eyes at once to the most solemn injunctions of the great Nazarene and to the splendid truths enunciated in her Declaration of Independence. She has allowed herself to be led astray by the spirit of materialistic commercialism, and, turning aside from the highway of progress, has become one of the vulture family of sordid and greedy nations, and in so doing has exchanged her robe of glory for the blood-dyed garment that ever clothes imperial rule. The law of right has given place to the terrible rule of might.

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The action of the United States in the treatment accorded to the Puerto Ricans and the Filipinos is the strongest justification and indorsement of the position taken by Great Britain against our Revolutionary fathers that could possibly be made. If the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the brave stand taken by the Continental Congress, by General Washington, and by the master spirits of the American Revolution are fundamentally sound and true, then the Republic at the behest of commercial exploiters has committed a moral crime, the tragic results of which will curse our people individually and collectively. Indeed, some of the evil fruits are even now plainly visible. Thousands of American soldiers have perished. Thousands of Filipinos have been slain. A standing army of 100,000, instead of the 25,000 that was more than ample before we attempted forcibly to subjugate an unwilling people, will now take 75,000 men from productive labor and give to them as a profession the killing of human beings, while when not engaged in destruction of human life they will be employed in no productive work, but must be a continual burden to the hard-working, taxpaying citizens.

To-day the wealth creators of America are called upon to pay a war budget, which, including the army, navy, and pension appropriations, exceeds, according to so conservative a Republican statesman as Senator Hale of Maine, the expenditures of any European nation. Again, through this war of criminal aggression, numbers of our soldiers have fallen victims to small-pox, and through the mail the contagion has been carried to various Western States, where it has already spread over vast areas. Kansas and Missouri are to-day battling with this scourge, which in some places has assumed almost an epidemic form. Furthermore, there are over 30,000 lepers at large in the Philippine Islands. There can be but small doubt that many of our soldiers who return home will bring with them seeds of this most dreaded disease, only to scatter them throughout the Republic. These are a few evil consequences that are a part of the harvest we must reap for the crime of being recreant alike to the Golden Rule, to our noblest traditions, and to our high mission.

Nor is this all. Few people seem to realize the peril that lurks in the awful precedents now being established. The recent appointment to lucrative positions of two sons of Justices of the Supreme Court by the Executive, at a time when the constitutionality of the Administration's acts were before the bench, is probably the most dangerous precedent ever established by a President of the United States. The fact that the present Supreme Bench may be above being influenced by the tender of lucrative positions does not alter the fact that the precedent established may be used as a warrant at a future time to distribute patronage when such distributions may influence members of the court of last resort.

Perhaps no stronger, braver, or bolder arraignment of the leaders who have profaned the temple of freedom by casting out the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule in order to enthrone the god of gold has appeared than is found in a work recently published, entitled "The Great Trial of the Nineteenth Century." It is from the ripe mind of an honorable and venerable jurist, Judge Samuel C. Parks, A.M.

The author was one of the closest friends of Abraham Lincoln from 1840 until the tragic death of the great emancipator. In 1860 he was chosen to prepare the campaign life of Mr. Lincoln. In 1862 he was appointed associate justice of the supreme court of Idaho, and in 1878 President Hayes appointed him associate justice of the supreme court of New Mexico. In 1882 President Arthur transferred him to the supreme bench of Wyoming. During his long, honorable, exacting, and public career he has been faithful to the higher law; hence, his words on this great question bear with them the double authority of a great jurist and a good man. In his preface Judge Parks quotes a memorable passage from an address delivered by Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Ill., on the 26th of June, 1857, in which the martyred President uttered a warning note that should be pondered by every patriotic American to-day. In this address, when speaking of the Declaration of Independence, Mr. Lincoln said:

> "I think the authors of that notable instrument intended to include all such, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all were equal in color, size, intellect, moral development, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal in certain inalienable rights, among which are 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, nor yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that the enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.
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> "They meant to set up a standard maxim for free society, which should be familiar to all and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and, even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, and thereby constantly spreading, and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere. The assertion that 'all men are created equal' was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be as—thank God! it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who, in after times, might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack."

"This view," observes Judge Park, "was the view of the Republican party"; but he continues: "A great change has taken place in this country within the last three years. The attempt which was made forty years ago to fritter away the Declaration and to leave it no more, at most, than an interesting memorial of a dead past, shorn of its vitality and practical value and left without the *germ* or even the *suggestion* of the individual rights of man in it . . . has been renewed."

Judge Park's treatment of his subject is original, unique, and effective. In a dream the jurist found himself one of a vast concourse of intelligences assembled in a great temple of justice recently established for the adjudication of great criminal cases. "Its jurisdiction extends over all countries and through all ages." On entering the palace of justice, the author's attention was attracted by the announcement that the case now to be tried was that of William McKinley for causing the death of 20,000 Filipinos and 2,000 Americans, many of whom were boys between sixteen and twenty years of age. The jury was composed of great representatives of justice—master spirits in the warfare of freedom and human rights from the day of Aristides the just to the present hour. Its composition was as follows: Aristides of Athens, Cincinnatus of Rome, Lafayette of France, Alfred the Great of England, Count Tolstoy of Russia, Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln, and Grant, Henry Clay, and Bishop Simpson.

The case as presented by the prosecution, the plea of the defense, and the verdict were as follows:

> "It was proved that, 'at the time the United States declared war against Spain, the Filipinos had been fighting for liberty and independence for several years, and had nearly attained their freedom; that, upon the arrival of the United States forces at the Philippine Islands, the Islanders became allies of the United States in their war against Spain; that at the close of that war the Filipinos still claimed their independence and their right to govern themselves, and denied the right declared by the defendant, as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, to govern them and exercise proprietary rights in their country; that, to enforce his claim, the President made war upon them, and by that war had caused the death, in battle and by wounds and disease, of twenty thousand Filipinos and two thousand Americans, whom he had ordered there to fight, and that some of the latter were boys under twenty-one years of age.'
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> "The defense was that 'by the treaty of peace with Spain the United States had gained the sovereignty of those Islands, and that the President could not surrender it; that he had a right to enforce his claim to them to the extent of an extermination of the inhabitants if they would not otherwise submit to his authority.'
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> "For a further defense it was pleaded that, 'in prosecuting the war upon the Filipinos, the defendant was seeking to establish peace, humanity, civilization, and Christianity among them; that the war was for their own good, and, no matter how much it cost in blood and treasure, it would finally result in peace, prosperity, and happiness.'
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> "For a further defense it was claimed 'that the United States needed the Islands in their business; that they were very, very rich, and would be a source of great profit to American speculators, traders, merchants, agriculturists, cotton-raisers, and office-holders; that it was the true policy of the United States to expand and create a colonial empire after the fashion of Great Britain; that it was the manifest destiny of the

Anglo-Saxon race to control the world; that honor and patriotism demanded that the American flag should wave to the end of time wherever it had once been planted; and that to stop the Philippine war now would make our country an object of ridicule for a hundred years.'

"The trial lasted several days, the case being very ably and thoroughly argued on both sides. The Court was absolutely impartial. The motto of Chief Justice Marshall in this case, as in the trial of Aaron Burr, was 'Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.' His instructions covered the whole doctrine of murder and were the most admirable specimen of that kind of literature I ever heard or read.

"The case was given to the jury at ten o'clock in the morning, and at six o'clock in the evening they brought in their verdict. George Washington was the foreman. As he arose and handed the verdict to the clerk of the court to be read, his appearance was majestic. All eyes were now upon the clerk. The stillness was intense, and the interest and suspense painful. The verdict was 'Guilty as charged in the indictment.'

"Up to this time, and during his long trial, the prisoner had borne himself with a firmness (perhaps I should rather say hardihood) worthy of the man who had made that terrible speech at Pittsburg, presaging the conquest of the Filipinos. Now, as all eyes were turned to him, upon the reading of the verdict, he started as if he had received a violent electric shock, then turned deadly pale and had to be supported in his chair by his attendants. . . .

"Then ensued a most extraordinary scene. Mr. Clay, the boldest and most self-reliant public man of this century, arose and requested all the people to remain until he had made an announcement.

"He stated that the trial which had just closed was the most important that had ever occurred in the history of this country. The verdict had been severely criticized and he thought the jury owed it to themselves and to the people of the United States to make a public statement of the grounds of their verdict; he had consulted with the jury during the recess, and they all agreed with him that, as there was to be no court to-morrow, they would meet in the court-room for the purpose at ten o'clock the next morning."

The following one hundred pages are occupied by the addresses of the illustrious jurors, the whole constituting probably the most masterly defense yet made of the principles of freedom, justice, and human rights upon which our Republic was founded, and which guided our nation until the ill-starred Administration of President McKinley allowed itself to be seduced from the path of liberty by the materialistic commercialism and corporate greed of the day. So clear, cogent, and convincing are these expositions of the fundamental demands of progress and freedom that they must carry conviction to minds open to truth, while their arraignment of the betrayers of liberty is at once severe and unanswerable.

The interest and value of the volume are increased by the unique manner of treatment employed, which has enabled the jurist to put into the mouths of the great representatives of justice words such as their utterances and lives warranted. In several instances the exact expressions and arguments of the great men of the past have been incorporated into their addresses. In other instances the words attributed to them reflect the fact that Judge Parks has made a close and careful study of the lives of his jurists and has faithfully and conscientiously given to them only such utterances as are in perfect keeping with what the world knows of them and their teachings. The speech attributed to James Madison is a masterpiece and abounds in citations from authorities on international law and jurisprudence; while the group of addresses forms an argument well calculated to awaken the sleeping conscience and stir the dormant patriotism of the reader.

If every parent who reads THE ARENA, and has under his roof sons and daughters old enough to appreciate the arguments presented, would obtain this book and read it aloud, pausing before each address to describe and illustrate the lives and the services to mankind of the various great men who form the jury, an incalculable work for righteousness and progress would be wrought upon the plastic minds of the children, which could not fail to exert great and beneficent influences in the coming years.

In the appendix to the volume's contents are noteworthy citations bearing on the great question under discussion, and there is also at the close of the volume a lecture delivered by Judge Parks before the students of the Michigan University on Abraham Lincoln, which the reader would do well to peruse.

I am glad to see that competent thinkers among the conscience element of our educators and statesmen are deeply impressed with this important work. The following extract from a letter written by Prof. Edwin Burritt Smith, of the law faculty of the Northwestern University of Chicago, contains an excellent criticism and fairly represents a number of similar opinions that have been expressed by prominent authorities:

> I have just read at a single sitting and with absorbing interest your Great Trial. Permit me to thank you for this fine contribution to a discussion of fundamental import. Your legal training, your long and honorable public career, particularly your participation with Abraham Lincoln and his contemporaries in the mighty struggle through which the Union ceased to be divided and became all free, have peculiarly fitted you to sound this liberty call to the children of liberty.
>
> Lowell somewhere says: "The late M. Guizot once asked me how long I thought our Republic would endure. I replied, 'So long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant,' and he assented." Your book does more than recall these great ideas; it breathes their very spirit; it brings the father of liberty into this new discussion of its principles; it speaks with their authority against the vast pretensions of those who would enthrone on the ruins of constitutional liberty a sordid plutocracy.
>
> A chief merit of this little book is its clearness of vision. You have not been diverted by the immaterial. You speak with entire plainness, calling things by their right names. You do well to dwell on the real character of the Philippine war. It is an unauthorized, an unjust, a personal war. As you say: "Such a war, no matter how successful it may be, is a disgrace and a shame." You rightly conclude that its "ratification by Congress made it national, but did not make it constitutional." "The President and Congress may raise and support armies and call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions"—in other words, for constitutional purposes. Nowhere are they given power to employ the forces and revenues of the United States in waging wars of conquest.

It follows from your argument that not even Mr. McKinley's reëlection makes his war of conquest constitutional. We know that many voted to reëlect him without full knowledge of the fatal tendency of his acts. We also know that many so voted in spite of their disapproval of his course in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Neither the constitutional nor the moral quality of an act is determined by the number of its supporters.

This work should be placed in every library, and especially in the college libraries throughout the land, for it is a contribution of vital importance from the pen of one who is in every way qualified ably to discuss the subject.

THE RELIGION OF DEMOCRACY. By Charles Ferguson. Cloth, 170 pp. Price, $1.00. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co.

This is a strong, suggestive, and inspiring book, dominated by a broad and deeply religious spirit. The author is a philosopher, who, while profoundly spiritual, is far from evincing a narrow or dogmatic spirit. I have seldom read a work that so bristles with virile thought, presented in a striking and original manner, as does "The Religion of Democracy." True, it is at times disquieting, just as the writings of Thomas Carlyle and Victor Hugo are disquieting. It is not a book that will delight the slothful, the dilettante, or the selfish, but by those hungering for something finer and truer than the present social order it will be read with profit and delight. The author's style is very unconventional, almost as much so as that of Carlyle. Here are some lines at once characteristic of the book and pregnant with truth for the present:

"Civilizations are destroyed by great ideas apprehended but not lived up to.

"Philosophy, poetry, science, art, and the mysteries of religion are forever beckoning men on to a more intimate contact with God and with the interior and elemental world. If men would think, and dig, and pray, and paint, and carve with a perfect daring, all would be well and they would have built the Holy City long ago. But they have not faith enough: they recoil from the shock and risk, touch the deeper mysteries and shrink back. They become sentimental about God and separate the sacred from the secular. They refuse the desire of the heart and breed in their bodies a swarm of petty appetites, divisive and corrupting. The force of the divine and elemental passion in them goes to the refinement of prurient arts. And the corruption of the best is the worst corruption.

"The death of nations is in the rejection of their own most wistful desire. The truth appears, is seen, touched, handled, and debated; is accepted nationally, but rejected in fact, and crucified.

"Europe and America to-day are sick with the nightmare of their dreams. They have dreamed of Democracy, and in their dreams have achieved liberty—but only in their dreams, not otherwise.

"The madhouses are full of people that breathe in the real world but live in their ideals. And the nations are mad with this madness, and are ready to kill the Lord of Life.

"With God the thought and the act are one. The worlds are sustained in their courses, the storm rages, the birds sing, and your heart is beating because God is thinking.

"But we see that the world is full of sentimentalists. The courts, the academies, and the chambers of commerce are mostly ruled by absent-minded people who say and do not, and know not what they do. . . .

"And those others that are seeking a fabulous chimera—what they call millions—with sharp, metallic speech like the click of a telegraph; who think in numbers only and cabalistic signs and counters; who give each other winks and tips—men that know everything and nothing, that can predict eclipses and cause them, make famines with a turn of the wrist without meaning any harm: these fantastical triflers, fooling with their punk in the powder magazine—certainly they hold their place by a slight and precarious tenure. They scarcely touch the facts of God's earth with the tips of their toes, and they are as little indigenous here as shining angels with wings. Their ignorance of values is profound. They know not how much blood goes into things. And they are practical men in the same sense as the old card cronies that sit and play in the back rooms of the saloon behind the green baize screens. They know the rules of the games that they have spun like spiders out of their own bodies, and they can play to win without troubling to think.

"The business interests of the country—mysterious, intangible thing! Do the business interests require that people shall be fed and clothed and housed? And does the doing of business mean that things worth doing shall be bustle and running to and fro, with infinite complication of accounts, and in the end that somebody shall—make money?"

"The Religion of Democracy" deserves extensive circulation. It will not disappoint earnest men and women who are not afraid to think.

THE SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE; or, Death as an Event in Life. By Lilian Whiting. Cloth, 392 pp. Price, $1.25. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

This volume is in my judgment the strongest, clearest, and most vital religious and ethical work that has come from the able and ever helpful pen of Miss Whiting. It deserves the widest circulation, as it will minister to the heart-hunger of thousands of people who are no longer satisfied with easy-going conventional religion.

He is blind indeed who fails to realize the fact that we are in the midst of a religious *Renaissance* greater and more far-reaching in its import and influence than the "New Birth" in philosophy, letters, and art that lit up the morning hours of modern times with golden splendor. Never since the corruption of the primitive Church has there been such profound unrest throughout Western civilization as to-day; the churches are failing to satisfy the heart's desire of the time. it is not that thoughtful men and women cease to feel the need of religion; indeed, it is because they never before realized how vital are its great fundamental truths that they have become dissatisfied with conventional theology. This thought is admirably set forth by Miss Whiting in the following lines:

"No one who is watching with intelligent interest the wonderful panorama of contemporary life can fail to discern that the time has arrived when a larger philosophy, a higher illumination, a truer comprehension, is to do for Christianity what Jesus did for Judaism. This larger philosophy of life does not come to destroy, but to fulfil. M. Sabatier has stated recently that no one thing is more needed than a restatement of Christianity. He feels that the Christian idea in its fulness and intense hold is diminishing."

The present *Renaissance* in religion is coming as a result of four centuries of unrest and conflict. It calls for a living, practical faith rather than a philosophic, dogmatic, or creedal theology. It is deeply concerned with the life that now is and the to-morrow of existence. The great questions of the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the right relationship of the individual to the Infinite and to his fellow-men, and the relation of the embodied soul to those who have cast aside the physical robing, together with the great fundamentals of ethics which have been by no one so luminously presented as by the great Nazarene, are concerning men to-day as never before. And about all these themes Miss Whiting writes most thoughtfully; she has a deeply religious nature, which has been strengthened by environment and education. She is the daughter of a distinguished Episcopalian minister, and for many years she enjoyed the teachings of men like the late Rev. Phillips Brooks. Thus the broadest and freest thought of the most advanced representative of the Church of England has been inculcated. On the other hand, her literary work has necessarily kept her in touch with the live thought of the age in the wide range of scientific, ethical, religious, and educational research; while her interest in psychology and psychic science has made her follow with intelligent interest the remarkable work of a number of the greatest masters in the scientific world—such men, for example, as Sir William Crookes, Professor Oliver Lodge, Camille Flammarion, Alfred Russell Wallace, Professor Hyslop, Dr. Richard Hodgson, Professor William James and scores of others who have done much to revolutionize the thought of the world in the domain of psychology. To the knowledge gained from others Miss Whiting has added the wealth of a highly intuitive nature, with the result that in this volume, even in a larger degree than in her admirable "World Beautiful" books, we have a volume that will carry conviction and helpfulness to thousands of hearts.

CONTENDING FORCES. A Romance, illustrative of negro life in the North and South. By Pauline E. Hopkins. With 8 full-page illustrations. Cloth, 402 pp. Price, $1.50. Boston, Mass.: The Colored Coöperative Publishing Co.

No race known to history has, under like, or anything like, the same conditions, made such rapid advance as has the negro. When we remember that but from one hundred to two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since these people were savage children of the tropical forests, and that they have known but four decades of freedom, we realize how truly wonderful has been the unfoldment of life and character, even under conditions that cannot in most instances be called highly favorable.

To-day scattered throughout our land are tens of thousands of negroes, in almost every profession and walk of life, who are attaining a high degree of success, while their splendid proficiency in industrial callings, as evinced in so marked a degree at Hampton, Tuskegee, and other industrial schools, merits the highest praise. The work being carried forward by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, Alabama, in efficiency and importance is not exceeded by that of the president of any college in America.

The intellectual progress of the race has been very marked in recent years. Perhaps the most important literary undertaking of the last year in which the colored race is engaged is that of establishing the *Colored American Magazine,* a large illustrated monthly now being published in Boston. It is a handsome magazine, and seems to be receiving generous support from the race to whose interest it is devoted.

Another indication of the literary advance of the colored race is apparent in the striking improvement that characterizes their more important recent works. The thought, expression, and the form it assumes indicate a steady advance. I was forcibly impressed with this fact in recently reading Booker T. Washington's exceedingly thoughtful book on "The Future of the American Negro," and also the new novel of negro life, entitled "Contending Forces," by Pauline E. Hopkins, a New England colored woman. Mrs. Hopkins has written a surprisingly good story. It is a novel of considerable strength. The plot is well worked out, and is calculated to hold the reader's interest to the end. As the title indicates, it deals in a serious way with the race problem. The treatment is somewhat similar to the method applied by Judge Albion Tourgee in his novels of the reconstruction period. The book is essentially a romance of love, in which the leading actors belong to the African race. Several tragic phases of life in the South since the close of the war are presented. The book, however, is frequently lighted up by delightful glimpses of the more joyous side of negro life. It is a highly creditable novel.

DISCOVERY OF A LOST TRAIL. By Charles B. Newcomb. Cloth, 282 pp. Price, $1.50. Boston: Lee & Shepard, publishers.

Mr. Newcomb is always bright, suggestive, and thoughtful. He possesses the happy faculty of throwing off epigrams that live in the memory and are helpfully suggestive. Moreover, his philosophic ideas are always worthy of serious consideration, though the reader may at times dissent from his conclusions.

"Discovery of a Lost Trail" is, I think, much stronger than his earlier work. The chapter entitled "A Plea for Matter" is very timely and merits the widest reading. It is not strange, perhaps, that, in the reaction from a gross materialism that became very prevalent during the last century, many searchers for truths more satisfying than the soulless theories and empty formalism of science, society, and religion should go to the opposite extreme. Mr. Newcomb admirably points out the fallacy of both positions. Altogether the work is sane, thoughtful, and stimulating. It is a valuable contribution to the best metaphysical literature of the hour.

BY THE PEOPLE. Arguments and Authorities for Direct Legislation. By Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., and Eighty Others. Illustrated with over fifty portraits. Paper, 116 pp. Price, 25 cents. Published by The Direct Legislation League.

This work contains fourteen short but clear, strong, and valuable chapters on Direct Legislation, by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., president of the National Direct Legislation League, together with the arguments and opinions favorable to the Initiative and Referendum by eighty other thinkers, embracing leading Swiss, English, Australian, and Canadian authorities, as well as a number of prominent statesmen, economists, editors, business men, and labor leaders in America. It is an admirable volume for general circulation, as it will not only acquaint the general reader with Direct Legislation and its importance, but will also show him that leading thinkers of this land and many other countries are outspoken in favor of the great innovations that have proved so successful in Switzerland.

THE EARL'S GRANDDAUGHTER. By Florence Shaw Curtis. Cloth, 140 pp. Boston: James H. Earl, publisher.

This is a simple story, written in a pleasing style and told chiefly in a series of letters supposed to have been written by a young lady of culture and refinement, who through the stress of poverty is compelled to leave her mother and sister and accept a position as companion to a wealthy but philanthropic old lady. The letters are full of interesting and instructive matter, relating to points of interest in Washington, at Old Point Comfort, in Mexico, and other places visited. A thread of romance runs through the story, ending in the union of the heroine to an Englishman of rank.

THE LARGER FAITH. A novel. By James M. Coulter. Cloth, 280 pp. Price, $1.50. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., publishers.

This is one of the most thoroughly wholesome novels I have read in many months. Into the warp and woof of a charming romance the author has woven much spiritual teaching, setting forth what he conceives to be the Larger Faith, and which expresses, I think, most admirably the New Thought as it relates to religion, philosophy, and life. The author emphasizes the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as the central truths of the coming religion, which will rest upon the Golden Rule and hold as an absolute verity that "whatsoever a man soweth" that sooner or later must he reap. The hero of the novel exemplifies the Christ life to a striking degree, and in a quiet way exerts a far-reaching influence for good.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE conspicuous position given in this month's ARENA to Prof. Prince's contribution on "The Passing of the Declaration" is not to be regarded as evidence of editorial indorsement, although the author's frank description of certain peculiarities of the Anglo-Saxon race is true to life as revealed in history and the daily press. But this writer voices the sentiments of a large and growing body of our democratic people and illustrates a definite trend of our national thought. His intellectual respectability is typical of not a few of the defenders of Imperialism, and this fact alone gives him standing in a review that aims to present "both sides" of public questions. It is our conviction, however, that the ideals and hopes of true democracy are too firmly rooted in our national character to permit a permanent abandonment of the principles laid down by the fathers of the Republic. A timely paper that will serve as an adequate reply to Prof. Prince's article is in preparation for an early issue. It will be a discussion of the foreign policy of our present government from the authoritative pen of Judge Samuel C. Parks, A. M., whose remarkable new book forms the subject of Editor Flower's "study" for this month.

The current contribution to our series of papers on the advanced ideals of science and religion that are rapidly shaping themselves under the designation of the "New Thought" is by Dr. R. Osgood Mason, a prominent member of the Society for Psychical Research. The writer's treatment of Prof. Fiske's splendid new volume is sympathetic but candid, and is an admirable synthesis of the conclusions of this scientific authority regarding the divine principle that is operative in all natural processes.

Count Tolstoy, the great Russian apostle of justice and political and religious liberty who, recent reports declare, is very near to death, is described this month by a man equipped with peculiar advantages for a discussion of this unique sage's philosophy, temperament, habits, and life work. Ernest H.

Crosby was for some time a guest at Tolstoy's Russian home, and in this number's "Conversation" gives his impressions of the man and his teachings in an irresistibly fascinating way. The interest of this feature is greatly augmented by Editor Flower's portrayal on other pages of Mr. Crosby himself—his books, his sacrifices, and the truly Christian service he is rendering his fellow-man. The portrait of this young apostle of progress which forms our frontispiece is a good one.

The recent shocking revelations of the abuses committed in one of the New York City hospitals by ignorant and brutal attendants were almost enough to destroy one's faith in municipal governments. But it is reassuring to learn from Mr. Warne's instructive paper in this issue that institutions for the insane in the State at large are conducted along scientific and humanitarian lines. An unfailing index to the civilization of any community is to be found in its treatment of this peculiarly helpless element of its citizenship.

Miss Kellor's original study of the criminal negro grows in interest and suggestiveness. The fourth article of the series is published this month, and throws much light on the penal systems of the South. The next instalment will include physical measurements of female malefactors of the black race, showing defects, anomalies, or degeneracy, as compared with the result of European investigations. The psychologic tests to be described in the fifth and sixth papers will deal with the five senses, the emotions, and the mental faculties and coördinations—the forces that relate man to his environment. When these are defective, an argument in favor of heredity is presented, unless social causes are known and recognized.

A unique and timely discussion of an important social and political nature will be a feature of the May ARENA. It is introduced by a short argument by Editor Flower on "An Army of Wealth-Creators Versus an Army of Destruction"; and among prominent and authoritative writers who have contributed to the symposium are Prof. Frank Parsons, of the faculty of the Boston University School of Law; Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M., professor of economics and political economy in the Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo.; Rev. Hiram Vrooman, pastor of the Warren Street Swedenborgian Church, Boston, Mass., and president of the Boston Workers' Coöperative Association; Rev. Robert E. Bisbee, the well-known Methodist divine and essayist; C. F. Taylor, M.D., editor of the *Medical World,* of Philadelphia; Hon. Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo; Prof. George D. Herron, the leader of the Social Apostolate; and Mary A. Livermore, the veteran author, lecturer, and reformer.

J. E. M.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN
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GEORGE D. HERRON.

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."
—Heine.

THE ARENA

Vol. XXV. MAY, 1901. No. 5.

WILL THE PHILIPPINES PAY?

A LOOK at the Philippine question should be taken from the viewpoint of economics as well as ethics. This will be done, shutting the eyes to the moral spectacle that otherwise might engage the sight. I have no concern now with matters of mere sentiment. I have no apostrophe to make to the Flag; nor, on the other hand, none to make to the Declaration of Independence. I shall talk about dollars.

The assertion has been made that the possession of the Archipelago will pay. It is important to know the truth as to this, and if it be true to know whom it will pay, and, if the general public is meant, whether it will pay as well as the same investment elsewhere made. The collation of statistics or the statement of matters in detail will not be undertaken. Facts in their generality and outline only will be noticed.

The islands are situated in the tropics. They lie close to the equator. The history of the world for the last four thousand years is quite fully recorded. It does not show a single instance during all that time of any considerable migration of the people of the temperate zone into the torrid regions, an in the few instances that did occur those who made the venture lost all racial characteristics in the tropic verdure, languid air, and sensuous life of their new world. No white man can live in a land where the people pick their breakfasts off the trees; that is to say, if he does live there he loses the characteristics that have made the white man a factor in the world's progress. It needs the storm and chill of the north to quicken men to exertion of either body or mind. In this I only assert a truism, and therefore do not seem to assert anything, because in discussion you can only make a point upon a subject of disagreement. Everybody admits my truism, but not everybody seems able to deduce from it the inevitable conclusion. It is the postulate of the whole Philippine question, and no one who does not ground his argument upon it is capable of reasoning about the matter. The saying of this much ought to be enough, but let me try to impress the fact by the citation of instances.

England has been governing India nearly one hundred and fifty years. Out of the two hundred or more millions of that country there are to-day about two hundred and fifty thousand Europeans in the whole land. Java, with a population of nearly twenty millions, has belonged to Holland for about seventy-five years; yet there are not more than thirty thousand white people there. England has owned and governed Hong Kong for sixty years. That place is about six hundred miles northwest of Manila. I have before me a newspaper correspondent's letter written from there. He says that out of the two hundred and fifty thousand population of Hong Kong less than five thousand are white people. The cyclopedia says that the inhabitants of British Honduras in Central America number about twenty-five thousand, and it speaks of the white population as "scanty."

Now, this is not because people are slow to emigrate to strange, new lands. Argentine in South America attracts immigrants. It is getting more of them than any other land. It is situated in the south temperate zone, where the Teuton and the Anglo-Saxon find the natural conditions of life the same as those they left behind. Australia and New Zealand have been populated within the last hundred years by Englishmen and built into the model republics of the world. The only portions thus far inhabited to any extent worth mentioning lie in the temperate zone.

It is evident, therefore, that the Philippine Islands will never become on an extensive scale a home for the white man. Will their acquisition pay as a market-place for American products? The possession of the country for that purpose is the grand desideratum sought, according to the commercialists. The assertion that people who the year round need clothe themselves in little more than sunshine, and whose digestive systems are incapable of little more than the fruits and vegetables of their own soil, will ever become consumers in considerable quantity of the warm clothing and heavy foodstuffs of this country, or of the tools and mechanical appliances adapted to labor in a different zone of the globe, is absurd on its face. The conception of a Malay at the equator loading up his larder with American flour and canvased hams, and his wardrobe with woolen underwear or imported cotton, or storing his tool-house with sulky-riding plows, self-binders and steam threshers, is the conception of Capricorn and Cancer obliterated—a thing impossible to the dream of any but the market-mad commercialist of this age. I live in proximity to the great cattle-breeding regions of the southwest, including Mexico. The animals when brought here from even that short distance are incapable at first, and to an extent all the time, of digesting and assimilating the bone-building and fattening grains of the north, and hence go to the market inferior in quality and depreciated in price. So with the Filipinos—the products of our land are as a rule ill suited for their wants or needs.

Will the possession of the Philippines pay for the purpose of a market here for what they raise there? There might be some reason in the claim that it would if they had anything there that near-by tropical lands did not produce as well and as bountifully. There is little or nothing among these products that is not found in abundance within less than a thousand miles from our southern coast. Tobacco, sugar, hemp, coffee, and tropical fruits are the native growths of Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies. There is not a product of forest, mine, or soil in the Philippine Archipelago that does not also lie within three days' voyage from our own shores, ready at hand for the reaching out and taking. The claim put forth by some that it is necessary to exercise political sovereignty over a land in order to trade well with its people is a pitiful pretense which the contrary practise of civilized mankind belies. Trade does not follow the flag. It follows the best bargains or inducements.

Will the occupancy of the islands pay for purposes of export and import trade combined? On this point I must cite some statistical facts. I quote verbatim the table of custom-house values given in Foreman's "Philippine Islands," page 297:

	Imports.	Exports.
In 1841	$3,230,000	$4,370,000
In 1885	19,171,468	24,553,685
In 1888	21,208,445	26,358,640
In 1891	24,860,000	25,751,843
In 1892	27,000,604	33,478,924
In 1896	17,740,010	28,210,032
In 1897	16,350,328	No official returns procurable.

It thus appears that it has taken fifty-five years, or from 1841 to 1896, for the export trade of the islands to reach from the round number of four million to the round number of twenty-eight million dollars, and fifty-six years, or from 1841 to 1897, for the import trade to reach from the round number of three million to sixteen million dollars. Bear in mind this was not the trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States merely, but it was the total trade between those islands and all the rest of the world for the years mentioned. Bear in mind also that the values given were doubtless estimated in the silver currency of that country, and that reduced to a gold basis they amounted, at least in all the later years, to only about one-half their nominal sum. Bear in mind too (and I apologize for mentioning a self-evident fact) that these values are not estimates of trade profits, but they represent market values upon which trade profits are made. These values amounted in 1892, the best of all the years, to the round sum of sixty millions in silver, or thirty millions measured by our gold standard. Suppose the profits to the traders upon these values to have been ten per cent., or three million dollars. That is just about one-half the annual interest charge upon the expenditure thus far incurred in the Philippine war. That expenditure up to date is at least two hundred million dollars. It was admitted during the campaign of last year that it was then well up toward these figures. The usual government interest rate of three per cent. on two hundred million dollars makes six million dollars, or as much again as the total annual profit to the whole world on the Philippine trade, counting that profit at ten per cent. on the custom-house values.

I have before me an official document called "The Monthly Summary of the Commerce of the Philippine Islands," issued in March, 1900, by the Division of Customs and Insular Affairs of the War Department. It gives for 1899 the proportion of merchandise values exported from the Philippine Islands to the United States as twenty-one per cent. of the whole, and the values imported into the Philippines from the United States as six per cent. of the whole. Nor will it do to lay the blame for these great disproportions on the war going on in the islands. The figures relate to proportions of trade between countries, and not to the loss of trade caused by wars. At the worst to us the proportionate loss would be as great to one country as another, but the fact is the proportion was really more in our favor than otherwise on account of our holding the ports and in other ways dominating the business of the country. Furthermore, it is idle to delude ourselves with the hope of a development of that country or the development of our trade with it rapid enough materially to change, for years to come, the official figures given above. If peace were here now *the profits on our Philippine trade for the next two hundred years would not give us back the money thus far expended in the prosecution of the war, with a reasonable rate of interest on the amount.* It is idiocy from a commercial standpoint to say that such war will pay the people of this country as a whole —idiocy opaque, impenetrable, pitiable. Grant, as perhaps should be done, that the profit upon Philippine trade made by the syndicates, land-grabbers, and exploiters of the labor there will eventually find its way into the general store of the country's wealth. It will not put back in the next two centuries what has even now been taken out of that store and consumed in the riot and waste of war.

The colonial experiments of Great Britain indicate in no wise the success we may hope to have in the Philippines. England's colonies were founded for the purpose of making new homes for her overcrowded population, and for the purpose of opening new fields for the production of bread for her people and raw material for her home manufactories. We do not need new lands for such purposes, nor will we for generations yet to come.

I have not touched upon the question as to whom the Philippines will pay, nor upon the one as to whether, so far as concerns the people who make the investment, the amount already expended and yet to be expended would not pay far better in something else. The answers to these questions seem obvious.

FRANK DOSTER.

Topeka, Kan.

GEORGE D. HERRON: THE TRAGEDY OF CONSCIENCE.*

THE life of George D. Herron has been almost from the beginning, and probably will be to the very end, a vital part of that tragedy of conscience and truth and love which seems to be inherently necessary to the progress of the world toward a higher and freer and richer life. It is impossible to think of his life without thinking of tragedy—impossible to speak of his life without telling the story of tragedy. For that has been its warp and woof. Nor is it possible for any man to convey to his fellow-men a truth more important for them to know than the truth of this same tragedy of love and conscience. The divinest portions of human history are those written in blood.

It is very difficult, however, for most of us to recognize such a tragedy when it is quite near us. We can see it—or we think we can—at a distance, in some far-away period of the past where all the actors are unrelated to ourselves. But we do not comprehend very well the meaning of the tragedy in which we ourselves have a part. For most of us, I suppose, the "divine" is synonymous with the "ancient," and our God is safely dead and buried. Or, at best, he is as far as it is possible for us to get him from the sphere of human action and experience. Theophany is some vision of the strange and uncanny.

"I have had a theophany. Jehovah appeared to me in a burning bush on the mountain top." So the exiled Hebrew is supposed to have testified far back in the twilight of history. But it was not in any sort of bush that Moses found his theophany. It was rather in the vision of his oppressed countrymen in far-away Egypt, which had been fairly burned into the very substance of his soul—in that essentially did his theophany lie. It was a human vision. He found and had communion with Jehovah only as he found and had communion with his own essential self—that self which was intimately and indissolubly bound up with the lives of his suffering brothers and sisters.

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* A Sunday evening lecture given in Plymouth Church, Rochester, N. Y., March 31, 1901.

"We have found the Messiah," cried the Galilean fisherman, Andrew, to his brother long centuries ago. But Andrew had seen nothing but the face of a stranger, a man like himself. He had had no theophany. Nor was he conscious of any such thing. And if the time ever came in the life of that Galilean peasant, or in the lives of his companions, whom we have canonized, when they were able consciously to say they had had a vision of the divine, it was only after they had witnessed the tragedy of a human life—not after they had seen this Nazarene against the background of the cross-crowned hill outside the walls of Jerusalem, but after they had seen the moral texture of his character against the background of the sordid life of their age. There has never been a theophany, and it is safe to say there never will be, which is not the vision of human life in its deeper capacities.

Let us think for a moment of that tragedy of the first century of which Jesus of Nazareth was the central figure. We shall find that it was precisely the same sort of tragedy as that which is being enacted all around us to-day. We shall discover more than that. We shall see, I think, that the type of life which Jesus represented is exactly the type of life that George D. Herron represents. I know of no principle involved in the life of the prophet of Nazareth that is not also involved in the life of this prophet of our own day.

History tells us that about the end of the first quarter of the first century of what we call the Christian era a young man from the little city of Nazareth began to preach down in the Jordan valley. The young man's name was Jesus. Very few—perhaps none—of those who listened to him there had ever seen him or heard of him before. He was a stranger. No church had ordained him. No religious body had authorized him to preach. The members of his own household up in

Nazareth knew nothing of his intention to preach. They had not educated him for that purpose. He had been taught the trade of a carpenter, and as a carpenter his parents expected he would live and die. His father was a carpenter. He was the eldest son. His father was dead. His mother with several younger brothers and sisters were left. And these became his natural charge. Upon him devolved the support of the family. And probably for several years he had contributed largely to their maintenance.

But one day, not long after a rude preacher by the name of John had begun to speak his message to the people down by the Jordan side, this young Nazarene left his home along with many other people and went to the place where John was preaching. There Jesus proclaimed himself a believer in the things that John was saying, and shortly he himself began to preach the same essential message. The burden of John's message was: "The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Change your minds and enter the kingdom." That became likewise the key-note of Jesus' preaching and remained so to the end of his life. The kingdom of heaven meant to Jesus a social order of brotherhood and fellowship right here on earth. That was the central and dominant thought of his whole life and ministry. His whole philosophy of life was based on that social ideal. All his teachings are the necessary corollaries of that fundamental proposition.

Let me remind you that in this conception of life, which he began to propagate, Jesus was not repeating the instructions of any school or any recognized teacher of his day or nation. On the contrary, he was teaching ideas that were new, strange, startling, and revolutionary. Indeed, they are so to-day. There is not a sentiment or suggestion in the Sermon on the Mount which does not contradict the well-nigh universal beliefs and customs of our world. Select any church or religious body you like, and ask its members whether in actual practise they hold the sentiments expressed in the Sermon on the Mount; whether they believe that the "poor in spirit" are "blessed"; whether peacemakers are generally regarded as the children of God; whether the inheritance of the earth is supposed to fall to the lot of the meek; whether a man who is persecuted for righteousness' sake is thought of as a happy man; whether the idea of loving one's enemies, of giving to him who would borrow and expecting nothing back, or behaving with equal benevolence toward the evil and the good, just as the rain and sunshine do, is very widely cherished; whether it is possible to serve God and Mammon.

The united testimony of Christendom nullifies and contradicts every principle of Jesus' teaching. It holds to a set of beatitudes entirely at variance with those which Jesus taught. It has no use for the virtues he extolled. Indeed, it gives no evidence of having any comprehension at all of the mode of life which he embodied. He emphasized the fact that prayer at set times and places is not a good thing. But Christendom tenaciously maintains the exact opposite. And nothing is esteemed more natural by the religious world to-day than to serve God and Mammon—God Sundays, and Mammon all the time.

But the point I wish to make is simply this—that the young prophet of Nazareth taught new, strange, startling, and revolutionary truth. People are reported to have said: "He speaks as one having authority, and not as the scribes." In other words, Jesus made an impression on the people very different from that made by their ordinary teachers. Besides, as was natural and inevitable, a movement in opposition to Jesus at once sprang up among the influential men of that land and time. Spies were put on his track. They tried to entrap him with questions, hoping by his answers to get some excuse for arresting and bringing him to punishment. They finally succeeded, and after three years of public life he was executed as an outlaw.

Let me remind you, too, that it was characteristic of Jesus that he trusted the witness of his own soul. He had no tradition to base his teaching upon. There was no church behind him, nor any book. He freely criticized the Bible, which was then revered. He taught what he himself believed to be true, regardless of anything that was written or taught elsewhere. He believed in a living God, not a dead God. And he identified his God with himself and his fellow-men. He felt that the testimony of his own conscience was as authoritative as that of any man before him. *And the ground of his faith in himself lay in the fact that he knew no purpose in life save the will to love.* Jesus asked of the world no privilege for himself except that of loving to the uttermost all sorts and conditions of men and women as his brothers and sisters. And that is the only privilege which a human being has any right to ask or have. That was the real relationship of which he was conscious. Not the little household up in Nazareth, but the whole world-family was his home.

The things Jesus believed made him take a course very different from that of other men. It involved very different principles. His relation as the son of Joseph and Mary became a matter of secondary consequence. It did not hold him. He refused to acknowledge it as binding upon him. He insisted that the larger relationship, implicit in his own moral consciousness, had subordinated that which rests on the chance of birth. If some one had complained that he was no longer supporting his family in Nazareth—that he was not even earning a living, but subsisting on the bounty of others, or that he was under immediate obligation to look after his mother—he would have replied that nothing could take precedence of the truth that illumined his soul.

The life of Jesus, therefore, became a tragedy. That was inevitable. His lot was suffering. The truth of which he was conscious, which was the very breath of his life and the inspiration of his being, which was his very self, did not exist in the minds of his contemporaries. To be loyal to the light he had it was necessary for him to violate the customs of his time. Insisting upon the privilege of loving to the utmost all the world, and of devoting himself entirely to the emancipation of men, his path became inevitably a path of pain. For that is precisely the one privilege which the world does not want and will not tolerate.

Moreover, Jesus is reported to have warned his friends that a similar fate awaited them. He declares that those who share his ideal shall be hated of all men on that account—that men shall believe they are doing God's service in putting to death those who hold his faith. He warns them that he has not come to bring peace on the earth, but a sword; that families shall be divided and broken up; brother shall deliver up brother to death, and the father his own child; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household. And the man who does not place his allegiance to the truth above his affection for father, mother, wife, child, or anything else has never discovered the truth at all.

It is impossible to think of the life of George D. Herron without seeing that in all important particulars it mirrors that of Jesus. And, furthermore, not only is it impossible to regard the life of Jesus as an admirable or worthy life, as a sane or wise use of time, without giving freely to this modern prophet the same meed of praise, but, what is more important, it is impossible to give any credence at all to the noblest testimony of history or to the divinest intuitions of the human soul, without reverently knowing that the life which knows no higher passion than the will to love, and which asks no greater privilege than to make itself a love-offering to the world, is the only theophany men can experience.

The life and personality of Dr. Herron are not to be accounted for on the usual grounds of heredity, except in minor particulars, any more than was the case with the Nazarene. He is rather a disclosure to those who know him of those deeper possibilities of human nature of which we are too little aware. The first and the chief fact in his life that commands attention is precisely that which dominates him to-day—his consciousness of a timeless, measureless love and the sense of his own life as the opportunity for its expression. It was that which decided his choice of occupation. He was not made a minister by any church or council, but solely by the fact that he was conscious of truth which all the world must know. No religious body of any kind, no church, no theological school, has ever been willing to vouch for his beliefs or teachings. Those beliefs and teachings have been as much at variance with the accepted teachings of the schools and established faith of the churches as the teaching of Jesus was with respect to that of his contemporaries. He has simply borne witness to the convictions that burned within him. And the same sort of experience that attended the career of Jesus has marked his career.

About twelve years ago a young man was preaching in a little Congregational church in Minnesota. No one outside a somewhat narrow circle of friends had ever heard of him. No one beyond a few intimate friends imagined him to be different from the ordinary religious teacher. But a process of spiritual and intellectual gestation had been going on within him. He had been pondering the life of the world, particularly from the point of view of the teaching of Jesus. His own consciousness had become saturated with those ideals which possessed the mind of the Galilean. The same divine passion was taking possession of him. The facts and relations of life were slowly taking their places in his mind in harmonious order.

In the fulness of time an invitation came to him to deliver an address before an association of Congregational ministers in Minneapolis. The invitation was accepted, and this unknown pastor of an obscure church read before that association a paper entitled "The Message of Jesus to Men of Wealth." A report of the address was given to the papers and was quoted far and wide throughout the United States and beyond. It is entirely within the truth to say that no deliverance from a minister has so stirred and electrified the thinking people of this country in half a century as that did. Within a short time its author had received calls from churches located in the great centers of population. These calls came not because men generally accepted the substance of Dr. Herron's teaching, but because they were compelled to recognize in him a man of transcendent power and insight. His words touched a deeper chord in human life than had been touched before. And spontaneously there sprang to the lips of a multitude of men and women the same testimony that was given to another prophet by the people of another time: "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."

Dr. Herron accepted the call of the smallest of the churches, and became the assistant pastor of a Congregational church in Burlington, Iowa. His going to that church was deemed at the time to be an event of unusual importance. Men of any spiritual sensitiveness were compelled instinctively to recognize the fact that a prophet had appeared among us—a man with a message which the world must hear and reckon with.

It ought not to have been difficult to foresee what his experience in that or any church would be. There could be no doubt about his having a hearing. He has never lacked that. For, as no man who has lived on this continent, as few men that the world knows anything about, this man touches the depths of the human soul. In his love-inspired personality is the very dynamite of elemental truth. It was an event in the spiritual history of Burlington when he came there.

But it was as impossible for Dr. Herron to be supported by any ordinary religious institution as it was for Jesus to be so supported. Jesus could not have been maintained by any institution of his day and country. They had no use for him, nor he for them. The Burlington church soon discovered that they had secured a man as their pastor, the new wine of whose preaching no old bottles of ecclesiasticism could contain. They found that Dr. Herron could not be hampered by the restraints of tradition and custom. And it became evident both to him and to them that a different field must be found for the deliverance of his message.

The teaching of Dr. Herron antagonized the interests of our present system of wealth—accumulation and distribution. He knew no gospel that could possibly be good tidings to any man who believed in the justice of the existing economic system. Neither did Jesus. But churches are sustained by money. And money must come from those who have it. And those who have it are not disposed to cut off their base of supply. They will give money for the support of no institution that menaces the system supplying the money. And they will sustain no man whose teaching involves the utter condemnation of commercialism. It was therefore inevitable from the first that Dr. Herron could not remain for any length of time in that or any other church. And his departure from the Burlington church meant his final departure from recognition as a minister. Not a church in the United States or out of it could be found that would tolerate him as its minister. Neither could one be found on the earth that would afford a living support to a man like Jesus of Nazareth.

But there is a law of adaptation in the universe. Where there is demand there will sooner or later be supply. Let it be remembered that Dr. Herron came to Burlington a total stranger. And there was nothing about his preaching that would naturally attract any person of wealth. He taught that a wealthy Christian was as unthinkable under existing conditions as a white blackness or a black whiteness. The method of wealth-accumulation is foreign to all that Jesus stood for and to every law of justice and truth and love. That is not an essentially pleasing or attractive gospel. But it was exactly the kind of preaching for which one of the wealthiest members of the Burlington church had been waiting. From the first this woman, Mrs. Rand, felt that this preacher was right—divinely right. She had felt the ethical contradiction of the life led by men and women under the system of capitalism. She had seen that the solution of our moral problems is not to be found in the individualistic preaching of a baseless religion, but in the economic sphere. And she had been waiting for an opportunity to devote her wealth to the purpose of changing the system and establishing in its place such an industrial order as should insure to every man that which belonged to him.

The opportunity had come in the person of Dr. Herron. She had seen that he could not be supported by his church, nor any church. She felt that he ought to have a wider hearing. His was a message which the existing church offered no adequate machinery to propagate. He should be placed where he could inspire the souls of young men with the truth which irradiated and transfused his own being, where he could respond to the demands pouring in upon him from every quarter. Mrs. Rand accordingly made a proposition to the trustees of Iowa College to establish in that institution a department to be known as the "Department of Applied Christianity," on condition that Dr. Herron should be at its head and have entire freedom of thought and speech. The proposition was accepted, and for seven years Dr. Herron remained in that position.

There was in this experience of Dr. Herron's a singular likeness to what occurred in the life of Jesus. The only hint we have of the source of personal contribution to the support of Jesus is that which mentions certain women as giving of their means to defray his living expenses while he was preaching in Galilee. When Dr. Herron could no longer hope for support from any source whatever in the propagation of his faith, a consecrated woman alone insured the continuance of his ministry and assured the people of this country the privilege of hearing and reading the message which has made Dr. Herron the greatest prophet of modern times.

During the period of his occupancy of the professorship at Iowa College, Dr. Herron was unquestionably the most conspicuous public teacher of America—nay, of the world. No other man could be named who has been so continuously absorbed in public lecturing and teaching over so wide a territory during the last ten years as he. He has spoken in all the great cities of the United States in the North and West, and in England. He has written for scores of papers and magazines. He has published a dozen books and pamphlets or more—books that fairly live and breathe and throb and beat with the passion of his own heart. There are none to be compared with them. He has delivered courses of lectures in Boston, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, and other cities. He visited the Pacific Coast a few years ago, and the leading ministers of San Francisco, Oakland, Los Angeles, San José, and other places united in declaring the coming of this man among them had marked an epoch in the spiritual awakening of that section.

But it was inevitable that, as no church could support or tolerate such a man, so no other institution could. It was only a question of time before he would have to separate himself from all relationship to any sort of institution. It became evident to the trustees of Iowa College that the character of Dr. Herron's teaching—especially his fundamental contention that the private ownership of natural resources or of the things upon which people depend for a living is iniquitous and intolerable—kept from the college many gifts of money that otherwise would come to them. In other words, the most conclusive evidence was afforded to the people of this country and the world that any serious attempt to apply Christianity, any serious attempt even to teach the conditions necessary to the living of a free and decent life, could not be carried on under the existing capitalistic régime. With his accustomed sensitiveness to the feelings of others, Dr. Herron anticipated the wishes of the trustees and resigned his professorship in a letter whose manly and noble sentiment has never been surpassed. Not only did he take himself out of the institution, but he persuaded Mrs. Rand to turn over his life-endowment to the trustees practically without conditions.

It must be remembered that, when Dr. Herron gave up his place in the college, he gave up his living. No church, no other college, no institution of any sort can be found that would give him a maintenance. His teachings have no money value. They are hostile to those interests upon which the accumulation of wealth rests. Precisely the same thing was true in the case of Jesus. He could get a living as a carpenter, perhaps; but after he had begun to preach his revolutionary doctrines it was quite possible that his chances of getting a living at any trade would have been slim.

But the question is whether Jesus had any right to go back to the work of a carpenter after he became conscious of the truth that made him a prophet. That question admits of but one answer. Jesus would have been the most despicable man that ever lived if, after becoming conscious of the truths he taught, he had not fearlessly and at any cost proclaimed them. Nothing whatever could excuse him from doing that.

The principle is exactly the same in the case of Dr. Herron. He had no choice but to give utterance to his convictions. The fact that obedience to those convictions might mean sorrow and pain to himself and to others could not weigh an atom. Can you imagine that Jesus did not foresee the pain and suffering that his course was bound to entail on his mother and brothers and sisters? Do not we know that the acceptance of his teaching by others involved their martyrdom? But Jesus could not hesitate. The truth is imperative. The consciousness of the will to love is an omnipotent consciousness. To question it or disobey it, once it becomes known, is miserably to perish.

George D. Herron has had to pay that price. His life has been one constant tragedy, and no one except himself can possibly know all the unspeakable bitterness of the cup he has had pressed to his lips. The man does not live and never has lived who has more bravely, more willingly and patiently, drained that cup to the dregs. His life has been one long crucifixion, and nothing under heaven but the violation of the eternal law of his own being and the betrayal of the highest interests of men and women could have prevented it.

When the truth that love is the eternal and elemental law and substance and meaning of the universe dawned upon this man's consciousness in that little Minnesota village, the die was cast. His fate was sealed, and all that has come to him since became inevitable. For he could not feel, as he did, in every fiber of his being the passion of the All-loving, he could not see the divine truth that glorifies and harmonizes the universe, without also seeing and feeling the falsehood and iniquity upon which human institutions are builded. He could not see heaven without seeing hell. And once having seen the deeper meaning of the universe, once having "been to Golgotha and beheld humanity hanging on a cross," once having become a prisoner to the Will to Love, he could no more help taking the path he has taken through these years than the sun can help shining.

Those of us who are at all acquainted with George D. Herron know that his soul is white. We do not need any testimony on that point. We who know him know that the everyday consciousness of his life, the only thought of it that he has at all, is that he may make his life a love-offering for the healing of the world's wrong. I do not affirm the infallibility of this man. I only affirm that, being what he is, it is simply impossible for him to harm any human being, impossible for him to think of himself, impossible for him not to make any sacrifice of himself that love could suggest, in order to serve and bless any one. In the life of this man, for these last twelve years that he has been under the glare of publicity, and the subject of microscopic scrutiny and criticism from representatives of the inhuman system of which he has been the most fearless and uncompromising foe, there is not one act of his which was not prompted by a selfless love. And the one act for which he has been so ignorantly and universally condemned, while refusing to open his mouth in one word of self-defense, and which act brought upon him the supreme agony of his life, exhibited qualities of character which are nothing less than divine.

He has been the merciless enemy of all that hurts or mars the lives of men, and no man has been so hated and maligned by the forces of capitalism all over the land. And yet it has been impossible for any one to put his finger on a single unclean spot in the record of this man. And his bitterest critic in the partizan press has freely admitted the unimpeachable honor and integrity of the man.

It is as impossible for Dr. Herron to defend himself against any imputation which may be indulged in, or to utter reproach against another person, as it would be for the sun to withhold its light. I suppose it is a difficult sort of character to understand, the character of a man who has no ambition for himself, no desire to promote his own interests, who is absorbed in the task of asserting and securing the rights and the happiness of others. And that is the reason why it will be impossible for most people really to comprehend the life of this man. Only the educating and unfolding influences of a social order based on mutual love and service will make him comprehensible to the mass of men. Nor am I here to undertake his defense. I have cared only to make him understood. To understand such a man as that is to my mind a most gracious theophany.

About the time that John Brown was hanged at Charleston, W. Va., Thoreau made an address at a meeting in Concord, in the course of which he remarked that he was reminded by the execution of John Brown that there was such a possibility as dying. A great many people were said to have died, but they really had only sloughed away and a hundred eulogists were engaged in mopping the place where they left off. In order to die, one must have lived. Only now and then a man ever lives. And so for the majority it is impossible to die.

The truth is, we live our life in a web of lies. Our whole social order is founded on lies. And we have become so accustomed to it that when any one attempts to discover a truth to us we do not know what to make of it.

I have spoken of the life of George D. Herron as a tragedy of love and conscience. And I have said that nothing except the supreme treason of which a man is capable could have made his life other than it has been. And I believe that to be true. And yet I do not believe that it is a good thing or that it is at all essentially necessary that in order to be true to himself a man must submit to a life-long crucifixion. I believe that it is the right of every human being to be happy. I believe that to be the normal condition of human life. And I believe, as does my friend, that it is perfectly possible for society to put an end to this fearful tragedy—that all of us together may establish such a relationship, may lay broad and deep such foundations for social order as will leave men and women free to live the life they were made to live. It is for you and me and our fellow-men to determine whether we shall have here on the earth an economic system which puts on the rack of torture every noblest spirit that comes among us and brands the lives of the millions with the mark of slavery, or whether we will have here a social order which in the very nature of things will encourage and welcome and invite the fullest, freest expression of all that is finest and highest and best in men. Until we determine with all our souls to do that, until we lay the foundations of society and industry upon the solid rock of that justice which is the essence of the universe and make it possible that every act in our life may be the expression of the will to love, we decree that the bravest, truest, noblest types of man shall know life only as one long tragedy. But when the better day shall dawn, when the collective man shall come to himself, when a rational and humane social order is achieved and it is possible for every soul that comes into the world "to live a complete and unfearing life," I am convinced that the love and gratitude of an emancipated humanity will turn, as the needle to the pole, to the name of George D. Herron, the true knight-errant of a nobler chivalry than all the past has known.

WILLIAM T. BROWN.

Rochester, N. Y.

THE NEW SOCIAL APOSTOLATE.

A Conversation between EDITOR CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON *and* PROFESSOR GEORGE D. HERRON, *on*

THE AIM, SCOPE, AND PURPOSE OF THE NEW SOCIAL CRUSADE.*

Q. Dr. Herron, it is currently reported in the press that you have founded a new religion out in Chicago. What truth is there in this?

A. Well, there is no truth in the statement that I have founded a new "religion," as that term is commonly understood. If it were stated that I am trying to reinterpret life as a religion or reinterpret religion as life, the statement might be true. I am simply trying to show the sacredness of human life—to set forth human life as its own religion.

Q. Are you in accord with what Christ and his immediate followers taught?

A. Yes, I think I am. I believe that Jesus, more than any one else we know, got hold of the fundamental principles and facts of life, and that it is the business of the next spiritual revolution to apply the principles that Jesus taught to human life and its problems.

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* The accompanying conversation recently took place in Chicago, between Editor Charles Brodie Patterson and Dr. George D. Herron. It forms one of the most interesting and important of our series of discussions on present-day social, economic, political, and educational problems, which are regularly appearing in THE ARENA. In spite of much that is disquieting in political and social conditions, the readers of THE ARENA may well feel encouraged at the marked evidences of social awakening and of a growing realization of the needs and the demands of the larger life of the incoming age, as indicated in the many movements now under way which aim in an intelligent way at securing a larger measure of justice and human brotherhood than has been widely demanded in the past. Dr. Herron's movement is significant as well as symptomatic. Its message will find an echo in hundreds of thousands of deeply religious hearts, and it will accomplish a great work for human advancement.—B. O. F.

Q. Then you believe that Jesus was the interpreter of life —the founder of a religion of right living?

A. Yes.

Q. In what way are you going to bring this before the people—this interpretation of a larger life? By what methods?

A. Well, first, as to the general method—through presenting the Socialistic movement as the next great step in the emancipation of mankind. I believe that the socialists' movement is essentially a spiritual revolution and is fundamental to any common spiritual liberty. I and the young men at work with me in the Social Crusade accept thoroughly the socialist's position and the socialist's interpretation of history. We believe that the foundation of economic unity that socialism will lay truly represents the ideal of Jesus.

Q. But has not socialism in the past been very clearly identified with materialism?

A. Yes, it has; but the newer thought and the newer philosophy have entirely eliminated the distinction between the spiritual and the material. Any interpretation of life must rest upon the identity of the two. The economic and the spiritual life of man are one and can by no possibility be separated, any more than a man can fulfil his human functions without his body.

Q. In the past the socialistic movement has tended to the destruction of the existing order of things rather than to a constructive policy. What position do you take in relation to that phase of the question?

A. Well, socialism as a philosophy is wholly constructive. Every constructive movement necessarily destroys that which is its antithesis. Socialism does produce the entire abolition of private ownership of the means and sources of production, for the reason that the capitalistic system is itself the basis of all the economic and moral wrongs that socialism aims to set right. Of course, every new world movement is destructive of the old. Christianity is destructive to the Roman Empire, democracy is destructive to monarchy, freedom is destructive to slavery. So socialism, which means the common ownership of the means and sources of production by the people and for the people, is destructive to the system of private ownership or capitalistic production, and all the institutions that rest upon this system as their foundation.

Q. Now, as to the detail of your work—what course will that follow?

A. We have organized a group of men under the term of the "Social Crusade." We call ourselves the Socialistic Apostolate. Our purpose is to give ourselves freely to the whole nation wherever it is desired that we be heard: in churches, in lecture rooms, in institutions of learning, in the socialists' movement, and everywhere that we may make our gospel heard.

Q. In this movement, where a number of young men are employed with yourself, what means do you take to raise funds to carry on the work?

A. We depend upon those interested in the work we are trying to do and who believe in it sufficiently to support it by voluntary contributions. We take no pay for our services; wherever we go we simply ask that our expenses be paid. So far as our relation to the people goes, we serve without money and without price. These young men associated with me depend for their incomes upon funds that are contributed to our movement by private individuals interested in the work.

Q. I understand that the work is being carried on more especially in Chicago at the present time than elsewhere. What success is attending your efforts?

A. Very great success indeed. My Sunday afternoon lectures at Central Music Hall, which is the old and historic meeting-place of Chicago, are attended every Sunday with audiences that fill it to overflowing. I also speak during the week before various churches and organizations in and around Chicago, and each week the young men associated with me are speaking in and around Chicago every night, going to smaller cities as far away as Battle Creek, Mich., South Bend, Ind., and Rock Island, Ill.

Q. Do you find on the whole that the churches are friendly to your work?

A. No; I find on the whole that they are not. I think that lies in the nature of the case, because spiritual democracy and socialism mean the destruction of institutions resting upon coercive faiths or authority. Of necessity there could be no such thing as what we now understand as the Church in socialistic or spiritual democracy.

Q. You do not look upon the Church, as it is at present constituted, as a divine institution?

A. No; I look upon it at present as a chief obstruction to the highest progress of the world as well as the chief obstruction to economic emancipation.

Q. If the Church were removed, what would you substitute?

A. The free spiritual life of the people, as the real temple of the Most High. Whoever had a message to speak that was worth hearing would always have the hearing his message merited. He would neither desire nor have any institutional authority to accredit his message. Henceforth the truth must be its own authority.

Q. I take it, then, that you look upon creeds and forms and ceremonials as being detrimental to the spiritual welfare of the people?

A. I do most thoroughly. I think they form a veil between man and the open vision of God in human life. They exist only by threat and by attacking the integrity of the human soul.

Q. I believe that this work is to be carried to New York and Boston and other centers?

A. Yes. Immediately upon closing my work in Chicago on the fourth Sunday of March I go to Boston for two weeks and then come to New York City for two months, where I shall be lecturing in Cooper Union every Tuesday night, and every Sunday night in the Park Theater in Brooklyn; also before many religious and socialistic organizations.

Q. A school of economics, I understood, was to be started somewhere between Detroit and Chicago. Has that idea been abandoned?

A. It was really never taken up. The newspaper reports of it were wholly fictitious. There was never any intention of anything more than a summer school of social economics, lasting from two to four weeks; but nearly all the announcements of my connection with the proposed plan were unauthorized. If we have a school of economics, as we hope some time to have, it will probably be in Chicago.

Q. Now, Doctor, standing as you do for a spiritual philosophy that shall find its expression in works, do you find the masses of the people with you in your work to any marked degree?

A. Yes; to an increasingly marked degree. I think that the people are ready for a great socialistic movement that shall be political in its aspects and yet wholly religious in its spirit—that shall at once partake of the nature of a spiritual and political and an economic revolution.

Q. When you speak of a "revolution," what do you mean?

A. I mean an entire change of the order of things, not necessarily violent. I hope that the next great world revolution will be a revolution in revolutions—a revolution of good will, through the incoming of spiritual forces.

Q. Then you would not direct a crusade against the capitalistic classes so much as you would against the capitalistic system?

A. Against capitalists as a class system, not against individual capitalists. In other words, our movement is a new form of the old message: "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

Q. This kingdom of heaven, then, must come first of all through ideals?

A. Yes. Through the existence of reconstructive ideals of life and society among the people.

Q. Do you think that if you had authority, for instance, to change the existing economic conditions of the country, would that be enough in and of itself to bring happiness to the people? Would the changed environment, in other words, bring about this kingdom of God?

A. It would not of itself bring it about, but it would prepare the way for it and lay a foundation. A bad system of things cannot bring forth good fruit or good individual character. Economic change through the possession of political power by the socialistic movement is fundamental to any great spiritual reconstruction of individual or social life. If we expect men to be just and loving and free, then we must train them in a school of life that is just and loving and free. We cannot train them for freedom or for comrade-love in strife and competition, or for justice in a school of monstrous injustice. Civilization must be born again before society can see the kingdom of God.

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

THERE is a stage sometimes reached in human existence where the soul-life seems to have left the physical organism; where the power to think and feel is gone—yet the body lives on, and the individual eats and drinks, and continues, for a time at least, his purely animal existence. This sometimes happens to persons that have been famous in the world and whose activities have been marked; the writer has several such cases in mind. It would seem as if, on taking its flight, the soul had left enough surplus vitality behind to keep the body alive for a season—a mere house minus an inhabitant: all love and faith and hope gone, the power to think and reason dissipated, the tongue still able automatically to repeat words and phrases, but, after all, mere empty words, devoid of thought or feeling. Perhaps soul and body may not as yet be entirely separated; but there is no evidence of soul functioning, so that to all intents and purposes a complete separation has taken place.

I call attention to the foregoing to illustrate the present condition of the Protestant Church, which seems to be a living body without a soul. It walks and talks and eats and drinks, but apparently without any end or purpose. The Protestant Church, as at present constituted, offers not one valid reason for its existence. It is not abreast of one single issue of the day, and is behind the times on every vital question. The only really charitable thing that can be said is that perhaps its soul has gone to that far-off, undiscovered "Heaven" about which it has preached so much and so often, and no one is left behind to bury its body; and so natural forces are at work bringing about a disintegration of the remains, in order that the material may again re-form into things of durability and beauty.

This article is not written in any spirit of satisfaction with this state of affairs; quite the reverse. Would to God that the Church might stand forth in all the beauty and majesty that the living Christ-religion would give her! But, alas! she has buried her Christ and knows not where to find Him. The Christ triumphant over sin and death is unknown and unsought.

The gospel of peace and good-will and healing of the sick and recovery of sight to the blind finds no place in an ecclesiastical system made up of obsolete beliefs, theological vagaries, and dead symbolism. Well might it be said of the Church of to-day, as was said of the church of the Laodiceans:

> "These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God: I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot; I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

If the Church had to answer for its sins of omission and commission, as it has preached the individual sinner must do, before the judgment seat of God, it could never escape the eternal punishment to which it so complacently commits the individual. In any reform worthy of notice that has been effected in our country in the last fifty years—where has the Church stood in relation to it? Always obstructing and hindering its progress until, at last, outside opinion would become so pronounced that it could no longer resist it—and then it would give half-hearted assent.

Of slavery, civic reform, universal suffrage, the right of women to think and act for themselves, the righteous distribution of wealth, the ownership of economic utilities by the people—of anything and everything in the nature of progress—the Church has been the open foe, or has acted as a clog upon public sentiment. True, it has dabbled in partizan politics, but without credit to itself or good to humanity. And the very things that it would take credit for doing are without doubt the ones that have left the largest and blackest blot. It has sent its missionaries to Hawaii, India, and China, not to carry a gospel of peace and good-will, but to stir up and foment disturbances. In Hawaii, when the missionaries got through "civilizing" the country, it was found that they and their descendants had the largest part of its resources; and, not content with this, they were ready to hand over its people and whatever was left to a Government that the people neither needed nor desired. In India, the inside history of the Sepoy rebellion would tend to show that missionary effort—the desire to proselyte, the means taken to do it, and the effort to suppress another people's religion—was largely responsible for that insurrection. The present trouble in China, which has cost thousands of lives and millions of dollars, is directly traceable to the influence of church organizations operating through missionary societies.

Last summer, Lord Salisbury, in addressing a missionary association, declared that within recent years the missionaries had brought about more turbulence and actual warfare than any other known cause; and the aged premier of England undoubtedly knew what he was talking about. Some people think that, through organized church effort reenforcing our Government, we are civilizing the nations of the earth. God help a civilization that is founded on legalized robbery and warfare! True, we are "expanding" our country; but how? Through honorable treaty or convention, in which equal rights are guaranteed to all? No, but by force of arms, or by buying one country from another that never had the right of sale, or by setting up a holy standard for the rights of humanity, and freeing a people only to enslave them again. Who is responsible for this condition? Some say the politicians; but how is it possible for them to obtain such power? Because the Church either openly indorses or looks upon their action with silent approval. Whatever power the Church has had it has not been used to promote peace, but rather to engender hatred and strife.

A few years ago the majority of ministers all over the land were crying for war—for the destruction of the unspeakable Turk. The state of affairs in Armenia was deplorable and cruel in the extreme. However, it was claimed at that time that the missionaries were to some degree responsible for this condition of things. But the butchery of the Armenians has been equaled if not surpassed by the warfare going on in the Philippines, whence reports have repeatedly come to us of the death of three hundred or more Filipinos and the loss of only ten of our own soldiers. Yet the Church holds its peace when it does not indorse the work of extermination. Like a dying wood fire, there is occasionally a spasmodic flicker—the light flaring up only to go out again.

A "revival" is started in certain sections, and the ministers come together to destroy the works of "the world, the flesh, and the devil"; but in a little time they begin to quarrel among themselves, and if there were a personal devil in the world he would certainly get greater comfort and amusement out of it than do some of the people who have their emotional feelings raked over the old symbolic coals of hell fire. Just at present a campaign of this kind is proceeding in New York City. How effectual it will prove in "saving souls" remains to be seen. The only vitality that seems to have permanent expression is the power to raise money; and even this is waning, for a body cannot go on indefinitely receiving all and giving nothing.

But an element has come into Church life that will to some degree tend to prolong its existence. Men that have made millions through the unblushing robbery of the economic rights as well as the products of manual labor have allied themselves with the Church by contributing bountifully to its sustenance. They have a definite purpose in so doing, and it is not to make their calling and election sure in heaven; most of them think that through an alliance with the Church they will be better able to continue and perpetuate what is without doubt the most unrighteous social and economic condition of affairs that has ever existed on the face of the earth. True, the poor are better off to-day than they were in former years; but the annual production of wealth is so vastly greater that its distribution is more unequal than at any time in history. Yet the pulpit is silent, the preacher is gagged, and the unholy alliance goes on. The robbery is made highly respectable by the Church. "Let them alone: they be blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch."

There are some optimistic souls who talk about "revivifying" the Church,—who think that it is possible to have the Christ religion preached and taught in its original purity and spirituality,—and they point with a great show of fervor to the fact that within the last twenty years the Church has talked of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that all this is a great advance in the evolution of the Church; but it is *only* talk, idiotic talk, without sense or meaning or a semblance of feeling. There has not been the slightest evidence that it has gone further than that; there is no practical expression—a deeper realization of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man has not entered into human life—because of anything the Church has said or done. Let the world once realize that the Church is a dead institution; that the Spirit of God is no longer in it; that it is made up of Pharisaical cant and theological hypocrisy—let the garment of respectability that covers the bloodless body be torn away—and there will be none so humble as to do her obeisance. The Church, as now constituted, can never be "revivified." All the life forces have been withdrawn. We have only an external organization, which lives for commercialism instead of the uplifting of soul life. For the infidelity, skepticism, and atheism of the world the Church is to a marked degree responsible. The people have asked for bread and have been given a stone.

The Church of to-day has nothing new or vital in it. One section of it is still quarreling over "predestination," and is in doubt as to whether Jonathan Edwards was right when he declared that hell was paved with infants' skulls and that God for his own honor and glory elected the vast majority of mankind to abide eternally in a home of torment. Shades of dyspeptic Calvin! How it would rejoice your heart to come back to earth and see how much you surpass in importance, in that section of the Church, the lowly Nazarene! Another section, which had its origin in the more spiritual teachings of John Wesley, is still trying to determine whether women have any rights in the government of a church of which they form the major part. If this particular sect were as alive to the spirit as it is energetic in passing the collection plate, it would have a monopoly of all the spirituality in the universal Church. A member of another section of the Church announced with considerable satisfaction that he thanked God that *his* church never dabbled in religion or politics!

But there is a *real* Church of Christ in the world to-day, existing in the minds and hearts of people both within and without ecclesiastical organizations. Man is coming to realize his divine nature. The knowledge is coming into the world as never before that the soul of man and the Soul of God are essentially one. The parting of the ways has come; authority is not vested in any book or in any church. The way of salvation lies not through external means. The veil of the temple is rent. No high priest—no church—may offer up any sin-offering for the souls of the people; the soul in man communes with the universal Soul. External authority of book and church has kept human life in a state of bondage wherein symmetrical growth or development was impossible. But the awakening that is coming, that is now here, locates the authority within the conscious life of man, working to will and to do. The church "organization" has outgrown its usefulness; its day is run. But the religion that Jesus taught is more in evidence to-day than ever before, and the people are more eager for knowledge of it. It is not found in creed, ceremonial, or dogmatic theology: it is found in the life. "The kingdom of God is within you"—the life of Christ, as lived in and through and by the individual, cleanses from all sin.

"Tho' Christ a thousand times
In Bethlehem were born,
If He is not born in thee,
Thy heart is all forlorn."

Said a New Testament writer, "Let the same mind be in you that dwelt in Christ"; and when the same mind has full access to the inner life of man, then that life yields the same things, thinks the same thoughts, speaks the same words, and does the same deeds that the great Nazarene did. Jesus both told and showed us how to live. He never founded an ecclesiastical hierarchy, but went about among the people preaching a gospel of peace and good-will, healing the sick, and giving comfort to the sorrowing. Some day we will all get back to the simple truths of the Nazarene's religion; and when we do there shall be fulfilled the revelation of John: "And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God." "And I saw no temple therein."

CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON.

New York.

THE TAX REFORM MOVEMENT.

THAT reformers as a class are essentially religious is indicated by the fashion in which advocates of every conceivable cause or interest, whether it be temperance, telepathy, or taxes, promulgate and promote their doctrines. Leaders are "prophets" and "evangelists," and their adherents "devotees" and "disciples." Every illumination thrown on the subject is the light of "millennial dawn." Even the cant of the religious revival is perpetuated in the new evangel, and expected to be there revered by those who scoff at it in its old connection.

This tendency explains why many economic or social reforms flourish so amazingly at their inception, and then pass away so quickly "without our special wonder." In the beginning, the people of religious temperament, to whom conversion is a pleasurable excitation of the emotions, are quickly enrolled. But these Pentecostal days soon pass away, leaving the great heathen public bewildered, but unmoved. It cannot understand, for example, how a question of revenue, a matter of plain "bread and wine," can be transubstantiated into the elements of divinity —the "Fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man." And, in this attitude, "the children of this world are wiser than the children of light."

What is the natural order of progress, if not from the material and practical toward the spiritual and ideal? Why set in the beginning a goal impossible of conception to all but the enthusiasts, and impossible of attainment by the enthusiasts if they are to act alone?

Humanitarians of the heroic mold of Henry George and Father McGlynn—children of light though they were—could not illumine the world at once with the heavenly glory that so irradiated in their own minds the mundane subject of taxation; and if the end for which they strove is to be obtained, it will not be through a ministry imitative of theirs. Everything that is practical in the crusade which they so exalted may be secured through fiscal reform movements which, beginning obscurely in widely separated parts of the country, are now for the first time coming into the light with the prestige of practical achievement.

Back in the days following the civil war, an artisan of Racine, Wis., Burgess by name, formulated certain practical methods for reforming prevailing abuses and inequalities in taxation, and for returning to a natural and equitable system for providing public revenue. He believed that taxes on industry were generally unnecessary and specifically injurious. He drew up a bill, for presentation to the Legislature, that would give local option in taxation, and thus permit each locality to remove those taxes oppressive to its local interests and industries. He believed that an "ad valorem land tax" was not oppressive to any productive industry, and that this would be the only tax remaining after each industry had freed itself from all burdening imposts. Had he believed in any other tax as non-oppressive, or the least oppressive, his mode of action would still have been the same. In immediate result, his work was ineffective, not because of any weakness of plan, but because he lacked the organizing power necessary to secure the proper influences that would compel the Legislature to give due consideration to his measure.

In 1871, Enoch Ensley, a landowner of Tennessee, wrote a letter to Governor Brown advocating a principle of taxation and a plan of securing its adoption very similar to that of Burgess, but even more practical in the limitation of abolition of unjust taxation to one class of wealth—namely, movable property. The substance of his letter may be summed up in this three-fold rule of taxation, which he said should be engraved in letters of gold on the wall of every hall of legislation:

"NEVER TAX ANYTHING
THAT WOULD BE OF VALUE TO YOUR STATE,
THAT COULD AND WOULD RUN AWAY, OR
THAT COULD AND WOULD COME TO YOU."

As an illustration of Ensley's hard-headed sense, the closing paragraph of his letter is here quoted:

> "To undertake to enforce a very oppressive tax on money is ridiculous nonsense. It is impossible. The Maker of all things has forbidden it, in giving to all things their peculiar nature. He has forbidden an oppressive tax on money, by giving it that easy mobility that it can go in a fortnight from Tennessee almost to the uttermost parts of the world. And just so, to some extent, with other kinds of movable property. It would be about as wise for the Legislature to pass a law enacting that, from and after this date, the great bulk of the water of the Mississippi River shall flow toward Cairo instead of toward New Orleans, as to enact that the great bulk of the money of Memphis shall pay 4½ per cent. tax per annum. It is wise in man to deal with things as they are, and will be in spite of him, and not as he may think they should be. Don't kick against the pricks!"

The movement, however, that has been most effective, both directly in its work in the home State and indirectly through the agitation of a brood of similar organizations in other States that have taken it for an example, is the New York Tax Reform Association. This movement had a natural origin in the efforts of a number of business organizations of New York City to resist certain personal and listing tax bills that were introduced at Albany in the winter of 1890. The Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Trade and Transportation had temporarily succeeded in defeating these obnoxious measures by the time-worn expedient of securing the "appointment of a commission" to investigate the subject of taxation.

To Thomas G. Shearman and Bolton Hall is due the credit of demonstrating the inadequacy of such an expedient and persuading merchants and their fellow real-estate men to a trial of their practical proposition. This was, to secure the passage of a bill giving local option in taxation to the individual counties of the State, and so to enable each locality to settle its fiscal problems for itself. The fairness of the measure attracted support from business associations, economic bodies, and more particularly the labor unions, whose knowledge of economics probably was, and has been, greater than that of professedly learned societies—certainly greater than the information possessed by the busy man of affairs.

This "Local Option in Taxation" bill received a most respectful hearing from the legislative committee to which it was referred. Its first good effect was to call forth from one of the committee a vigorous speech against the double taxation resultant from the listing of mortgages as taxable property, against which injustice a vigorous fight has been made in the present legislative session (1901). The committee reported favorably on the Local Option bill, and had it not been for a legislative deadlock on other issues it would undoubtedly have passed. Indeed, from an educational point of view, it was most fortunate that the bill failed of passage, since the agitation was continued. Year after year until 1895 the bill was reported, being set aside in 1893 by a motion to recommit which a change of one vote would have defeated. Year after year, subsequent to 1895, has the bill been introduced, setting up a standard around which gathers an ever-growing body of adherents, better and better educated in sound economic principles and more and more resolved upon their complete enforcement when the opposition has been worn out by indomitable persistence.

In the meantime, movements designed for general education on taxation and other economic reforms by purely evangelistic methods have waxed and waned, and their originators have grown discouraged, wondering at the lack of interest and support exhibited by the pubilc. "The children of this world are wiser than the children of light." They demand a contest for a concrete object, and rightly, since all progress is only to be comprehended in its material results. W. T. Croasdale, a leading tax-reformer of a decade ago, uttered a profound psychological truth when he denied the name of "adherent" of a school of economic thought to one who claimed it because of his belief in the principles of the school: "No, sir! A Single Taxer is a man who does something for the Single Tax." Croasdale himself was a reformer of this type. An even better example was the late lamented Thomas G. Shearman, author of "Natural Taxation," who, while holding opinions far more radical than those of the New York Tax Reform Association, recognized the wisdom of its promotion of legislative measures rather than of economic theories. With him, in the early days of the Association, was joined the distinguished economist, David A. Wells, whose committee reports before legislative bodies in New York and other States have had the strongest influence for good in the present trend toward tax reform.

In 1889 Mr. Shearman addressed in person the Legislature of Ohio, and the outcome of the interest then aroused has been the Ohio Tax Reform League, which models its agitation upon the methods of the New York Association. In 1899 it formulated a Local Option Tax bill, which was presented to the State Legislature, having the indorsement of almost every commercial and trade organization in the State. The writer, who was then in Ohio, appeared before the committee to which the bill was referred and can testify that only the lack of partizan interest in the measure prevented its recommendation. Indeed, the non-partizan character of such legislation is the greatest obstacle to its passage. No party capital can be made out of its success.

The tax reform movements in other States than Ohio have also followed New York methods. By invitation the present secretary of the New York Tax Reform Association, Mr. Lawson Purdy, has twice addressed legislative committees of Rhode Island when a local option tax bill had been there introduced.

In Vermont, a commission of three men was appointed by the Governor to report on reforms in taxation. Literature and advice were given by Mr. Purdy, and the committee in its report strongly inveighed against the injustice of double taxation and specifically recommended the exemption from the tax list of mortgages.

In Massachusetts the tax reform movement has proceeded upon lines similar to those in New York, but independent of New York influences and with methods of agitation peculiarly its own. A local option in taxation bill has been introduced in the Legislature and favorably received.

The New York Association has supplied, at their request, the Legislatures of Alabama, Texas, and Kansas with tax reform literature, and, as a result, local option tax bills have been introduced in these States with indications of passage at not far distant sessions.

It is in Illinois, however—where, next to New York, the greatest need of tax reform exists—that the New York example has been of most educational benefit. Of this agitation a recent editorial in the Buffalo (N. Y.) *Enquirer* remarks as follows:

> "Local option in taxation has become an issue in Illinois, a bill having been introduced in the Legislature of that State similar to the one now before the Assembly at Albany. The Illinois measure not merely proposes to grant to localities freedom in choosing their own methods of raising local revenues, but to abolish the State Board of Equalization, one of the most corrupt bodies in the State government. It is notorious that ever since this board was created it has been under complete control of the corporations whose assessments it fixes from year to year. Not merely have the equalizers permitted the railroads and other corporations, requiring a State charter, to escape on a small fraction of the taxes they ought to pay, but they have utterly failed to equalize the assessments between the different counties of the State.
>
> "As in New York, the system has been a premium upon perjury among assessors. The scramble has been to return as little property as possible, in order to avoid more than their share of State taxes. The assessors defend themselves by stating that they had to reduce the total

assessment to protect the property-owners from paying more than their share of State taxes, the tendency being for rural counties to undervalue property more and more.

"It is now proposed to apportion State taxes among the counties according to the gross amount raised for local purposes. This suggestion has come from New York State, a bill now being before the Legislature at Albany to accomplish the same object. Illinois newspapers are said to be generally in favor of the change as a remedy for the existing impracticable and unjust plan.

"Local option in raising public revenue is a wise extension of the principle of home rule, to which all citizens desirous of tax reform will readily assent."

The New Jersey Taxation Reform Association has been formed very recently to secure for that State the legislation that all the centers of capital and industry so greatly require. Delaware, which, like New Jersey, has opened the legislative sluice-ways for the befouled water of corporate capital to flow through its borders, in order that it may leave some of its dirty dregs behind, has also had the opportunity, in the form of a local option tax bill, to invite that enduring industry which will enrich with its solid contributions of wealth the hospitable soil of the far-seeing commonwealth.

In the Far West, actual legislative triumphs have been secured. In Washington a constitutional amendment permitting local option in taxation has been passed by the Legislature, and in California a bill for the same end has received a majority of the votes of the lower house.

Colorado, however, has gone into the whole question of tax reform more thoroughly and systematically than any other State in the Union. In 1899 its Senate appointed a committee to investigate the tax laws of Australasia, and from information there gained to recommend legislation for Colorado. In the following winter and spring, James W. Bucklin, the chairman, visited New Zealand and Australia, and on his return in 1900 reported the great cause of the peace and prosperity of those regions to be, not, as so often claimed, the so-called "labor laws" of compulsory arbitration, etc., nor even the municipal ownership of public utilities, but the permission of localities to exempt from taxation wealth that is the product of legitimate capital and industry as distinct from that which is of the nature of privilege. In order to bring about a similar condition in Colorado, the committee proposed an amendment to the State Constitution authorizing the "adoption of the Australasian system of home rule or local self-government in taxation," a measure that seems, at the present moment, to be on the point of passage.

Let either Washington or Colorado take advantage of such permission, and experiment, for its specific good or ill, with theories of taxation, and the whole country will profit by the object-lesson. It was in such a way that the "Australian" secret ballot swept the country despite the sneer implied in the appellation "kangaroo," given to it by certain journals that with cynical pseudo-wit endeavor to slur every unassailable movement for better conditions.

And, as in the ballot reform movement the children of light—prophet, priest, and poet—gave over vision and exordium and rhapsody for the more practical arts of the drafting of bills and the securing of signatures to petitions, and thereby led the children of this world one stumbling step out of darkness, so should they stand ready to guide the folk, when free of all legislative shackles, into the light of a social order a popular conception of which it were beyond all reason to have expected before.

MARION MILLS MILLER.

New York.

RUSSIA'S HOARDED GOLD.

BY far the largest gold reserve in the world is the "Sacred Fund" of Russia. The national treasury at Washington, with its accumulation of $275,000,000 of the yellow metal, makes insignificant showing by comparison with this carefully guarded fund of $4,000,000,000.

The existence of so fabulous a sum, concerning which official reports are silent, is vouched for by an attachè of the late Czar and affirmed by one of the highest church functionaries at St. Petersburg. Its foundation was laid at the close of the Napoleonic wars, and it has been built up to its present figure by the Russian Church, one of the two great governmental forces of the Empire, which with the Council of State works out its far-reaching plans with marvelous efficiency, though Czars come and go.

That there should have been added to this fund an average amount of $50,000,000 in every twelve months, year after year for almost a century, is a striking illustration of the unalterable persistence with which the Muscovite works out his comprehensive plans. That this sacred hoard should not have been trenched upon to the extent of a single ruble, through all wars that have come and the gigantic projects for internal improvement that have been undertaken since 1815, is a high tribute to the faithful trusteeship of the Church to which the keeping of the fund has been intrusted. Here is disclosed a combination of creative and conservative force that is pregnant in possibility in the building of a world empire.

This flow of gold to the spacious coffers of the State Church has come from two sources. In the first place, every subject of the Czar, from the highest governmental officer to the poorest moujik, makes a regular contribution to the Church. Then from the product of the gold mines, worked by the government, millions of which no public record has been made have been directed into this same channel.

The fact that the Church should have enjoyed a revenue of $100,000,000 from an Empire covering half of Europe and Asia is not extraordinary or unprecedented. The conscientious allotment of one-half of its receipts, year after year, to swell this reserve fund of the State is the remarkable feature of the case. How greatly this strengthens the position of Russia in the family of nations one may realize from the fact that in this fund is gold enough and to spare for the wiping out of every dollar of the imperial debt, large as that is, and that it would be sufficient to meet all the expenses of the Empire for a period of nearly six years.

Russia has fought the Crimean War; has conducted her multifarious military operations in the Balkans, in the Trans-Caucasian region, in Turkestan and Manchuria; has freed the serfs at an expense of $450,000,000; has constructed State railroads stretching across two continents—and still this gold fund has been absolutely untouched. What could it not accomplish if it were once brought into play? This question may never be answered. The fund may be cherished as religiously in the future as it has been in the past. The Titan-like projects of the Czars may be carried out with other moneys collected through the ordinary State channels. The very existence of this sacred fund may be enshrouded with as great mystery as heretofore. Nevertheless, there it remains, with all its potentiality and with a moral effect exceeding even it's actual usefulness.

When one puts side by side with this piled-up surplus wealth the vast, undeveloped resources of the country whence it has sprung—when one contrasts the apparent immutability of purpose with which this policy of accumulating gold and every other one of the established policies of the Russian government has been carried out with the fickleness exhibited by many other nations—the "shadow of the Bear" acquires a significance it has never had before.

So much has been written of the foreign policy of the Russian government that to dilate on this subject would be unprofitable; but that Russia does not propose to plunge into war, and pour out her immense treasures of blood and money for a stretch of Asian desert, practically all critics agree. Her purposes, then, are purposes of peace. In her railroad building she has looked well to the possibilities of military operations, but the immediate—the primary—result of those railroads will be to unlock the limitless natural resources of the country and open to them the markets of the world.

If, then, it is true, as it undoubtedly is, that should war come it would find Russia equipped with sinews and agencies of war unsurpassed, it is equally true that, with her face set steadfastly toward learning the arts of peace, these same agencies will prove as potent in the accomplishment of that end.

The existence of this "Sacred Fund" will doubtless continue to afflict with a nightmare of war the practitioners, big and little, of the profession of statecraft. To the normally-minded individual, however, it means nothing of the kind. The financier sees in it the foundation of a credit so secure that it cannot be shaken by the fiercest storm that may sweep over the industrial world. The merchant sees in it the promise of stability in every department of national life. To all who have caught the true spirit of the twentieth century it betokens a possibility of growth, development, and progress such as the world has never seen.

MALCOLM J. TALBOT.

New York.

THE CRIMINAL NEGRO.

V. Physical Measurements of Females.

THE preceding articles close the consideration of the general factors influencing negro criminality. The remainder present the results of a study of individuals in Southern prisons, and relate almost exclusively to women. Similar methods applied to men would yield results that would vary only with sex. The results are not given as final. The application of the psychological method to sciological material is so new that the most liberal use made of its results will only indicate tendencies and the success with which it may be followed. It is enough to indicate that trustworthy data may be substituted for those which now depend upon observation alone.

These results are derived from three sources: the anthropometric, which discloses facts regarding the structure; the psychological, which shows those of the functioning; and the sociological, which gives those regarding the conditions under which the individual has developed. Not less than five hours is required for each subject, and, where it is difficult for them to comprehend or act, the time is longer. Usually one-half of the tests are taken at one sitting, and the order is varied, so that they do not become fatiguing. These tests were made in institutions in eight States. At each place a temporary laboratory was arranged in a favorable place within the boundaries of the institution, and the subjects selected from among those who could read and write. Although only ten were taken in each institution from populations of nearly 100, it was not always possible to secure literate ones. When illiterate subjects were tested, the necessary recording was done by the experimenter. In no institution was there difficulty in securing subjects. Some of the most hardened and dangerous criminals were eager to be tested, and seemed disappointed if they did not fulfil the requirements. Those not selected often had a personal grievance, as if I thought them not good enough, and would waylay me about the prisons, where I had absolute freedom, and ask to come. This was quite a different attitude from that of the white women in the Northern prisons visited by me. They were always suspicious, sometimes inclined to be quarrelsome, and only after much patience was their coöperation secured. The explanation is probably to be found in these facts: The Southern negro criminal is not migratory; he knows nothing about systems of identification (which the anthropometric measurements resemble), and does not feel that he has *rights* in prison. Among the whites a greater social protection is afforded by the State. The negro's attitude toward the white, due to slavery conditions and present status, have much to do with this desire to "oblige," which is found among even the criminals.

The laboratory once arranged, the anthropometric measurements were begun. These were understood by the subject—they possessed no power of "hoodoo"—and she was soon at her ease. In presenting the results for these, averages for the entire group are given, and these are compared with the averages for the whites. In this way, errors arising from judgments upon one individual are avoided; but it must be remembered that larger averages are required for definite conclusions. The results are recorded in centimeters, but are here reduced to inches, so as to give a more definite idea to the general reader.

Height.—Negro criminals, 5 feet 3 inches; sitting height, 2.73 feet. The white criminals show a difference of three inches in the full height. Measurements of a large number of Wellesley students show the normal sitting height to be about 1½ inches greater than one-half of the full length. Among negro criminals this difference is 1¼ inches, and among white criminals it is 2⅜ inches. It is asserted by European writers that immoral women show a wide variation from the normal. It may be that the racial element accounts for the negro's close approximation to the normal, although it is not yet proved.

In connection with height, weight should be considered. In the South it was impossible to secure this. The convict camps were often so remote from civilization that scales could not be secured, and it did not seem feasible to carry them over so great a distance as was traversed. From a close observation the conclusion is hazarded that the weight is greater than among white criminals, the average for whom is 122 pounds. The maximum weight was 160. This difference may be due to the following causes: Negro women do not have opportunities in the same degree for habits which enervate them. Many of them come from rural districts, and there are but few large cities where the many forms of vice are developed. The negroes' dissipation is confined to alcohol—cocaine, morphine, etc., being but little known. The struggle for existence, and consequent nervous exhaustion, is less intense than among the women found in the Northern workhouses and prisons. The life is less active and there is less strain. One fact, however, was clear. Lombroso states that professional immoral women show a tendency to obesity with increasing years. Negro and white criminals do not evidence this more than women observed in other spheres. Indulgence and abuse of physical desires lead physiologically to the same result, whether legitimate or illegitimate.

Cephalic Index.—This is secured by measuring the length and width of the head and securing the ratio. This ratio is expressed thus: Below 75 it indicates that the individual is long headed (dolichocephalic); between 75 and 80, medium (mesocephalic); above 80, broad headed (brachycephalic). The first is said to be more characteristic of primitive races, the last of more advanced races, and bear some as yet undefinable relation to climate, soil, geographical locality, etc. It is now considered as an ethnic trait, and most writers have abandoned the position that it is peculiar to criminals. Although I secured as pure a negro type as possible, yet the average showed an index of 77 mesocephalic. The average for white criminals irrespective of race is 80.5. (Irish and German are the main elements in the descent.) The maximum among the negroes was 85, the minimum 69—a wide range. It is almost impossible among criminals under forty, which was my age limit, to secure negroes of a pure type. There is a large admixture of Indian blood as well as of white. All the measurements of the face show differences due to race, and from these a few illustrations may be given.

The nasal index is secured in the same way as the cephalic. The average shows: Negroes, 87; whites, 57.5. This gives an idea of how much broader the negro's nose is; 100 represents a nose as broad as it is long, and among the whites it was only a trifle over one-half as broad as long. In some instances among the negroes, the width actually exceeded the length. The nose is rarely arched and almost always shows a deeper indentation at the root.

The measurements of the mouth show the same divergence. In length the differences are not so great: negroes, 2 inches; whites, 1¾ inches. In thickness of lips it is more evident, the whites averaging three-eighths and the negroes seven-eighths of an inch. Where Indian or white blood is traceable the tendency is toward less divergence.

The measurements of the height of forehead were a surprise. The average for the whites is 2⅜ inches, and for negroes 2½. The narrow, receding forehead is more common than among the whites, but is less marked than a casual observer would suppose. The negro is prognathous, but among the criminals it does not seem more marked than among the normals. Criminologists assert that a heavy jaw is characteristic of criminals, but observations among both whites and negroes do not confirm this statement. The parietal and occipital regions of the head are, as a rule, better developed than are the temporal and frontal regions. From the measurements of the head and observations of the face and cranium (too technical for detail here) it seems clear that, with the infusion of Indian and white blood, the characteristics peculiar to the race are disappearing, and the negroes are more closely approaching the white race. This is seen in the cephalic index, width of face, prominence of cheeks, contour and height of forehead, weight of jaw, nasal index, thickness of lips, etc.

With regard to masculinity of the voice and features, upon which stress is placed by investigators, the results are negative. While measuring the whites, the writer had the opportunity of observing nearly one thousand women, and while among the negroes more than five hundred. Comparing these classes with those of the same social and economic grade who are not criminal, this statement does not appear to be true. The faces of women from these classes, criminal or normal, are often harsh and uncultured; the voices are loud and frequently coarse, but they do not possess the peculiar quality of masculinity, which is not a synonym for harshness, coarseness, etc. The garb worn in prisons has a tendency to bring out the harshness rather than the softness of a personality, and this is often not taken into account in comparisons.

There are but few exceptions to the rule that in nutrition and physical strength the negro criminals surpass the white. The strength of the hand grasp is taken with a dynamometer and registered in kilos, and shows the following results: white—right, 56; left, 53; negroes—right, 73; left, 69. This superior development, verified also by tests of the chest strength, may be due to the nature of the labor both outside and within the prison. It may be explained also partly by the causes given under height and weight. The sentences of negro women are often more excessive than among the whites, and they become accustomed to hard labor. The imprints of the hand, which are taken and preserved upon smoked paper, show many anomalies due to the excessive farm labor. The footprints of these criminal women, taken upon smoked paper, show no consistency. Some of them are highly arched, while others are entirely flat. I can find no connection between the degree of negro blood and the arch. The only result that seemed even approximately true was that the greater per cent. of the flat feet came from rural districts, where shoes were unknown and where outdoor labor was the rule. Footgear may have a relation to the shape of the foot. Certainly flat feet are not more characteristic of the criminal, in the absence of data for the normal person.

The following are the girths of the various parts of the body. These are not comparable with those for white criminals, as in many instances their consent could not be obtained: Ankle, 8⅝ inches; calf, 14; neck, 12¾; waist, 27⅛; bust, 33.5; abdomen, 31¾.

These represent the most important measurements, and lead to the following conclusions:

1. Anthropometric measurements are needed for the United States, and will demonstrate that European facts and conclusions should be imported and accepted with reservations. For purposes of identification these measurements are unequaled.

2. Anthropometry reveals facts regarding structure the explanation for which must be sought in other fields. Thus weight and strength are related to the environment and cranial and facial characteristics to race, geography, history, etc.

3. That the present negro race is undergoing changes that will distinguish it from its predecessor.

4. That crime is a legal and social classification and has no root in anthropometry, when all other factors are considered. What relation location, training, education, capacity, opportunities, governmental and cultural standards, etc., bear to these anthropometrical characteristics, alleged of the criminals, is yet a problem and an almost uninvestigated field.

5. These measurements do not tend to show that the negroes possess more of these signs of degeneration than

do the whites. Degeneration for the white and negro criminal, both in structure and functioning, must be different. The white has attained a higher standard, and the negro's degeneration must not be measured by the former's standard, to which he has not only not attained, but which he cannot yet comprehend. An individual cannot lose what neither he nor his race has attained.

The tests in psychology were designed for the purpose of supplying the defects in anthropometric data. When subjects are selected who have become accustomed to the prison, the conditions are excellent; for all the subjects have the same environment and are governed by the same rules. There are many emotions for which no satisfactory tests have been devised, and in others the methods are defective and the results untrustworthy.

The tests selected as among the most accurate for this investigation can be grouped under four heads: sensory, mental, coördinative and reactive, and emotional. Within the first group are included sight, hearing, touch, smell, and taste. As the methods are unfamiliar to many readers, a brief statement is given, together with the result.

For color blindness the ordinary test with wools is used. The subject is required to select the various shades of blue, green, red, and yellow, and match them correctly. Although the negroes had but little knowledge of colors, yet none were color blind. Out of two hundred women, both normal and criminal, I have not found one case of color blindness. There were often errors in the selection of the doubtful shades, but these were usually accompanied by such statements as: "That doesn't look right," "it's the best here," and "it does not suit," which show a consciousness of the defects. Color preference requires the use of the eyes in discrimination, but was also taken for its social value. Cords bearing strips of silk of various colors are placed in confusion before the subject. She is then required to select the color she likes best. She has a first and second choice. Of eighteen colors submitted the result is for the negroes: First choice—purple, 22; heliotrope, 19; dark blue, 12; lavender, 10; yellow, 2; other colors, one each. Second choice—purple, 18; brown, 10; heliotrope, 8; lavender, 6; yellow, 5; green, 5; other colors, 2 and 1 each. Among white criminals, blue is the preferred color—pink, red, yellow, lavender, black, and purple following in order. Among white students red is the leading color. The statement is often made that professionally immoral women prefer bright colors. Preference and choice are not necessarily the same, if by choice is meant real taste. Bright colors attract more attention, and this is very essential in the lives of these women. Brighter colors are as a rule cheaper, and they must often be controlled by this cause. Many of the lower classes wear cast-off garments, in the selection of which they exercise no real choice whatever.

Tests in reading are given in order to determine the differences between the eyes. Printed letters of various sizes are given them to read, only one eye being in use at a time. The results show that twenty-eight were unable to read the letters because of illiteracy; twenty-one showed no defects; of the remaining 31, three showed defects that were the same for both eyes. The defects were not as a rule very marked; and where they were, the reason was ascertained if possible. This was often due to congenital causes and to social surroundings, as through injuries received during quarrels or diseases contracted.

The first test in hearing was taken with a Galton whistle. This shows the capacity for discerning high pitch. The instrument is so arranged that the amount of air that escapes when the bulb is pressed is registered in centimeters. The amount of air is so regulated by this scale that it begins with a simple air sound and increases to a distinct whistle. The point at which the subject is able to determine whistle as distinct from air marks his capacity. This result is verified by starting with a whistle and requiring the subject to state when it disappears. The results compare favorably with those of white criminals.

In addition to this test each ear is tried separately. The subject closes her eyes and one ear is filled with cotton. A watch is held close to the open ear and is gradually moved outward. The subject is requested to state when she hears the watch and when she does not. The point at which she is sure the watch is not heard is then recorded. This is verified by starting the watch at a point where it cannot be heard and moving it in until the tick is distinguishable. There are various ways of avoiding deception. The results show that the negroes are superior to the whites. There was only one negro who could not hear at a greater distance than two feet, while this was common among the whites, especially where catarrhal afflictions existed.

The tests for touch were four in number. The first was the æsthesiometric test, and was not very satisfactory. This instrument is so arranged that two points can be moved any desired distance apart, and this distance is registered in centimeters upon the rod. The points are first placed far apart, and when pressed upon the skin both can be distinctly perceived. This distance is gradually lessened until the subject is unable to tell if one or two points are placed upon the skin. The subject's eyes are closed, and, as close attention is required, the test is not always successful. The attention of the negroes is only fair, and is fatigued more easily than that of the white criminals.

The second test is that of the kinesthetic sensibility. Small wooden bottles filled with shot and varying in weight are given the subject, and by lifting them she is required to distinguish which is the heavier. The average shows that negroes can discriminate accurately where the difference is eleven grams.

The sensibility to pain is the third test, and is the most unsatisfactory. It is made upon the temporal muscle, but the fear of being hurt among the criminals cannot be eliminated. This test is taken with an instrument called an algometer, which, when pressed against the temple, registers the pressure in grams. The subject is cautioned to speak when the least sense of pain is perceived. Where much pressure is required, the sensibility is dull. The negro compares favorably with the white criminal classes, and with the normal whites of a social grade not higher than that from which many criminals come.

The last test in this series is one for touch, and consists simply in requiring the subject to distinguish wools, cottons, velvets, satins, etc., by the aid of touch alone. In the wools the percentage of error was 33, in cottons 60, in silks and velvets 29. But few of the fabrics were named correctly, and often the use determined to what class they belonged. Thus, where gingham was given and they knew it was cotton and its use was given "for aprons," the accuracy could not be doubted. There were a few instances where the hands of the women were so hardened from work that they could not distinguish the kind or grade of material.

The sensibility to smell is ascertained by giving the subject carefully graded solutions. Mild solutions are first given, and the strength of these is increased until it is discernible, or the subject fails to detect any odor. The solutions used are bay rum, camphor, and cloves. The negroes show 56 per cent. of errors, the white criminals 75 per cent., and the white students 47 per cent. Where the name of the solution could not be given, any use or association that indicated a correct perception was accepted. It is asserted that criminals are allied to savage races, and hence have the senses better developed and must rely more upon them in lieu of the higher reasoning processes. It would seem, however, that education and culture tend to develop higher sensibilities. If this were not true, one is at a loss to explain how some habitations in large cities are endurable.

The sensibility to taste is the last in the series for the senses. Solutions of sweet, salt, bitter, and sour are used. A drop of each is placed first upon the end, then upon each of the sides, of the tongue, and the subject is required to name the solution. The percentage of errors for the negroes was 38; for the white criminals, 46. The sensibility to taste is conditioned by the use of alcohol, tobacco, snuff, etc. The coarse foods used and their preparation must tend to deaden this sensibility.

In the test of the physical senses the negroes are not more defective than the same class among the whites. The results tend to show that among the negroes tested the defects are not such as to prevent successful functionings, and they do not equal the degree necessary for degeneracy. Defects in color discrimination, reading, smell, and taste involve a consideration of social factors for their explanation. Where individuals possess senses that are even fairly good, there are opened many avenues of appeal to the higher faculties.

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ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

AN ARMY OF WEALTH-CREATORS *VS.* AN ARMY OF DESTRUCTION.*

Our government is engaged in a war of conquest in the hope of securing some commercial advantages for our citizens in the future. For this purpose our standing army has been increased from 25,000 to 100,000 men, thereby incurring an enormous burden in increased taxation necessary for the support of a non-wealth-producing class. Already the lives of thousands of young Americans, who were wealth-creators and the props and stays of families, have been sacrificed; and this destruction of life, this robbing of the homes of sons, husbands, and brothers, must necessarily continue so long as this war for conquest and commercial gain is waged. And when we add to the misery, wretchedness, and pauperism that necessarily flow from the taking from the homes of so many of our manliest citizens, the moral degradation that always accompanies war, the arousing of hate and of the baser passions, the multitudinous temptations, and the general lowering of the ideal of manhood that pervade an army of conquest, we will be able to understand in a measurable degree something of what our government is paying for the prospective increase in wealth through the hoped-for trade.

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* In accordance with our purpose to discuss from month to month great social, economic, and political measures that intimately affect the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the nation and the advancement of civilization, I sent the above letter on "An Army of Wealth-Creators *vs.* an Army of Destruction," with the request for their views on the same, to Prof. Frank Parsons, of the faculty of the Boston University School of Law; Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M., late president of the Kansas State Agricultural College and at present filling the chair of political economy in Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo.; Rev. Hiram Vrooman, president of the Workers' Coöperative Association and pastor of the Warren Street Swedenborgian Church, of Boston; Dr. C. F. Taylor, editor of the *Medical World*, of Philadelphia; Rev. Robert E. Bisbee, the well-known Methodist divine, essayist, and lecturer; and the Hon. Samuel M. Jones, mayor of Toledo, Ohio. Following the letter will be found the replies, which form an interesting and varied presentation of views by leading representatives among the conscience element in American public life to-day.—B. O. F

Now, dismissing for the moment the ethical phases of the question involved, and looking at the problem from the view-point of business success and political security, are there not ways open at our door by which, for an incomparably less outlay than the cost of prosecuting this war of conquest, the government might increase her wealth products and vastly enrich her people, without the destruction of life or the surrender of the fundamental principles enunciated by our Declaration of Independence, which for more than a century made the United States the great leader of free governments and the chief source of inspiration to struggling manhood throughout civilization? Furthermore, if it can be shown to be clearly practical to establish an army of wealth-creators, which, while virtually banishing uninvited poverty from our land shall promote self-respecting manhood and enable tens of thousands of our citizens to secure homes and independence, will it not be the imperative duty of every patriotic citizen to agitate and in every way possible further a movement looking toward changing our army of destruction into a wealth-creating army of constructive usefulness?

Within the borders of our own domain there are virgin fields of vast extent, only awaiting the aid of government-directed industry in order to yield riches far exceeding any possible return that we can reasonably hope for from commerce that may come as a result of our war of conquest in the East; and the calling into the market of this wealth will result in giving work to the unemployed, thus maintaining self-respecting manhood (one of the supreme essentials of free government), fostering love for the nation, and bringing content and happiness into the hearts of hundreds of thousands of our people. And, while all this is being accomplished, manhood will be elevated and the nobler side of life developed instead of the savage or brutal instincts being fostered, as is inevitably the case in a war for conquest. Furthermore, the immense benefit to general business which always accompanies the extensive circulation of money among large numbers of the people, and which has been so real a factor in stimulating business during and immediately after periods of war, will be accomplished without the sacrifice of thousands of able-bodied wealth-creators. In a word, the prosperity that will ensue from the increased activity will not be accompanied by the shadow of death resting over the homes of the land, or by the spoliation of the nation through the destruction of thousands of its bravest citizens.

In the great arid plains east of the Rocky Mountains, and in many of the western mountain States, there are millions upon millions of acres of immensely rich land, which under irrigation would almost instantly blossom into gardens, orchards, and fields of wheat and other grain, but which to-day are dry, parched desert expanses. Take, for example, the State of Nevada. Here we have 6,000,000 acres of arid land that by proper irrigation can be made as fruitful as the productive regions of California, Colorado, and Utah. Some time ago Mr. William M. Smythe, in a well-considered paper written for the *Forum,* threw some interesting light on this great question, based upon the report of the commission of 1893 which investigated this region. From this thoughtful contribution I quote the following as illustrating the facts I desire to emphasize:

> "The most painstaking and systematic inquiry, however, ever made with regard to the extent of her water supply resulted in the conclusion that at least 6,000,000 acres of rich soil could be irrigated. The commission of 1893 reported twenty lakes and sixteen rivers of importance, which with minor springs and streams could be made to irrigate upward of 5,000,000 acres; and artesian wells would bring up the total to the figure above named. It should be borne in mind that the splendid agricultural prosperity of Colorado and Utah is based upon a cultivated area of only about 2,000,000 acres. It seems, then, that, so far as her agricultural capa-

bilities are concerned, Nevada might sustain at least as many people as do Utah and Colorado put together, at their present stage of development. The products of the irrigated lands of Nevada are the fruits, the vegetables, cereals, and grasses of the temperate zone, and, in the extreme southern portions, the more delicate products of the semi-tropics, such as figs, olives, pomegranates, almonds, Madeira walnuts, and in sheltered places even oranges. When we add that Nevada, like all parts of the arid plateau, is distinguished for pure dry air, an extraordinary amount of sunshine, and consequently a very high degree of healthfulness, it can scarcely be maintained that the State is destitute of attractions."

What is true of Nevada is true of large areas of lands in other western mountain States and Territories, and it must be remembered that irrigated land can be relied upon to yield bountiful harvests with regularity, as the water supply is ever present.

East of the Rockies stretches that vast expanse known as the American Desert—a very considerable portion, if not the entire area, of which region can be transformed into a garden-spot by the making of great reservoirs, with proper connections, by which the surplus snows of the mountains and the waters of the rivers during the period of overflow can be saved. This scheme of utilizing the surplus water would also measurably prevent the vast destruction of property that almost annually marks the high-water season throughout a greater or less extent of the Mississippi Valley.

Again, take the question of a permanent levee for the Mississippi River. "There are," says ex-Governor Lionel Sheldon, "over twenty-three million acres exposed to overflow from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico. The productive power of these lands is not excelled in any part of the world, and by proper cultivation they would annually add many hundreds of millions of dollars to the national wealth and afford profitable employment for several hundreds of thousands of people."

Eminent engineers who have examined the levees under the auspices of the Mississippi River Commission agree that the problem can be successfully solved if a sufficient amount is appropriated for so gigantic an undertaking, which would require substantial uniformity in the width of the channel of the river by building spurs and dikes at points where the Mississippi is too wide, the proper riveting of the banks wherever caving is likely to occur, together with the building of permanent levees of a height and strength sufficient to confine the waters of the channel. It is stated that since 1865 the cost of repairs has amounted to considerably over forty million dollars; yet, owing to the fact that this work is of a temporary character, the benefits that would be derived from a permanent levee are lost, and every few years the floods necessitate fresh expenditures of vast sums of money. Hence, this patchwork policy is shortsighted and in the long run the most expensive. The carrying out of a comprehensive plan for permanent improvements by the erection of impregnable levees, and the governing of the currents by dikes and spurs, would give us a territory, now absolutely useless, that would annually add hundreds of millions of dollars to our national wealth.

Here is work which might be immediately undertaken, and which would immensely increase the national wealth while accomplishing that which is quite as important—the maintaining of independent manhood and the developing of character among the workers. If it were deemed wisest the government could take the redeemed land and sell it, after it had been irrigated, so as to reimburse itself, while affording an opportunity at low sales for all who had worked at its reclamation to secure homesteads. In our war of conquest no such reimbursing of the government is possible, while the influence on the individual and the State is injurious; whereas under this policy the results would all be beneficial.

Hence, I submit, would it not be far wiser, more economical, and more practical for the government to adopt a policy that would aim at once at developing the rich resources of the nation, clothing the desert and unfruitful expanses with happy and prosperous homes, elevating the standard of manhood, and giving to all willing hands the opportunity to earn an honorable livelihood while increasing the nation's wealth, than to expend billions upon billions of the people's money, as is now being done, in carrying forward a war of conquest with the hope of increasing trade? And, furthermore, would not such a course be far more in alignment with the ideal of Christianity and that of true progress and true civilization than the prosecution of a war in which a beautiful land, teeming with little homes, is being devastated, while fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands by the tens of thousands are being slain?

There is a question in the minds of many thoughtful Americans as to the constitutional warrant of our government in prosecuting a war of conquest such as is being waged in the Far East; but such measures as I have outlined clearly come within Sec. VIII. of the Constitution, which authorizes "the raising of revenue to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and the *general welfare* of the United States." Therefore, in your opinion, do not considerations of wisdom and humanity, of expediency and simple justice, alike call for a governmental policy that shall substitute an army of wealth-creators for a large standing army of destruction? The one would abolish uninvited poverty; the other must necessarily be sustained in idleness when not engaged in the destruction of human life.

B. O. Flower.

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THE WICKED FACT AND THE WISE POSSIBILITY.

I heartily agree with the line of thought suggested by Mr. Flower in his "Army of Wealth-Creators *vs.* an Army of Destruction."

Imagine yourself an American citizen about to vote on a referendum after Manila had fallen before the allied American and Filipino forces, and Santiago had yielded to the allied armies of the United States and Cuba. Suppose the following alternate propositions were submitted for your choice. How would you vote?—

(1)	(2)
Twenty million dollars to Spain for possessions she no longer possessed,—twenty millions for the privilege of taking Spain's place in her fight with the Filipinos,—twenty millions for the privilege of waging a war of conquest in the Pacific,—twenty million dollars from the pockets of the American people to buy ten millions of people in the Philippines at $2 a head.	Twenty millions to persuade Spain to yield her claims without further bloodshed. Twenty millions to secure for the Philippines in peace the liberty we bought for Cuba with hundreds of millions and months of war. Twenty millions to do for the Filipinos what France did for us in the days of our struggle for independence and self-government. Twenty millions for peace and liberty and civilization—a federal station at Manila, a treaty of commerce with the Philippines that would give us privileges justly due to our efforts in their behalf, and an international guaranty of peace and order and neutrality in the islands.
One hundred thousand men and half a billion of money to carry on a war of conquest, reduce the patriot armies of the Filipinos into subjection to American sovereignty, and transform our Republic into an Empire.	One hundred thousand men and half a billion dollars to reclaim the arid lands of our Western States, and make the Mississippi a well-behaved and law-abiding river; or to establish farms and shops where the unemployed may be taught the arts of self-support and mutual help through coöperative industry under good conditions; or to build or buy a transcontinental system of railways to form the first great link in a national railway system owned by the people and operated in their interest.

For which plan would you vote? To get a still clearer view, we may tabulate in corresponding columns some of the leading consequences of the two policies:

(1)	(2)
The Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule trampled under foot. Our flag stained with perfidy to an ally, and its starry beauty blotted with aggressive war. The flag of the free become the emblem of oppression to one poor people struggling upward to the heights of liberty. Attention drawn away from vital problems at home in urgent need of decision, and our government, caught in the trap of its own imperialistic policy, unable to protest against England's onslaught upon liberty in the Transvaal. Reckless, blundering, aggressive greed triumphant over conscience and common sense, riding rough-shod over justice and liberty, and, backed by party power and plutocratic interests, holding its grasp on the great Republic it has begun to imperialize in the name of the sovereignty of the people.	A clear conscience, a glorified flag, the gratitude of the Filipinos, the world's admiration and respect, and a free voice to condemn Great Britain's terrible war in South Africa. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution sustained and illumined, the Republic still intact, the minds of the people, undisturbed by foreign war, grasping with full attention and untrammeled power the great home problems of political, industrial, and social well-being that are pressing for solution, and a vigorous step taken toward the actual solution of some of the most important of these problems.

Would you have voted the left-hand column, in spite of justice and humanity, because it promised a market for our goods? That was the only earnest plea for such a vote—the plea of profit. And how do the profits stand upon the books? Our largest export record to the Philippines amounts to $3,500,000. Ten per cent., or $350,000, is a fair allowance of profit on those exports. Thoroughly reliable Republican estimates place the annual cost of maintaining our forceful rule in the Philippines at $100,000,000. Our present profit is therefore *minus* $99,650,000 a year.

General MacArthur in his annual report says that a large permanent force will be needed to garrison the islands for many years. Orders to send home a few regiments of his army of 65,000 men have been met with emphatic protests on his part. The War Department estimates that since the close of the civil war the average cost of a soldier in time of peace has been $1,000 a year. In time of war and with the enormous cost of transportation to the Philippines, the cost must be considerably more. Including the added expenses of the navy, it is manifest that the estimate of $100,000,000 as the cost of holding the Philippines against their will is a very moderate calculation.

Since the war began our profits on our exports to the Philippines, including the goods that have gone to supply the wants of our soldiers beyond the Government supplies, amount to less than $600,000 all told, while our losses amount to $350,000,000, the cost of attempting to force our sovereignty on the Filipinos—nearly six hundred times as much loss as profit. At the lowest probable estimate our total losses will foot up to half a billion before we are through with the job, and, if General MacArthur's predictions may be relied upon, the ultimate cost will far exceed even that enormous figure.

Would you have voted the right-hand column, had the two plans been submitted to a referendum? Would you have deemed the left an injury and the right a benefit? If so, why not do what you can to undo the wrong and establish the right? Send your name to THE ARENA as one who, regardless of party or previous condition of political, industrial, or social servitude, is willing to join with others in a citizens' petition asking the Government that the Philippines be given the same liberties we promised Cuba, the same rights of self-government we demand for ourselves, and that the tide of money and labor that is now going to the increase of our military power be turned to the employment of the unemployed in some great work of public improvement.

Such a plan would not accomplish all that needs to be done by any means; but every student of history knows that progress is a growth, and the oak cannot grow in a day. Thorough education, coöperative industry, public ownership, direct legislation, just taxation, equal opportunity, and fair diffusion of wealth—industrial and political democracy, human brotherhood, the sovereignty of love and devotion as the dominant ideal: those are the things the world is in deepest need of. But we cannot get them by any magic of sudden transformation. We must climb the mountain a step at a time, and every step away from war and barbarism, conflict, mastery, greed, and oppression, toward peace and liberty and justice, mutual help, and the elevation of labor, is a step toward the grand brotherhood of man the twentieth century ought to evolve; and every step in the opposite direction is a step backward toward primeval savagery and the tiger epoch in man's history, or the still lower level of organized intelligence under the dominion of brutish instincts.

FRANK PARSONS.

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THE GOVERNMENT CAN EMPLOY THE UNEMPLOYED.

The "Program of Progress," in the January ARENA, furnishes the needed wire, as it were, along which the electric fluid of altruistic purpose and advanced economic thought may be conducted to those points where its discharge will result in the turning of actual wheels of progress.

A storm-cloud hangs over civilization, and the darkness is deepening. Lightning flashes of economic truth from tens of thousands of disorganized but well meaning reformers furnish spasms of light and hope, but unfortunately most of the thoughts and consecrated efforts in behalf of social regeneration are of this inharmonious and aerial kind. They need to be brought to earth to be organized and turned as one irresistible power against definite evils, and in behalf of definite reforms. This Program of Progress presented by THE ARENA is capable, it seems to me, of accomplishing this thing. The unification of forces, such as this Program of Progress is likely to accomplish to crush specific evils, and to exalt and establish definite reforms—to act along well-defined lines and for predetermined results—will cause a conflict as speedy and as certain as if one army were charging upon another. Truly, THE ARENA, by presenting this Program of Progress, opens to us the vision of a real arena where, like gladiators, the contending forces of Mammon and Righteousness are to carry on their conflict during the early years of this opening century.

Deciding upon a program is equivalent to taking position preceding conflict. Methods for executing a program are equivalent to weapons employed by the contestants. A definite program with well-defined methods for carrying out the same is as important as the ultimate victory, because the victory is absolutely dependent upon these methods. Less abstraction and more application seem to be the tendency and the necessity of the hour.

By this paper I would contribute some of the weapons toward equipping one of THE ARENA'S six young gladiators. One of the defenders of economic righteousness in the Program of Progress is "Employment of the Unemployed."

How employment is to be given to the unemployed is relegated to Method. Mr. B. O. Flower has shown in THE ARENA, what is confirmed by Mr. William M. Smythe in *The Forum,* that there are in the State of Nevada 6,000,000 acres of rich soil, for the most part unoccupied and in its present condition worthless, which could be irrigated (as sufficient water is at hand) and brought into a most profitable state of cultivation. As an illustration to show the prospective productive value of these 6,000,000 acres Mr. Flower points out that in the States of Colorado and Utah combined, both of which are noted for their agricultural wealth, there are but 2,000,000 acres in cultivation. Human labor when properly organized and supported is all that is required for making a veritable garden and paradise of homes out of these 6,000,000 acres in Nevada.

I propose that the Government organize an industrial army of 100,000 wealth producers—in striking contrast with its present army of 100,000 wealth destroyers—and establish a Coöperative Commonwealth in miniature on these 6,000,000 acres. Such an undertaking would not only be feasible but might be made most profitable. In doing this the Government could give employment at once to 100,000 unemployed men and women, and provide means by which in the future it could give employment to all the unemployed of the nation. As reservoirs are constructed to hold surplus waters, so this miniature Coöperative Commonwealth would be as a reservoir into which the surplus labor on the market could be drawn off for years to come.

The establishment by the Government of a small Coöperative Commonwealth in Nevada is a plain business proposition. The Government could accomplish it with no injustice to any existing business interests and with no possible risk of financial loss, provided it took proper precautions against the thieving of corrupt politicians.

This undertaking would necessitate the Government's advancing certain capital sufficient to cover the necessary first investments. That portion of the land which the Government does not already own would have to be purchased. The first equipment of machinery, outfits, and temporary wages for the support of the workers would cover most of the needed outlay of capital. For this the Government could amply secure itself by taking low interest-bearing bonds upon the 6,000,000 acres of land and its future improvements sufficient to cover the entire outlay.

A picture as beautiful as Bellamy's "Looking Backward" might be drawn from reality rather than from a seer's vision of a future Utopia were this army of wealth producers now waging its industrial warfare in Nevada under proper generalship for the establishment of this proposed Coöperative Commonwealth.

It is assumed that the reader understands for the most part what is implied by a Coöperative Commonwealth. It is a commonwealth wherein a pure economic or business democracy becomes established in conjunction with political democracy. If the Government were serious in establishing this miniature of a Coöperative Commonwealth it could amply secure itself for the money advanced as a loan to the workers without attempting to enrich itself from them except by the indirect way of adding several billion dollars to the national wealth.

Labor intelligently directed and applied always creates wealth. For this reason this army of wealth producers once on the field would soon be self-supporting. A noted economist has pointed out from statistics that the average wage-earner to-day creates more than three times as much wealth as he receives in the form of wages. This being true, the labor spent in irrigating and cultivating this land and in building cities and operating manufacturing establishments and developing the other industries of such a community would create sufficient wealth to secure beyond any possibility of risk the whole original investment made by the Government. The Coöperative Association of America, at Lewiston, Maine, in which I am interested, is making the attempt to establish a coöperative civilization in miniature along lines such as I would urge for adoption by the Government in its effort to establish this proposed Coöperative Commonwealth in Nevada. In fact it is my experience with this enterprise that has satisfied me of the practicability of the Government's undertaking a work of this nature. It is the object of this Lewiston association to reduce wealth production to a science as efficient as the science by which wealth is destroyed in war. It is succeeding in eliminating most of the wastes of competition, and in multiplying several fold the savings of combination. It has relieved labor (its members) of the necessity of being dependent for employment upon the law of supply and demand by furnishing an unlimited amount of work, which is at all times within the reach of every one. Furthermore, wages have been taken from the dominion of the so-called iron law of wages and are determined strictly by the amount of wealth which the labor creates. The town pump in a small community is used by every inhabitant at will and without cost. He pumps the water that he needs without asking the privilege from any one, and without dividing the product with any one for the privilege. This pump is a machine rendering assistance to human muscle in taking from Nature one of the necessities of life. It is a so-called "instrument of production." In a Coöperative Commonwealth *all* the instruments of production—all machinery, tools, land used for agricultural purposes, all domestic animals used for breeding purposes—in fact, everything that facilitates labor in the production of wealth, are owned by the community. Of course, work is perfectly systematized in such a community, or civilization. If one pump is not sufficient for the use of all, as many more are added as are necessary.

Thus with the aid of public equipment every man, woman, and child can apply his arm or his brain to the work of producing wealth—as it were, pumping wealth from Nature, with the full assistance that science and invention can render. It is only just that every person in the world should have the privilege of using what is here illustrated by the pump, which includes all that the twentieth century has inherited from the past by which labor is facilitated in wealth production, and this without cost to him greater than enough to pay his proportion of repairs and the necessary public expense. Every son of the twentieth century is by right an heir to his share of what the nineteenth century fathers bequeathed to mankind, but the vast majority of men are by might deprived of their inheritance.

The Coöperative Association at Lewiston, Maine, is at the present time furnishing necessary equipment for providing permanent employment to each of its co-workers on an investment of $300. In other words, it is able to extend the privilege of the industrial pump to its members on an original deposit by them of $300. Basing my judgment on the result of this experiment, I would say that, if the Government should invest $500 in equipment and first wages for each soldier in this industrial army, it would place him on the field of operations and put him in position to become self-supporting. Upon this estimate of a $500 investment for each worker, an army of 100,000 wealth producers, equal in number to our present standing army of wealth destroyers, could be placed in Nevada, and be made permanently self-supporting on an original investment by the Government of $50,000,000, which is less than one-half of the appropriation recently made for the maintenance of our standing army for the next year. This army of wealth producers would be in position to pay back to the Government within a few years this $50,000,000 advanced in their behalf, and would besides add several billion dollars to the national wealth. But this standing army of wealth destroyers will not only be unable to refund to the Government the $118,000,000 appropriated for them, but will require next year a similar appropriation.

Mr. Flower says in the February ARENA that "the civilization-wide social agitation in the opening years of the twentieth century has for its magic word, coöperation, or industrial freedom." He furthermore says: "To-day it lies in the power of the thoughtful among the wealth creators to inaugurate a coöperative movement that will speedily spread and carry with it not only the promise but the realization of that economic freedom without which the shell of our republican institutions must become as much a mockery as was that of Florence under the de Medici family, Milan under Sforza, or Venice under the Council of Ten." It was in the spirit of these utterances that The Coöperative Association of America was formed at Lewiston, Maine; and, also, The Workers' Coöperative Association of Boston. It is my hope and belief that, in the event the Government should fail to act upon the suggestion of this paper, The Coöperative Association of America will be strong enough and experienced enough within a few years to accomplish the thing independent of the Government.

HIRAM VROOMAN.

Boston, Mass.

A SANE AND REASONABLE PROPOSITION.

The proposition appears to me as sane, rational, practicable, and in every way worthy of commendation. That there are in the area once known as the "Great American Desert" millions of acres that may be reclaimed is well known. Some of this land should be irrigated. The water for this purpose is in many cases at hand, in the mountains or the earth, or in both. It may be led down from the mountains or pumped from the earth. In this connection it is noteworthy that experiments are reported for the utilization of the sun's rays in lifting water from its subterranean channels. The intense sun heat which pours upon some of these arid regions can, it is claimed, be caught by mirrors and transformed into an inexpensive power for pumping.

Again, the importance of drought-resisting crops is but slightly appreciated by most. Experiments made by the Kansas Experiment Station and elsewhere show that large areas of semi-arid land may be promptly reclaimed by the culture of alfalfa, Kafir corn, the sorghums, and the soy bean—highly nutritive foods, some or all of which, in many of these regions, should at once be substituted for corn, wheat, or the other crops which require more abundant moisture. By the use of these crops lands formerly regarded barren have been proved highly productive and profitable without irrigation.

For irrigation, money is needed. This the farmer is rarely able to supply in adequate amount. The work, then, to be done at all, must be done by a private corporation or by the public. Of private corporationism, it would seem, we have had enough. We are, however, coming more and more to see that the people working together can do things for themselves; that they are not dependent upon the paternal initiative of Messrs. Rockefeller and Pierpont Morgan; that, through their tool, the Government, organized in nation, State, municipality, and local area, they can plan and execute effectively and economically and bring to themselves and their children the benefits of such activity instead of entailing upon posterity an intolerable burden of debt, that mammoth fortunes may be accumulated in the hands of a few lords of industry. Government is one of the people's instruments. If they permit it to become their tyrant and slave-driver they have only themselves to blame. Without reason, it will do what they demand of it.

If the whole people can fight they can work. If they can destroy they can produce. If they can blast they can bless. If they can crush an antipodal republic they can preserve and render habitable their own. If they can tax themselves for military purposes they can tax themselves for industrial purposes. This, in fact, they have done time out of mind; but the industries, as noted, have been made, in large measure, a curse rather than a blessing to the people.

If the money spent in our atrocious and criminal struggle beyond the sea were spent at home, as suggested, it would still furnish employment; it would build homes in the wilderness where it is now destroying them in civilization; it would make the desert blossom where now it turns gardens into waste places; it would substitute genuine patriotism for the base, jingo counterfeit of which demagogues declaim; it would furnish an object-lesson in popular, coöperative self-help immeasurably more valuable than the money it would cost, and would hasten the advent of the good time coming.

Clearly, work thus begun can be extended indefinitely. Railroads, of which the rapidly forming Railroad Trust will compel the nationalization, can be operated by public employees working under civil service rules. The telegraph can be similarly purchased (at cost of duplication) and publicly operated. Similarly the mines can be taken over. Work now let to contractors can be performed by government directly; and, one by one, or more rapidly, such of the Trusts as experience proves to be permanent in character can be nationalized and operated by the public, the classified list being extended to include at least the more important grades of help.

As a measure of practical politics such a step should prove to be wisdom itself. The first duty of government is to care for the people—to see that each is provided with the opportunity for useful labor, rational development, and the living of a complete life. The party so long dominant in America has maintained its grip largely by its nominal observance of this principle. Its "protective" policy, which, had its real workings been understood, should have proved a millstone about its neck, has been to it instead a tower of strength, because the people have believed that it "made work" for them and secured to them the opportunity to earn a living. The campaign of 1896 was won chiefly by the threat that opposition to the demands of the bank octopus would cost people their jobs. The campaign of 1900 was won very largely by the utilization of the same principle. The professional classes, clergymen, teachers, experimental scientists, soldiers, and place-hunters generally were assured that opportunities for their employment would be largely increased by the retention of "our new possessions." The workingman was dazzled by the glitter of his "full dinner pail," and warned that discharge and emptiness would follow the turning down of the party that "found work" for the workless. The hollowness of these claims we need not here point out. But they had their effect: the workman "voted for his job."

And thus multitudes of men will continue to vote; for their "job" is their life. Suppose, now, a political party actually in sympathy with the people should boldly announce the policy of directly furnishing employment, at good pay and reasonable hours, to competent workers, the money for this purpose to be raised by taxing not the poor who now bear the burden of taxation but the rich who now evade it—the corporations, the Trusts, and the estates of dead millionaires. What politics could be more practical? Upon what surer foundation could a party build its claim for power? And what policy would be more beneficent in its operations?

THOMAS E. WILL.

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PROGRESSION, NOT RETROGRESSION.

The building of peaceful homes is civilization; the destruction of peaceful homes is barbarism. The maintenance of high ideals of liberty is the spirit of modern times in our New World, discovered by Columbus and made free by Washington. The destruction of ideals of liberty, which have inspired a weak but aspiring people to struggle for three centuries against despotism, is to turn our faces back toward the darkness whence our ancestors emerged so slowly and at such fearful cost. To make a people free is progression. To place new shackles on a long-struggling people is retrogression. To change the desert into a garden, and there establish homes surrounded by the blessings of liberty, is to approach the functions of the Divine as near as we can ever hope to do. To go into a country that is already a smiling garden and there destroy homes, rob and kill and wrest from the people all hope of liberty, is diabolical. To attend to one's own business, at home, is always wise, and it always pays. To neglect home opportunities and duties and endeavor to conquer and govern distant peoples is not wise; it does not pay—and it should not pay. Peace, culture and refinement in comfortable and happy homes—this is heaven on earth. Armed camps, murderous forays on a feeble people, drunkenness, debauchery, sickness—these are hell on earth. Which is "Christian," and which is "heathen?"

A young man went out to seek his fortune in distant lands. He was brave, persevering, enterprising, and determined. Years afterward he returned in poverty—a broken, feeble old man; and under the door-step of the humble home, which he had left so long ago to seek his fortune, he found a diamond mine! To the restless, discontented boy, the far-away pastures seem green. The experienced traveler returns to his boyhood scenes and finds that they are equal or superior to any in distant parts of the world. The lasting lesson that he has learned is, that the beauty and loveliness, which in his inexperience he was so anxious to leave, are not surpassed and scarcely equaled anywhere else. The far-away hills lose their imaginary attractiveness, and sweet content adds new beauties to home scenes. Ask a returning soldier from the Philippines! As a Nation we will learn, as many individuals have learned, that—

"To stay at home is best."

And such a home as we have! The possibilities within our home boundaries are greater than we can ever hope to exhaust. We can here produce limitless wealth and bring to our shores all that the remainder of the world has to offer. We do not have to go abroad to find homes and sustenance for the rising generation. We have plenty of room for homes for many generations, and plenty of substance with which to sustain them. The reclaiming of our deserts and the protection of one of the richest agricultural regions in the world (the lower Mississippi valley) from the waste of waters furnish tempting problems for our young men. The nurturing of a *real* Christian spirit among us might be an inviting work for our young women. There are plenty of possible achievements at home for our young men, and plenty of need for "spreading the gospel" to keep our young women busy at home for an indefinite time in the future.

The annual production of gold in the Klondike, for which so many have braved dangerous journeys, cruel winters, and hardships of all kinds, does not much exceed (less than double) in value the annual sale of peanuts in the United States.

Home duties should be our first duties. Home rewards are greater and more certain than those sought in distant lands.

C. F. TAYLOR.

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LET CONSTRUCTION DISPLACE DESTRUCTION.

The Constitution of the United States opens with the following preamble: "We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

In the Declaration of Independence we find this expression: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such force, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The foregoing utterances indicate in a general way the course our Government should pursue. Acting in the spirit of these declarations, Congress has appropriated money for a great variety of purposes. We have sounded the seas and made charts thereof, built light-houses, improved harbors, constructed dikes, made possible the navigation of rivers, surveyed lands, subsidized railroad companies, established mail routes, maintained the signal service, and done many other things too numerous to mention. There is, then, no constitutional reason and no want of precedent to prevent the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of waste lands, or the purchase of additional lands—provided only the need exists. The need, the general welfare of the people, is the sole determining factor in the case.

As to the advisability of irrigating arid lands in preference to spending our millions in foreign conquest and wars of exploitation, there is no room for argument. Such lands exist in great abundance. They are sufficient in extent and fertility to feed the world, provided they could be cultivated with skill and intelligence. If every other foot of land on the earth should become barren, there would still be no need of starvation. There is half enough waste land in rocky New England to feed America. The possibilities of a single acre under irrigation and with proper cultivation it is almost impossible to exaggerate. Certainly there is no natural reason why the people of America should be destitute, or even poor.

As to wars of conquest, and especially this Philippine war, I have no words in which to express my horror of it. It is the infamy of the ages. The present Administration will go down in history as the most perfidious in the annals of the civilized world. McKinley and his coadjutors will do well if they escape the brand of conscious liars and murderers. Intelligent, Christian America is sick at heart of this awful business. Rather than to use our money in suppressing liberty and exploiting the conquered we would better load a war-ship with gold, sail it out into mid-ocean, and shoot the precious metal in every direction from a thirteen-inch gun—inflict if necessary the gold standard on the monsters of the deep.

When, then, it becomes necessary to irrigate the arid lands in order to give the people work and food, this is assuredly the thing to do; but there may be a reasonable doubt if that time has yet arrived. There is no lack of agricultural or of manufactured products. Productive land lies uncultivated all around us, and we have no use for it. The trouble is somewhere else and deeper. It lies in the monopoly of the tools of labor. I mean all kinds of labor, including transportation as well as production. If the present private monopolistic system is allowed to exist, to irrigate the arid lands would be at best but a temporary measure of relief. In a few years the people would be as helpless as ever. We may as well fight the battle for human rights here and now as to postpone the evil day.

The burning question of the hour is how to secure for the laborer a just return for his toil—how to render him an equitable share in the products of his hand and brain. If the man who earns seven pairs of shoes a day receives only wages enough to buy one pair, the question is how to order things so that he may secure the other six pairs or their equivalent. This is the problem of justice which it is the duty of government to solve, and, until it is solved, all other questions sink into comparative insignificance.

The solution of this question will involve the solution of others. It includes the problem of the unemployed. It is not my purpose to enter upon a discussion of the question in detail. It is sufficient for the present to state it and point out its supreme importance. One of the objects of the Constitution is to establish justice. According to the Declaration of Independence, if a government fails in its high duties it is the right of the people to overturn it. We should be patient, long-suffering, reasonable. Every peaceful means should be exhausted to secure equitable relations between man and man. We may employ palliatives to allay our anguish for a time. Eventually the government that does not establish justice must be overturned. Heaven never witnesses a diviner struggle than that of men trying to secure for themselves and their posterity the blessings of life, liberty, and happiness.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

East Pepperell, Mass.

PATIENCE AND EDUCATION THE DEMANDS OF THE HOUR.

I am entirely in sympathy with your noble purposes, and am, indeed, doing just what you are; that is, I am doing my best. But the more I study the question of life the more settled I am becoming in the conclusion that there is really no short cut or hurry-up road to righteousness, or right relation, which I understand to mean the same thing. I have entirely abandoned the hope once strong within me of compelling people to live scientific lives because a "law had been passed."

Of course, every consideration of "wisdom and humanity, of expediency and simple justice, alike call for a governmental policy which shall substitute an army of wealth-creators for a large standing army of destruction"; and when considerations of wisdom shall direct our governmental policy, all that will be done. On our present plane we lack just one element necessary to carry out your ideal and mine—that is, an ideal of social justice—and it is very important and fundamental; its name is *wisdom*. We are not yet a democracy. It is assumed that we are and that we have a government of the people; but you and every one of us who thinks knows full well that our Government is, indeed, a government of a very select few—not because of any special venality in the select few, but because we are as yet in that developmental stage of our national life where only a very small percentage of the people take any part in the affairs of government. One-half of the race, the women, are yet declared politically and socially unequal, and both men and women accept this as being divinely ordained.

Then, under our elementary system of partizan politics, only a very few men really have anything to do with the selection of the officials who are to express our ideals of a righteous social order. That again is not due to the malevolence of "corrupt politicians," as is so commonly and flippantly charged; it is due to the indifference, or rather the undeveloped state of mind that both the politicians and the people are yet in.

From these and similar reflections, I am slowly learning that the moral universe is subject to law as well as the material; that God has not gone off on a vacation and left the affairs of the race to run themselves in a sort of hit-or-miss, catch-as-catch-can way as appears to you and me; but that, according to His processes, justice is to be wrought out of what appears to us to be little short of confusion and chaos. We are learning the lesson of life in the only way and the only place that it can be learned; that is, in the university of experience. I am a student in this school, and daily I am learning to be more loving, more patient, and to have faith that the divine purpose is going steadily forward and that justice rules. God's law is never suspended, not even for a single instant, no matter what the revised statutes say.

Charles Ferguson, in his new book, "The Religion of Democracy," has stated a great truth that we shall do well to consider, and stated it very tersely: "Europe and America are sick with the nightmare of their dreams. They have dreamed of Democracy, and in their dreams have achieved liberty—but only in their dreams, not otherwise." And again he says that when the people love justice they will have justice.

We are learning Democracy. It is our only hope; and the best we can do, after all, as I believe, is to continue faithful to the truth as each one shall see it. In the words of the little Sunday-school song—

"Let our light shine;
You in your little corner
And I in mine."

SAMUEL M. JONES.

Toledo, Ohio.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

By B. O. Flower.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY.

I. Two Inaugurations.

Few more striking contrasts are to be found in modern history than that afforded by the inauguration of President Jefferson, in the spring of 1801, and that of President McKinley, exactly one hundred years later. Externals, however, count for little save as they represent or are symptomatic of internal organic or fundamental changes; and if the contrast presented indicated nothing beyond the changed condition of a nation which in population and wealth had grown with marvelous rapidity during one hundred years, there would be no cause for apprehension. If with the growth of the Republic her rulers have revered as a holy thing the ark of the covenant; if they have been true to the ideal of freedom; if they have cherished the fundamental principles of human right and justice that differentiated the Republic from the imperial governments of the Old World; if they have adhered to the examples and principles of the fathers in their abhorrence of a war of subjugation, of criminal aggression, and of injustice to the weak; if they have kept inviolate the faith pledged by the Republic in her infancy; if the rights of the people have been faithfully guarded from unjust aggressions on the part of class interests, from the tyranny of corporate wealth or personal rule; if the first consideration of the rulers has been that of securing equal justice for all and the protection of the toilers from the spoliation of the strong—then the changes presented by the two inaugurations need give the friends of free government little cause for alarm.

Unhappily such is far from the case. Indeed, all these indications of the lowering of national life are so palpably in evidence that the change from the supremacy of the spiritual or ethical ideal to that of materialistic commercialism can no longer be denied. The contrast presented by the regal pomp and the pitiful attempt to imitate imperial Rome and Napoleonic France at the recent inauguration, when compared with the severe but essentially appropriate simplicity of true republicanism as exemplified at the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson, is far less startling than the revolutionary changes in the very spirit and essence of our government that have marked the last few years of our history. During this period we as a nation have not only proved false to the principles that made the United States unique among the great peoples of earth, but we have substituted expediency for the ideal of justice, freedom, and right that lit up the last century of our national life with a splendor unknown in the annals of civilization, and that made the United States in fact the greatest moral world power on this planet. So rapidly have momentous changes and events transpired during the last few years, and so completely have the influences dominated by corporate wealth controlled government and relentlessly and persistently pressed for innovations that alone could place the nation in line with the imperial rule of the Old World, that the people have not yet awakened to a sensible realization of the stupendous and revolutionary changes that have been wrought. Perhaps we can best arrive at a clear idea of the nature and extent of the ominous action that has recently marked our government by glancing for a moment at the inaugural address of the first great democratic President.

II. Jefferson's Inaugural.

The inauguration of President Jefferson was marked by a simplicity in keeping with his long and illustrious life, in which, at home and abroad, he served his country with a single-mindedness that was beyond praise. His love for the Republic was only surpassed by his passion for freedom and equal justice for all, and his address when taking the high office to which he had been elected voiced the ruling sentiment in the Republic of a century ago. It shadows forth the republican ideal in so marked a manner that it should be writ in the memory of every liberty-loving American. In the following extracts I give a few of the salient points that are especially appropriate for the present:

"I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong; that this government cannot be strong enough. But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it is the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own concern. . . .

"All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression. . . .

"Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned: this is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities. . . .

"It is proper that you understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them in the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state of persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none; . . . a jealous care of the right of elections by the people; . . . economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; . . . the diffusion of information, and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trial by juries impartially selected.

"These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety."

The vital truths so clearly set forth in the above extracts ring out in the present hour, marked by capitalistic and monopolistic aggressions at home and war of criminal aggressions abroad, like the sound of an alarm bell at midnight. There is one passage to which I would call the special attention of the reader. Mr. Jefferson, in referring to the distrust entertained by the Hamiltonian party for free or popular government, said: "I believe this the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own concern." And this I believe to have been strictly true, not only at that time, but so long as the nation adhered to its "plain duty" and refused to entertain the thought of a war of criminal aggression or the subjection of a people by force of arms. Until these fundamental departures from the faith, tradition, and precepts of our fathers were made, a standing army of twenty-five thousand men was more than ample for the Republic's needs. With the change of base from the domination of the idea of freedom, justice, and right, to that of expediency—the surrender of the altruistic ideal of progress and enduring civilization to the egoistic ideal of imperialistic rule—came the startling innovations that a few years earlier would have been almost unthinkable in connection with our Republic, and embracing, among other things, the rapid centralization of power and the abdication of their rights by the legislative bodies, which had heretofore ever been jealously guarded; the enormous increase in the burden of taxation; the enlargement of the standing army; the investing of the President with a power greater than that of many monarchs of the Old World; and the establishment of precedents which, unless abrogated at an early day, will make republican government in the New World as great a farce as it is to-day in France. We have been told time and again that we had reached the time when the United States must become a world power—a statement that illustrates in a startling manner the ascendency of the materialistic ideal in the minds of the statesmen, the journalists, and the leaders of public opinion who have advanced it.

III. The Republic as a World Power.

Those who imagine that a nation to be a world power must imitate despotisms show how completely the faith that made the Republic the wonder and the glory of the nineteenth century is fading from the vision of man. As a matter of fact, permanent progress can only be found where moral ideals dominate. The religion of Christ has lived, and been a mighty power amid the wreck and ruin of successive kingdoms and empires, by virtue of the ideal of human right, of justice, and of freedom that it held aloft, and which the corruption of the Church and the ambition, arrogance, intolerance, bigotry, and ignorance of her professed representatives have not been able sufficiently to obscure to destroy her hold over the deeper and holier emotions of noble minds.

But how has it been with nations that, for the sake of exploitation, of self-aggrandizement, and of plunder, have taken up the sword in the name of duty and destiny and have warred against the weak whose only crime was a passion for freedom so great that they chose death rather than submission? The history of the world tells but one story in chronicling the fate of those who take up the sword to subjugate other powers. They perish. The riches they covet frequently become the very poison that destroys them; but, whether it be that death comes from within or without, no nation can endure that builds on the ideal of brute force or that elevates egoism or selfish ideals above the ideal given once and for all time as the foundation principle upon which permanent civilization alone can rest—the Golden Rule.

The United States before her apostasy was not only a great world power, but was the greatest moral power in Christendom. Jefferson was right. We were the strongest nation on earth. To appreciate this one has only to call to mind the influence exerted by the United States while she was true to the eternal verities that lifted her to spiritual eminence and secured her a station far above other peoples.

One hundred years ago the influence of the Republic was greater, proportionately to its population and wealth, than that of any nation in the world. The new evangel—the Declaration of Independence—had thrilled the lovers of liberty throughout the world, and the names of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams were on the lips of millions of men. The high stand taken and the example set by the United States lighted the fires of freedom in France, and the revolution which there swept away an age-long despotism was followed by the overturning of thrones throughout western Europe and the sowing of the new seed-thoughts of the larger life in tens of millions of hearts. Men looked beyond the excesses and savagery of the French Revolution—which was but the natural reaction from centuries of crushing injustice and brutal selfishness—to gaze in admiration upon the serene and majestic young Republic over the sea, embodying new and radical theories of freedom and human rights and moving forward under the guidance of the exalted ideals that had become the ruling influence of her national life. Here was a nation builded on freedom, bulwarked by justice, and guided by conscience, or the higher sense of right. Wherever throughout the world oppression, injustice, and despotism weighed heavily upon a people, the wronged and weary ones turned their eyes lovingly to the land of liberty.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, slave though he was, drank in the new spirit of freedom and became a Washington to his race on his island home. Bolivar beheld the new Republic and meditated on the life of Washington until he too became an apostle of liberty who solemnly dedicated his life to the freedom of his native land. So was it also with San Martin, who with Bolivar shared the glory of the emancipation of the Andean States and the creation of the great family of republics on our southern continent. And later the spirit of Washington and the theory of free government based on the Declaration of Independence fired Mazzini, and other patriots and prophets, and furthered the great liberal movements that have so largely transformed western Europe. To one and all our Republic was not only "a great fact;" it was a living inspiration—a veritable pillar of cloud by day and pillar of fire by night to the friends of freedom in every land. The noblest and greatest men throughout Christendom loved and revered the Republic. John Bright but epitomized the prayer and the dream of all the apostles of freedom and progress when he said, in referring to what he conceived to be the destiny of the United States:

"I see one vast confederation, stretching from the frozen north in unbroken line to the glowing south, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main; and I see one people, and one language, one law and one faith, and over all that wide continent the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime."

Never in the history of the world did the moral force of a nation's example so profoundly influence men and governments for freedom, brotherhood, and progress. It is no exaggeration to say that the United States became the real leader of civilization because she was the highest embodiment of liberty and justice among the peoples of earth. She was the chosen child of progress, to whom was given the holy charge of furthering the ideal of brotherhood and freedom through ever-expanding justice. With no great navy or army, with no strong defense save the invincible bulwark of a united people's loyal love, our Republic was in the highest and truest sense of the term the greatest world power in Christendom.

IV. When the Twentieth Century Dawned.

The same passionate longing for liberty, the same normal hunger for the blessings of free government, swelled high in the human heart among subject and dependent peoples, when the twentieth century dawned, as were so marked a symptom of the growth and the upward striving of life a hundred years ago. And what was the position of Columbia at this time? Could the apostles of liberty, who had proved their right to be called knights of freedom by having fearlessly risked life and all that men hold dear in her behalf, longer draw inspiration, hope, or courage from the great Republic? Had the ship of State been true to her course? Was the Declaration of Independence still nailed at her masthead? Did the star-spangled banner still symbolize liberty? Let the Filipinos, who had aided us when their aid meant much, and who had trusted us as the special champions of self-government, answer this question. The pathetic cry of the South African republics for our sympathy, the prayer of the yellow men in the Far East for the blessings of free government, were alike disregarded. No people throughout all the earth who were struggling for the realization of the fundamental demands of our own Declaration of Independence since the dawning of the twentieth century have been able to draw inspiration or encouragement from this Republic. True, we won the applause of despotisms and monarchical governments; and imperial nations, who had long beheld in the United States the greatest menace to oppressive and corrupt colonial rule, saw with unfeigned delight our nation taking a position analogous to that maintained by King George III. and his Tory advisers when our fathers fought and died in freedom's cause. From the high eminence of moral and spiritual supremacy we have descended to become one of the swashbucklers among the family of cut-throat nations that are preying upon the weak and burdening their people with vast armaments; and even now we are carrying on, at no small cost of life and at a frightful cost of treasure, a war of criminal aggression, while using the very same cant that despotisms have ever employed to justify their attempts to crush and destroy the rightful freedom of others. The true glory of the Republic has been sacrificed. "The world's best hope" among nations has fallen back into night. Lust for power, greed for gain, and a pitiful desire to imitate imperial governments have led the Administration and the exploiters of the people to commit the government to that which the President, in one of his better moments, rightly termed "criminal aggression," and to refrain from doing that which he solemnly declared was our plain duty to do. The slaughter of thousands of American young men in the isles of the Orient, the killing of tens of thousands of Filipinos whose only crime was that they loved liberty better than life, the burning of tens of thousands of little homes that were as dear to the yellow men and women of the Philippines as are our homes to us, the ruthless deeds, the debaucheries, and the degradation that always mark the trail of an army of conquest, cry to the sober reason and the sleeping conscience of Christian America, while they also show plainly how a once great party may barter its heritage of glory for power and gain and become the embodiment of brutal materialism, and, while canting of duty and destiny, ruthlessly set at naught the fundamental laws of liberty, justice, and human right that underlie the moral order.

V. History Repeats Itself.

The second inauguration of Mr. McKinley has been fittingly described as suggesting the spectacular pomp and pageantry of ancient Rome during her decadent days. It was an inauguration in which the pomp and empty show of monarchies were painfully in evidence, and where the power of the army and navy was thrown up into bold relief. It was an inauguration in which the simplicity, the good taste, and the spirit of brotherhood and equality that must dominate in a government that is in any true sense a democracy were conspicuously absent. The whole hollow affair was dominated by the spirit of that materialistic commercialism that is debauching government in all its ramifications, and is lowering the ideal of manhood throughout the Western world as it has debauched governments and destroyed the soul of nations and civilizations throughout all historic time.

But startling as were the inaugural ceremonies, suggesting so vividly as they did Rome in the days when the republic passed into eclipse, the outward splendor was far less calculated to alarm the student of history than were the changes at work within the body politic. Had any bold iconoclast a quarter of a century ago dared to have predicted that within a generation the cherished traditions of the Republic would have been thrown aside to such an extent that the United States would have engaged in an attempt to subjugate a people struggling for freedom, and to establish an imperial colonial rule similar to that of Great Britain and other monarchies; or that the legislative branches of Congress would have supinely abdicated their prerogatives, investing the President with a power far greater than that wielded by many kings; or that the people could have been brought to such a pass as to esteem it no dishonor for Senators and advocates of the Administration to use precisely the same sophistry as that so indignantly flung back by our own ancestors and repudiated by the fathers of the Republic; or furthermore that a President would presume to give coveted official positions to the sons of two members of the supreme bench at a time when the constitutionality of the President's own action was under advisement of the court of last resort, while the position enjoyed by the son of a former President of his own party was taken from him after the ex-President had presumed to criticize the Administration; if, I say, one had had the hardihood to make such startling predictions thirty years ago, he would have been laughed to scorn or dubbed a veritable Cassandra. Yet these are but a few of the signs of the passing of that Republic which for a century was the glory of the world.

VI. Why All the Pomp, Parade and Pageantry?

Though the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson was one of the most rigidly simple in the history of free government, the fourth of March, 1801, was made memorable by great mass-meetings of patriotic citizens being held, throughout the length and breadth of the Republic, to express the heart-felt joy of the multitude at the triumph of republican principles over the strong monarchical tendencies that were developing under the leadership of Hamilton. Historians inform us that the celebrations of that day resembled the keeping of the Fourth of July. At most of the meetings the Declaration of Independence was read, and everywhere the friends of liberty were encouraged to keep inviolate the cherished principles that differentiated our government from all forms of despotism which had prevailed in the past.

The inauguration of President McKinley was in every respect the very antithesis of that of Mr. Jefferson. Nowhere throughout the Republic, save in the national capital, was there any pretense at public enthusiasm—that enthusiasm which love and confidence beget and which are ever conspicuously marked in times when wars for freedom or justice are being waged; while in Washington the world was treated to a spectacle—a parvenu attempt at aping monarchical pomp, show, and pageantry. Here the influence of the exploiters of the people, the master spirits of the criminal Trusts and the oppressive monopolies, was everywhere in evidence, and nothing was wanting calculated to impress the imagination of the populace after the manner of monarchical governments. It would appear that a deliberate attempt was being made to divert the attention of the people from the alarming and revolutionary innovations that have been accomplished during the last four years.

When the patricians, and later the emperors of Rome, sought to destroy the ancient republic, they first undertook to overawe the people by the pomp and splendor of the rulers; and, secondly, they diverted public attention and threw a sop to the people by giving them gladiatorial shows, frequent triumphs and spectacles, while they denounced as demagogues and, so far as lay in their power, discredited and punished—sometimes with violence and sometimes with banishment—the intrepid champions of popular rights, at the same time loading with favors and honors the great orators who could be bribed into service. This done, they set about to substitute sound for sense. They indulged in swelling phrases and high-sounding platitudes about the republic. Mark the fact. Until the people were hopelessly enslaved we hear only of the republic.

Augustus Cæsar, though permitting the title of *imperator* (meaning general) to be applied to him, insisted that the title he preferred was *princeps senatus* (first of the senate); and after he had made sure of his election by the senate, he apparently accepted with great reluctance the position of head of the republic for a term of ten years, declaring in his opening address that after the lapse of this term he should refuse the office, as by that time the republic would be sufficiently established to render his office unnecessary for public weal. From that day forth, however, the imperial power was firmly established. The people had been lulled to sleep by fine phrases, until their masters were in a position to render resistance futile.

The changes wrought in our Republic during the last four years are quite as radical and startling in character as were the positive steps which at intervals marked the changing of the Roman republic, as we find it under the Gracchi, to the imperial despotism under the Cæsars. And, in the light of the governmental changes that have taken place, the outward pomp and show of the inaugural and the long journeys of the President and his Cabinet are significant. They are not accidental. The real power behind the present Administration knows full well that all this show of popularity is essentially hollow. None know better how shallow it is than they who manufacture it. What intelligent citizen for a moment supposes that the late election would have apparently been so decisive in character if the outlawed but Administration-protected Trusts and other class interests, which are fattening off of the legitimate earnings of the people, had not swelled to an almost fabulous degree the campaign funds for the maintenance of the present Administration, so that the dominant party managers were able to put ten men upon the rostrum where the opposition was able to employ one, while at the same time they were in a position to influence the various opinion-forming agencies that could be, directly or indirectly, won or silenced by the power of money or the promise of benefits? No! The master spirits behind the scenes know full well how much the last victory cost them and how little the heart of the people was in their triumph. They know, furthermore, that a tremendous reaction will set in when a period of business depression arrives, and the added burdens now being placed on the backs of the wealth-creators begin to press heavily; and they are trying to prepare for the day of judgment. All this pomp and show, this pitiful attempt to imitate the monarchies of Europe, these widely advertised and circus-like parades here and there, these high-sounding platitudes of the Administration about liberty and justice, which are so shamelessly belied in practise—all these things are part of an attempt to anesthetize the public conscience; while the new order, embodying the rulership of corporate wealth, becomes too firmly established to be overthrown.

We believe, however, that the masters of the present Administration mistake the American people when they believe they can be systematically deceived by the substitution of "sound for sense" or of expediency for right and justice. Even now signs are not wanting. The conservative president of Yale College recently startled one of the richest and most conventional congregations of Boston by predicting that unless the Trusts were restrained we would have an emperor in Washington within a quarter of a century. And this statement fairly voices the sentiment of many of the more thoughtful and conservative among our people. The most patriotic leaders of all parties—men like Senator Hoar, Representative McCall, and ex-Governor Boutwell among the Republicans, no less than the master spirits among the opposition—recognize the peril that menaces the nation—a peril that is becoming more and more evident to thinkers.

The question that confronts the American people should not be made a partizan issue. It concerns patriots of all parties who recognize the true mission of the Republic. The covenant that our fathers made with freedom was a sacred pact. The pledge of the Republic to civilization was a world-wide obligation. It is no light thing to break faith with progress. The temple of Liberty is a holy place. Within her hallowed precincts, above the ark of the covenant, forever shines the sacred light of Justice. And shall this temple of the world's hope be abandoned to the money-changers as was the temple in old Jerusalem, when Christ scourged from its sacred aisles those who would turn the house of God into a den of thieves? Or shall the aroused conscience of America demand that the altar of liberty be no longer profaned by the elevation of materialistic commercialism on the throne dedicated to equal justice and human rights, and that the United States shall cease, once and for all time, to be a camp-follower among the imperialistic nations that prey upon the weak, and assume her old position of leadership among the true world powers—the highest embodiment of justice, freedom, and fraternity? This is the overmastering national question of the hour. Upon its answer depends the weal or woe, not only of our Republic, but of all peoples throughout the confines of the globe.

That the reaction is inevitable I doubt not; but in order that it be at once irresistible and complete it is all-important that every man and woman who appreciates the present peril should labor unceasingly for the restoration of the Republic to the glorious eminence that it so long occupied. No man ever wrought in a holier cause; no duty ever devolved upon patriot more pressing or sacred than that which confronts us to-day. There is not a moment to lose. *Education* and *agitation* should be the watch-words. Every step away from the fundamentals of free government must be contested. The circumstance that many voices are becoming silent only makes it more imperative that we be insistent. And, besides awakening the people, let us strive to prepare them to take a broad, just stand for human brotherhood, which shall guarantee to the future equal and exact justice for all and special privileges for none. This much must be demanded. Now less than ever can we afford to drift. The longer the nation slumbers the greater will be the injury wrought. Never in history did the cause of true civilization and progress call more urgently to men and women of conscience and conviction resolutely to oppose the further seduction of the nation from the path of righteousness, through the lust for gold and power, than to-day. Never did the solemn warning and the appeal to the higher side of life, uttered two thousand years ago in far-away Palestine, ring forth more impressively in the ear of a nation than it does to-day: "Unto whom much is given, of him shall much be required;" "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap;" and "whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do you even so unto them."

MUNICIPALISM'S GREAT TRIUMPH IN LONDON.

The most signal victory for municipal ownership in recent years was won in the London election, early in March, at which the party favorable to municipal ownership of natural monopolies was overwhelmingly successful, though their antagonists were supported by the enormous power of corporations that have realized fabulous wealth through the profits derived from monopolies in public utilities.

Sentiment in favor of municipal ownership has steadily grown in England for many years, where the electorate seems more alive to it's own interests, and the public press has been less significantly silent than in America on the advantages that the municipality must derive from the reaping of millions of dollars that now find their way into the pockets of a few overrich individuals, or into the corruption funds of corporations, to be largely employed in debauching legislation and opinion-forming agencies.

The municipal program inaugurated some years ago in London has been steadily pressed forward with encouraging success, which, however, was not sufficient to warn the great water companies, the chief of which since the days of the Restoration has fattened on the increasing volume of profits paid by London and her citizens. The insolent arrogance of predatory wealth no less than of despotism has more than once led to its undoing. So in the case of these rich corporations. They believed themselves powerful enough to compass their ends; they were not satisfied with the privileges already enjoyed. They recently petitioned Parliament for still greater concessions. Then it was that the salutary results of the great educational agitation that had for years been going on through the influence of groups of reformers—notably the Fabian Society—were demonstrated in the storm of indignation that broke forth. The city election appears to have been a clear-cut fight between the Progressives, demanding municipal ownership of natural monopolies, including water, gas, and transportation, and the so-called Moderatists, or Conservatives, backed by the wealth and the influence of the corporations. The victory is one of the most overwhelming in the history of London, so that the new Council will in no way be hampered in its program. It will doubtless either condemn and take existing plants or establish new ones.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the London Council is improving the residences of the very poor. Model tenement-houses are building, and the civic conscience seems to be awakening. We believe the twentieth century will witness the abolition of the slums and the municipalization or nationalization of all natural monopolies. Were we not blinded by a low ideal, born of materialism and selfishness, we would quickly recognize that economy, health, and morality, no less than sentiments of humanity, demand the housing of all the people in quarters where sanitary, clean, and pleasant conditions prevail. The saloon will lose half its charm for the very poor, and the burdensome cost occasioned by the machinery of justice, the prisons, and the poor-houses will be lessened to an extent far exceeding any municipal cost in properly housing the very poor. No greater lesson confronts the twentieth century than a recognition of the solidarity of the race and the mutual dependence, obligations, and interests of all the units that compose the social organism.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.*

CHRISTIANITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By the Rev. George C. Lorimer. Cloth, 652 pp. Price $2. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

A Book Study.

I.

This volume comprises a remarkable series of lectures delivered by Dr. Lorimer in the Boston Lowell Institute course in 1900. Wide reading, ripe scholarship, and the easy flowing style for which Dr. Lorimer is justly famed, combined with a treatment that for the most part is eminently just, broad, and sympathetic, make the volume one of special value to students of religious thought.

The author is a sincere believer in evangelical Christianity, but save in two or three instances, which will be presently touched upon, he has risen so far above prejudice as to be able fairly to present the views of those whose convictions are diametrically opposed to his own; while he displays a sympathetic appreciation for the service wrought by leaders of liberal religious movements—very exceptional in those who believe so ardently as does Dr. Lorimer in the tenets of orthodox Christianity.

There is another feature of the work that calls for special commendation, and that is the deep interest evinced by the author in the condition of the poor and of society's unfortunates. This active and intelligent sympathy with the poor is characteristic of the author of this book. I know of no great evangelical divine in New England who has more bravely and persistently striven for the betterment of the poor and for justice for the breadwinners than Dr. Lorimer. For many years he has been an ardent friend of coöperative movements. He has not hesitated to champion the cause of the people against capitalistic injustice and arrogance when most of the great Christian pulpits were silent. Under his pastorate, Tremont Temple has exhibited in a real and vital way its interest in the poor; while the readiness of the pastor to take hold of the great social, ethical, and economic problems of the hour has won for his church the title of "Humanity's Temple." It is not merely Dr. Lorimer's eloquence and ability that fill Tremont Temple to its utmost capacity at the Sunday services. The people have come to have faith in the interest and sincerity of the great divine.

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Hence, they hear him gladly at a time when many of the most lordly temples in the city are half filled with audiences that not infrequently manifest evident signs of weariness during the services.

II.

Dr. Lorimer's survey of nineteenth-century Christianity fills him with hope for the coming age. He shows that one hundred years ago—and for several generations prior to that date—the Church had concerned herself so thoroughly with dogmatic theology that real or true religion had languished, while a deep, subtle materialism had permeated both Church and State. At that time the Church was little concerned with the welfare of the poor, with wholesome freedom, or with the very things which in a large way constituted the ministry and teachings of Jesus. Intolerance in religious and political life and contempt for the broad and loving teachings of the Nazarene were painfully evident. The attitude of the Church in France during the eighteenth century was well illustrated by the following:

> "Under Fleury, in 1728, to print anything contrary to papal bulls incurred a sentence to prison or the galleys. Protestants were condemned to incarceration for their faith. Children were separated from their parents and women were flogged on account of heresy; and even in 1770, the bishops drew up a document to the king on the dangerous consequences of liberty of thinking and printing."

Of the England of the eighteenth century we catch a glimpse in these vivid lines from an extended and circumstantial description of its moral eclipse:

> "The realm was a sink of all vices, and a sewer for all the baser passions. What shall be said of the moral tone of a community where one hundred and sixty different crimes were punishable with death, and where capital punishment was inflicted as plays are presented at theaters—publicly and for money? Tickets could be purchased for the exquisite privilege of seeing huzzies whipped in the Bridewell, and women were often exposed in the pillory to the jeers and coarse insults of the brutal mob. Last century the impecunious inmates of debtors' prisons in England were generally dependent for bare subsistence upon the charity of the generous, who dropped their dole into baskets let down from the gaol windows, and not a few died from starvation. 'In 1759, Doctor Johnson computed the number of these debtors at not less than twenty thousand, and asserted that one out of every four died every year from the treatment they received.' 'Prisoners rarely could escape, even if they broke loose, for mastiffs were kept to pursue them; and of a thousand sent in one assignment to Botany Bay, of both sexes, four-fifths perished before land was reached.' . . . Drunkenness, profanity, gambling, and general profligacy reigned throughout the realm. Gentlemen high in position, representatives of government, like Oxford and Bolingbroke, were not ashamed to be intoxicated in the presence of their sovereign; while retailers of gin enticed the poorer classes to their ruin by the announcement that they could be made drunk for a penny and dead drunk for two-pence. The streets of the city were insecure; Horace Walpole declaring, in 1751, that 'one is forced to travel, even at noon, as if he were going to battle.' . . . It is usually assumed that at this time England was the darkest spot within the territories of civilized nations.

This very nice point in comparative corruption and decay I do not feel called on to discuss. The capitals of Europe were all bad enough; and even if it could be proven that Great Britain was primate in the hierarchy of degeneracy, as many suspect, but which may be challenged, she was not alone in her sin, and certainly had many close competitors, if she had no superiors. She may, therefore, be taken as a type, even though an exaggerated one, of the darkness, mental and moral, religious and social, which enswathed the most highly favored parts of the world over a hundred years ago."

Nor was New England or the United States a striking exception in regard to morality, as may be gleaned from the following:

"Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon says: 'The closing years of the eighteenth century show the lowest low-water mark of the lowest ebb-tide of spiritual life in the history of the American church.' . . .

"He quotes from Lyman Beecher's account of Yale College at the accession of President Dwight, 1795, this striking passage:

" 'Before he came, the college was in a most ungodly state. The college church was almost extinct. Most of the students were skeptical, and rowdies were plenty. Wine and liquors were kept in many rooms; intemperance, profanity, gambling, and licentiousness were common.' . . .

"We are also reminded that there were only two among the students of Princeton College who professed belief in Christianity in 1782, and that the General Assembly, 1798, thus portrays the prevailing impiety: 'The profligacy and corruption of the public morals have advanced with a progress proportionate to our declension in religion. Profaneness, pride, luxury, injustice, intemperance, lewdness, and every species of debauchery and loose indulgence greatly abound.' . . . Edwards testifies regarding his own town, Northampton: 'There was more degeneracy among the young than ever before.' 'Licentiousness, for some years, greatly prevailed among the youth.' 'The Sabbath was extensively profaned and the decorum of the sanctuary not unfrequently disturbed.' . . . The Puritan colonists for some years prior to the Revolution were noted for the most singular inconsistencies in conduct and for a casuistry at once artificial and misleading, and which can only be accounted for on the supposition that, however deeply versed they may have been in the doctrines of grace, they had never given much sober thought to the doctrines of ethics."

And Dr. Lorimer adds, in referring to his own experience during the early years of his ministry in the West:

"I have known young girls to be excluded from the church on account of dancing, while their accusers were retained in membership, although they were whisky distillers and whisky drinkers, and even worse. Professors of religion who held slaves in some parishes would not hold fellowship with those brethren who visited the theater; and, in others, men might chew tobacco in church, but they must not presume to smile. Now, it is worth noticing that this crude and contradictory asceticism has always had a fatal tendency toward irreligion and infidelity."

Thus we find religion at a low ebb in the dawning of the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact the truly humanitarian leaders were for the most part either beyond the pale of the Church or merely nominally Christians. During the last century, however, the Church experienced a notable awakening. She became greatly purified. Her vision was infinitely broadened and her sympathies warmed into activity. She rose from her moral torpor and became again a real factor in ethical advance. The social awakening has been very marked, and Dr. Lorimer's chapter on this subject is one of the best in the volume. From the following extracts something of the spirit of this discussion may be gleaned:

> "Rather to churches than to poets should these stinging words—
>
> 'Let trifling pipe be mute;
> Fling by the languid lute,'
>
> have been addressed by their author; for churches, by their origin and nature, have been exalted to the loftiest height of commanding authority, and they have been especially commissioned to found the new 'Fraternal State.' For them, therefore, to idly play with the 'languid lute' while the people are perishing for lack of bread is for them to be stained with blood-guiltiness; and for them to muffle the sharp notes of the gospel trumpet, and for them to play in the shallows of human affairs instead of fathoming the depths, is for them either to be unpardonably oblivious to their grave vocation or to be shamefully disloyal to its obligations."

Of the turning of the Church from being the champion, protector, and defender of the poor to be the suppliant of the rich, Dr. Lorimer says:

> "Perhaps the saddest and most humiliating chapter in history is the one that records the falling away of the great body of the Church from her vocation as the savior of the world. This was a gradual descent. . . . Her apostasy lay in transferring her interest from the poor to the rich, in seeking the favor of kings and not the advantage of the oppressed, in centering her affections on the lofty to the neglect of the lowly, in aspiring to rule in the State and above the State and by the corrupt policies of the State instead of converting the State, and in always and unflinchingly striving to aggrandize herself and apparently not caring what becomes of the people at large."

In speaking of present social conditions, Dr. Lorimer observes:

> "Canon Westcott goes farther than this, and adds:
>
> " 'The silent revolution which has taken place within the century in the methods of production and distribution has terribly intensified the evils which belong to all late forms of civilization. The great industries have cheapened luxuries and stimulated the passion for them. They have destroyed the human fellowship of craftsman and chief. They have degraded trade in a large degree into speculation. They have deprived labor of its thoughtful freedom, and turned men into "hands." They have given capital a power of dominion and growth perilous above all to its possessor.'
>
> "It is the fact that multitudes of the common people are intelligent enough to perceive and understand these damaging and discouraging features of the present industrial system, that breeds and foments widespread dissatisfaction. Let any one read Robert Blatchford's 'Merrie England,' if he would ascertain how extensive the spirit of unrest is and how well informed. This little book will be a revelation to those who have never thought seriously over the problems of their times. . . . The reader closing its pages very likely will conclude, with the Bishop of Rochester, that 'the zones of enormous wealth and degrading poverty, unless carefully considered, will presently generate a tornado which, when the storm clears, may leave a good deal of wreckage behind.' . . . It is the mission of the Church to avert the tempest by seeking to harmonize its threatening and mutually antagonistic elements; but, if she is to do anything effective, she must realize at the

outset that the issue involved is *au fond* an economic one, and is not primarily sentimental or religious. Adam Smith, a hundred years ago, taught the world how wealth could be accumulated, and the lesson has been thoroughly learned; but to-day the world needs to learn how wealth should be distributed, and until adequate instruction is furnished on this point it will be true, as Lord Beaconsfield declared, that the unequal distribution of the fruits of industry will divide every nation into 'two nations,' and they will differ widely from each other in enlightenment, safety, and happiness."

On the true mission of the Church, our author well says:

"Let not the Church undervalue this side of her high vocation to the world. To beget love, to deepen love, to reveal the wonderful gospel at the heart of love, and to awaken the slumbering holy passion of love on behalf of the degraded and the lost cannot be the least of her sacred privileges. If the possession of love is a greater glory than the possession of faith and hope, then the creation of love in human hearts must be a greater glory still. Wherever else the Church may fail, she cannot afford to fail here. The final redemption of society rests on her faithfulness to this work. . . . The life of love in her which was supremely in Christ Jesus she must hasten to impart to the multitudes around her, and this she can do through her unique spiritual ministrations and by the identification of herself with every cause that tends to bless mankind. To all who have a message of hope, to all who are ready to bear burdens, to all who champion the cause of suffering, to all who assail intrenched and ancient wrongs, and to all who march in the vanguard of progress, she should show herself friendly. They should have no doubt of her sympathy and prayers, and they should feel, whatever might befall them, they could never lose her loyal co-operation. Her song should ever be:

'Press bravely onward! Not in vain
Your generous trust in human kind;
The good which bloodshed could not gain
Your peaceful zeal shall find.'

. . . .

"If thus she sings, and if she mingles her banners with those of the struggling army anxious to conquer the savagery of our civilization, she will be loved. No longer will she be viewed with suspicion and hate, no longer will she be scorned by the toiling millions—she will be loved. And, coming to love her, the people, through her love for them, will come to love one another, and then that which Mrs. Besant sought will be found—the principle, and the only principle, through which 'the nobler social order' can be constructed and through which it may hope to be perpetuated as long as time endures."

Perhaps the most luminous and suggestively helpful chapter in the volume deals with "The New Prophetism in Modern Literature." Here, from the vantage-ground of a broad-visioned philosopher, Dr. Lorimer sweeps the field of vital poetic and prophetic literature as it relates to man and God, and calls attention to much in the writings of our noble seers and sages that breathes the broadest and noblest thought of the age.

The chapters on "The Bearing of Recent Research on the Inspiration of Holy Writ," "The Emancipation and Transformation of Evangelical Theology," and "The Movement for the Restoration of Primitive Christian Union," are very thoughtful; and, though one may not agree at all times with the author's views or his inferences, the treatment is such as to command the interest and challenge the thoughtful consideration of the reader.

III.

In the chapter entitled "The Failure of Modern Substitutes for the Ancient Faith, or the Isms and Schisms," we feel that Dr. Lorimer has fallen far below the high standard of criticism usually maintained elsewhere in the volume. This is painfully noticeable in the treatment of Modern Spiritualism and of Christian Science. Of the former, in discussing the rapid growth of interest in Spiritualism more than fifty years ago, our author observes that "the craze spread rapidly"; but we are told that the belief in its tenets has rapidly declined. "In 1859 it was claimed that one million five hundred thousand persons had embraced the new mysteries as undeniable verities. It was hinted that four million more were partly convinced, and were only restrained by certain prejudices from going farther," while "a late census gives the entire membership of spiritual associations as forty-five thousand and thirty." This, I think, is manifestly an unfair way of presenting the case, as it is calculated to mislead those who know little of the facts. To take as a basis of comparison a claim of enthusiasts, or what is hinted as the truth, at one time, and then to use a census report as the basis at another time, is hardly a method of comparison one would expect from twentieth-century critical scholarship. But, beyond all this, the greatest error in the assumption of growth and decline lies in the fact that Spiritualism, like Unitarianism and some other religious and philosophic messages, has never sought to crystallize itself into an exclusive body or a creedal church. It has simply sought to permeate society with a truth which I believe has done more than all the churches in Christendom combined during the last century to check the march of materialism that was so painfully evident before the rise of Modern Spiritualism. Its leaders long, persistently, and systematically opposed anything like an organization or a society bound by anything like creed or dogma; and the great rank and file among Spiritualists have resolutely refused to be bound by any confession of faith. A very large proportion of believers among Spiritualists have remained in their churches, and not a few of the leading clergymen of our age have been pronounced believers. Among many notable divines I might mention the late Rev. H. R. Haweis, for many years pastor of the church at which Lord Tennyson worshiped, and one of the most brilliant clergymen in the English Church as well as one of the most delightful and gifted essayists of our time, and the Rev. Minot J. Savage, one of the most eminent and careful thinkers in the liberal pulpit of the present age.

But what to me is still more to be deplored in Dr. Lorimer's criticism of Spiritualism than anything reflecting on the number of its believers—which at best is an unsafe criterion by which to judge a system—are such remarks as the following: "Spiritism, whatever else it does, has never illuminated. There is no light in it. As a religion, it is a religion without a message."

Perhaps the best answer to such a declaration would be to point to the noble and inspiring literature called forth by Spiritualism—a literature which I think may well stand unbonneted in the presence of that produced by any evangelical church during the same period. If any one doubts whether or not Spiritualism has a message, let him procure a copy of Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace's "Spiritualism and Modern Miracles," and read that exceedingly thoughtful volume. Indeed, Dr. Wallace's own case is very suggestive in this connection, and he represents thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, among the most thoughtful scholars and thinkers, who in the presence of the revelations of modern science and scholarship could find no evidence in the Bible to justify faith in another life, but who through Modern Spiritualism have been thoroughly convinced, not only of a future existence, but that humanity is destined to reap to the fullest extent the good or the ill of the sowing in this life. Sir William Crookes, F.R.S., president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and one of the most illustrious scientists of any age, is another representative of the vast army whom the Church could not rescue from materialism but whom the evidences of Spiritualism convinced.

The ethics of Spiritualism are admirably set forth in several very able volumes by a number of leading representative thinkers. Perhaps no clearer or more concise statements are found than in Dr. Wallace's book, to which I have alluded, and in the words of Rev. Minot J. Savage touching on Spiritualism and the future. Gerald Massey's long poem, "A Tale of Eternity," also embodies the ethics of Spiritualism in an admirable manner. I think I may say that no religion was ever promulgated whose ethics as embodied in the teachings of its greatest representatives have been more lofty or essentially just and rational than those of Modern Spiritualism. Few people dream of the extent of the influence of the new ideas of a future life over the thought of the age; yet one has only to compare the literature of the past, prior to the advent of Modern Spiritualism, with the prevailing religious conceptions of the present to realize how far-reaching has been the revolution it has accomplished. This is nowhere more apparent than in the writings of the prophets and poets of the age.

In the notice of Christian Science Dr. Lorimer has been, in my judgment, almost as unfortunate as in his criticism of Spiritualism. The detached passages of a work may be entirely incomprehensible, while a philosophic thought embodied in a volume may be intelligible. Moreover, one can easily detach portions from a book and make the volume appear absurd or ridiculous to those who are unacquainted with the spirit of the work. Perhaps no one ever illustrated the truth of this observation more clearly than did the late Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, in his "Mistakes of Moses" and other attacks on the Bible. But, in order justly to judge or criticize a system or theory, it is necessary to study not only its teachings but also the influence it exerts on the lives of its adherents. This fact was admirably emphasized by the distinguished rector of Trinity Church, Boston, the Rev. E. Winchester

Donald, at a recent Episcopal Church Congress, when he insisted that in order properly to judge Christian Science one must know something of the work that the new belief was actively accomplishing and of its influence upon the people who accepted its tenets. And this is very true. One need not be a Christian Scientist to appreciate the wonderful work for righteousness now being wrought by the new religious fellowship that is so rapidly spreading throughout the English-speaking world. I am thoroughly convinced that in the city of Boston there is no Christian church where there is more of the enthusiasm for humanity, more of the love spirit that Jesus laid so much emphasis upon, more of the earnest striving to live the Christ life, and more of vital faith in the power of God than in this church. There are to-day hundreds, if not thousands, of men who were drunkards and libertines, and whom the orthodox churches seemed powerless to touch, influence, or save, but who under the influence of Christian Science have been completely turned from their evil ways and who are now evincing much of the enthusiasm manifested by the early Christians in working for the salvation of others. Moreover, Christian Science, and the New Thought movement outside of Christian Science, is exerting a needed influence on the Church in awakening it from its materialistic slumbers. This much should in simple justice be said for Christian Science and the great New Thought movement.

Moreover, Dr. Lorimer, in my judgment, errs greatly when he intimates that Christian Science makes healing of bodily diseases its chief distinction, as when he says: "But, however caused, a religion which makes them its chief distinction assuredly fails in several respects to suggest a correspondence with apostolic Christianity." Christian Science lays its chief stress on the life. The healing of disease it teaches, as did Jesus Christ teach, is a sign of the power of the truth. Now, it is probable that at least seventy per cent. of the several hundred thousand members of Christian Science churches to-day in America were cured of diseases after the regular profession had given them up as hopeless, or at least had failed to cure them; and through the restoration of health these persons have become interested in a vital way in religious thought and truth. Like the blind man in the Bible, they are unable to sympathize with the wrath of the Pharisees at the unorthodox cure, and they turn to the new belief with the enthusiasm that marked the early Christians, before the Church became rich, conservative, and corrupt. Healing, as taught by Christian Scientists, occupies a place quite subordinate to that of man's right relation to God and to his fellow-men. Indeed, they teach that health is incidental to the right thinking and living born of the understanding of the Truth. The fact that through the materialism and corruption of the Christian Church she has lost the gift of healing, however, makes it necessary to lay more emphasis on this than would otherwise be necessary. This much I say in common fairness to Christian Science—a belief whose tenets I do not hold, but of whose work I am cognizant through actual knowledge and personal investigation.

IV.

The closing chapter of this volume is a very thoughtful discussion on "The Message of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth." Dr. Lorimer's hope for evangelicalism is very strong. He believes the Church is destined to move forward with majestic and triumphant tread. I confess I do not share his faith in the progress of the Church as constituted to-day. It seems to me too much given over to the service of two masters. The great money magnates, the heads of the injurious and illegal Trusts, the master spirits among the gamblers in stocks, and the Napoleons among modern monopolists, whose debauching influence is so plainly visible on all sides in legislation, and about whose crimes the press, the pulpit, and the college have of late grown so strangely silent, are too prominent in the Church to lead me to hope that without some mighty spiritual revival, that would divide the priests of Baal from the prophets of progress, the Church, as constituted to-day, can hope to be the standard bearer leading humanity along the highway of economic justice and spiritual and intellectual freedom which the twentieth century demands of her true prophets and apostles.

But, though the Church may as a body fall far short of her duty, there will always be a large number of Christians and not a few ministers, who, like Dr. Lorimer, will go boldly forward, bravely battling for what they conceive to be the truth, and striving, in spite of the frown of predatory wealth and its ill-concealed despotism, to champion the rights of the millions and further the cause of human brotherhood.

THE HEART OF DAVID THE PSALMIST KING. By A. G. Heaton. Cloth, 390 pp. Illustrated by the author. Washington, D. C.: The Neale Company.

Comparatively few persons at the present day are interested in long poems, especially when written in blank verse, and I confess to something of weariness on opening this large volume of almost four hundred pages, in which the author sings the life-song of the warrior, king, and psalmist; but a pleasant surprise awaited me. The lines for the most part flow smoothly, and they abound in passages of great beauty. But, what is more important, the work is treated with the power and discernment of a true poet and artist. Here is the imaginative quality that makes the skeleton men and women described in the Old Testament live, breathe, and move before the reader. Here is the wealth of true feeling—the love, the hope, the fear, the doubt, and all the major and minor emotions that awaken the deepest interest in other minds.

The poem, which is written in dramatic form, is divided into four parts, in which the youth of David, the years spent as an outlaw chieftain pursued by Saul, his manhood during the glory of his kingly reign, and his closing days are fittingly portrayed. The author is an artist, who has occupied the leisure of several years in thus depicting the life of the royal singer. He has brought into his work the enthusiasm of one heartily in love with the work in hand. In the poem the Biblical text is rigidly followed, but from the slight hints and epigrammatic observations his imagination has beheld what is implied, and with this meager framework he has fashioned striking and oftentimes beautiful pictures of life and love, until, beyond the deep interest that is awakened in the men and women of that far-away olden time, we see the inner workings of the human heart and better understand the complex motives arising from surrounding circumstances that prompted certain acts and deeds.

Aside from its poetic beauty and romantic charm, the poem challenges the reader's interest because of the luminous manner in which the author enforces the supreme law of life—that whatsoever a man soweth, that sooner or later he shall reap; that he who doeth wrong cannot expect to escape the result, even though it be ever so cunningly concealed; for, as surely as order, justice, and right reign throughout creation's bounds, the hour will some time come when the measure of good or ill will be meted out to every soul. The wicked may "prosper as the green bay tree" for a season, but "the end thereof is death." This fact cannot be escaped if we admit that justice rules on the throne of the universe, and the circumstance that we see only a small section of life cannot entitle us to arrogate the right to judge the whole by a partial appearance.

The life of David, if it is to be judged justly, must be compared with the civilization and environment of which he was a part, though this important fact is frequently overlooked by critics. The great psalmist-king was in many respects a man of wax—no paragon of virtue; yet he was one of the greatest and in many ways the best ruler of his age. In him we find some of the great faults and sins that dim the virtue of so many of the strongest emotional natures; but, great as were David's sins, they sprang from passion rather than from badness of heart. There is no cool, calculating iniquity in his soul, and though he wanders into the far country he cannot remain there. His heart and soul "cry out after the living God." He repents of his sins with all the strength of his being. He turns from his iniquity with his whole heart and seeks, so far as in his power lies, to make atonement for his wrongs. His is a deeply religious nature. He possesses the feeling and imagination of a poet. In him is ever the struggle between the flesh and the spirit, and in the end the spirit triumphs.

Those interested in the great characters of the Old Testament, and especially those who admire the lofty thought of the psalmist-king, will find much pleasure and profit in Mr. Heaton's notable poem.

PERFECT HEALTH: HOW TO GET IT AND HOW TO KEEP IT. By Charles C. Haskell. Cloth, 212 pp. Price, $1. Norwich, Ct.: C. C. Haskell.

This volume comes from the pen of a man who after many years of struggle with disease was restored to perfect health at a time when he had determined to give up the fight and die. Mr. Haskell gives the story of his own case—how his attention was called to the means of cure that wrought the miracle of health when all his friends looked for death—in a simple, straightforward manner, well calculated to arrest the attention and hold the interest of the reader. The cure was effected through fasting and obedience to these simple rules: To abstain absolutely from breakfast; never to eat except when natural hunger supervenes; to masticate every mouthful of food so long as any taste of the food remains; to abstain from all drinks at meal times.

The author's attention had been called to the new cure by a gentleman who was dying from alcoholism, and who had exhausted every other means of cure. He had been completely restored by this simple treatment, under the direction of Dr. Edward H. Dewey, of Meadville, Pa. Numerous friends of Mr. Haskell were induced to try the treatment after his cure had been effected. The result has been unfailingly successful, and a large number of the cases are circumstantially recorded. In the appendix also are many letters and testimonials from persons that have been cured of such diseases as asthma, alcoholism, Bright's disease, nervous prostration, chronic dyspepsia, melancholia, dropsy, rheumatism, and other obstinate chronic afflictions.

The volume is very readable, and we doubt not that the following of the simple rules will result in the cure of thousands of invalids. We cannot, however, confess to as much faith in the treatment as a cure-all as is confidently entertained by Mr. Haskell. There are many remarkable and some almost startling cures given; but how many failures have attended the treatment? It is necessary to have a comparative knowledge on this point before one could be expected to accept the sweeping claims made for the treatment. Is this indeed the sovereign remedy the author believes it to be, and is his plausible reasoning sound throughout? Or is this only another treatment that effects cures in many cases but fails in others, as do all other systems of cure? We can easily understand how this cure may be all that is claimed in cases where too much food or bad kinds of food have weakened the digestive tract, impoverished the blood, and overtaxed the liver and kidneys; but how about cases where there has never been sufficient nutrition? How about cases where the troubles have not been produced, directly or indirectly, by overtaxing of the organs of assimilation?

The volume will amply repay a careful reading, however, and I doubt not that in the case of very many its simple and plain rules will, if faithfully followed, result in the saving of large doctors' bills, and, what is even more important, in the complete restoration of health.

LULLABIES AND SLUMBER SONGS. By Lincoln Hulley, Ph.D. Cloth, 116 pp. Price, 80 cents. Philadelphia: John Wanamaker.

This dainty little volume contains ninety-seven lyrics. They are poems that will appeal to all lovers of lullabies and slumber songs, being chaste, delicate, and highly poetic. The easy-flowing rhythmic quality of many of these lays will sing itself into the reader's mind. Here are some typical lines:

> Sleep, little darling—the day is done;
>   Darkness steals down from the dusky skies;
> Crickets are calling, the night dews are falling,
>   And sleepy stars blink with their pretty bright eyes.
>
> Bluebells are tolling in elfin lay,
>   Telling of dreamland and slumber sweet;
> List to their chiming and rhythmical rhyming;
>   Summer is golden and gladsome and fleet.
>
> . . . .
>
> Moonbeams are woven in tangled webs,
>   Veiling the mist in the baby's eyes;
> Slowly he's sinking, his drowsy eyes blinking—
>   The zephyrs have borne him to dreamy skies.

The reader of this book will frequently be reminded of some of the popular work of the late Eugene Field.

SCENES OF MY CHILDHOOD. By Charles Elmer Jenney. Cloth, 126 pp. Price, $1.00. Illustrated with 22 full-page illustrations. Fresno, Cal.: Fresno Republican Publishing Company.

This is a pleasing volume of simple poems, largely reminiscent in character, and dealing with the beauties of rural New England life as scenes of childhood haunt the memory of maturity. The book is rendered very attractive by more than twenty full-page reproductions of highly artistic photographs.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Songs of North and South." Poems. By Walter Malone. Cloth, 103 pp. Louisville: John P. Morton & Co.

"Light on the Deep: A Tale of To-day." By George Henry Grafton. Paper, 128 pp. Price, 25 cents. Washington: The Neale Company.

"Solaris Farm: A Story of the 20th Century." By Milan C. Edson. Paper, 447 pp. Price, 50 cents. Published by the author, 1728 New Jersey Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

"English Spelling." By George D. Broomell. Paper, 27 pp. Price, 10 cents. Chicago: The Ben Franklin Co.

"Death and the Future State." By S. H. Spencer. Cloth, 134 pp. Germantown, Pa.: Swedenborg Publishing Association.

"Selections from George MacDonald; or, Helps for Weary Souls." Compiled by J. Dewey. Cloth, 93 pp. Chicago: Francis L. Dusenberry.

"Municipal Public Works." By Ernest McCullough. Paper, 157 pp. Price, 50 cents. Published by the author, Lewiston, Idaho.

"Le Roman D'une Pussie Chat." By Frederick Rogers, D.C.L. Cloth, 255 pp. Detroit: American Publishing Co.

"Limitations of Learning, and Other Science Papers." By Albert Schneider, M.D., Ph.D. Cloth, 100 pp. Price, $1.25. Chicago: Medical Book Co.

"The Word and Its Inspiration." Vols. I. and II. Price, $1 each. Germantown, Pa.: Swedenborg Publishing Association.

"The Molecular Hypothesis of Nature." By Prof. F. M. Lockwood. Paper, 57 pp. Chicago: F. M. Lockwood.

"The Spiritualism of Nature." By F. M. Lockwood. Paper, 43 pp. Chicago: F. M. Lockwood.

"The Wedding Night." By Ida C. Craddock. Paper, 24 pp. Price, 50 cents. Published by the author, 1838 California St., Denver, Colo.

"Right Marital Living." By Ida C. Craddock. Paper, 45 pp. Price, 50 cents. Published by the author, 1838 California St., Denver, Colo.

"Vaccination a Curse." By J. M. Peebles, A.M., M.D., Ph.D. Cloth, 326 pp. Battle Creek, Mich.: Temple of Health Pub. Co.

"Aus Zwei Welten." (German) Poems, by Berthold Kalfus. Paper, 115 pp. Published by the author, Denver, Colo.

"Tales from Town Topics." March number. Paper, 50 cents. New York: Town Topics Publishing Co.

"The King of Honey Island." By Maurice Thompson. Cloth. Illustrated. 343 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"One American Girl." By Virginia Webb. Paper, 382 pp. Price, 50 cents. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"Three Men and a Woman." By R. H. P. Miles. Cloth, 290 pp. Price, $1.50. New York: G. W. Dillingham Co.

"In Re Molineaux *versus* a Current Cagliostro." By Michon de Vars. Illustrated. Cloth, 139 pp. Price $3. Providence, R. I.: Arthur W. Brown, Publisher, 719 Industrial Building.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE portrait of Prof. George D. Herron that forms the frontispiece of this issue is a reproduction of a very recent photograph taken especially for THE ARENA's use. Public teachers who have the courage of their convictions are so rare in our modern day that we are always glad to acquaint our readers with the personality and views of such heroic souls. The admirable character sketch of Dr. Herron that the Rev. Wm. T. Brown contributes to this number is scarcely less luminous than the outline of "The New Social Apostolate" presented in Editor Patterson's interview with this most interesting apostle of the new economic ideals.

A feature of equal significance and importance in the advancement of American civilization is the symposium introduced by Editor Flower on "An Army of Wealth-creators *vs.* an Army of Destruction." The six recognized authorities who comment, from widely different standpoints, upon the propositions suggested in the theme epitomize the progressive thought of our era. The new-century recrudescence of militarism that, if not checked, bodes ill for our Republic in the mistaken ideas it is inculcating concerning what rightly constitutes a "world power" among nations renders this consensus of opinions very timely and instructive. The subject is enlarged upon by Mr. Flower in his "Topics of the Times," and every friend of THE ARENA should take pains to circulate this issue among the slaves of the imperialistic delusion and cynical commercialism that are characteristic of recent American thought and activity. The opening article, by Judge Doster, will prove especially impressive to those to whom only the sordid pecuniary aspect of our Philippine departure has appealed.

During the last few months we have given much space to discussions of religious topics, for THE ARENA is convinced that the spiritual element is the vital one in all forward movements; but that the theological incrustation of modern orthodoxy—in its many contradictory phases of lukewarmness—is militating against the evolution of the loftiest ideals in the world of economics and government, is plainly set forth in Editor Patterson's article, "The Parting of the Ways," which should be brought to the attention of every clergyman in the land.

Another subject to both sides of which this magazine has yielded most hospitable treatment is Christian Science. The doctrines of the cult founded by Mrs. Eddy have been discussed, pro and con, by many able writers in these pages; but our next issue will contain two articles on the affirmative side that may be regarded as the most dispassionate and authoritative presentation of what Christian Scientists really believe and teach that has yet appeared outside the orthodox channels of the sect. The first is from the pen of John B. Willis, A.M., a well-known scholar of Boston, and discusses the relation of Christian Science to some present-day problems of religious thought; the second is entitled "Its Premise and Conclusions," by Alfred Farlow, the accredited press representative of the church.

The third essay of Editor Flower's series on "A Higher Civilization" will appear in our July number, bearing the title, "Physical Science in the Nineteenth Century." It will be preceded, in the June number, by Dr. Charles R. Keyes's contribution on "Geology in the Twentieth Century"—two papers that well illustrate the onward march of modern science in recent decades.

A conversation with Wm. T. Stead, the distinguished editor of the English *Review of Reviews,* will be another striking feature of our June issue. The subject is "England's Crime in South Africa," which will be accompanied by a portrait and character sketch from the pen of Editor Flower.

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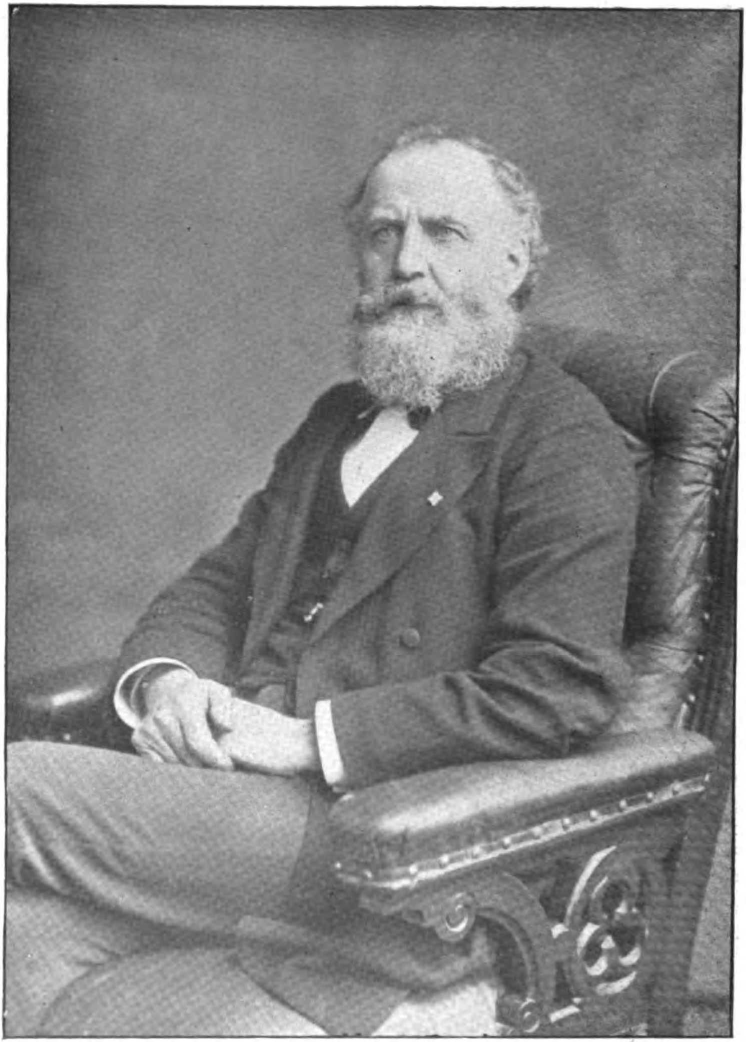
NOTICE OF REMOVAL.—Friends of THE ARENA will please note that The Alliance Publishing Company will remove its business, on or about May 1st, to 63 West Forty-fifth street, New York, where it has leased commodious offices in a recently built addition to "The Schuyler."

J. E. M.



WILLIAM T. STEAD.

> ***"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.***
> ***They master us and force us into the arena,***
> ***Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."***
>
> —**Heine.**

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IMPERIALISM.

THE lexicographers inform us that the words *imperialism, empire,* and *emperor,* are derived from the Latin nouns *imperium* and *imperator*—derivatives of the verb *impero.* The primary meaning of *impero* is, I command. *Impero* is the strongest word in Latin, and *command* is the strongest word in English, to express absolute authority. Walter Scott says that Queen Elizabeth could so pronounce "I command" as to make it seem an entreaty, and could so pronounce "I entreat" as to make it seem a command. But no trick of pronunciation can change the fact that *impero* and *command* in their respective languages imply absolute and irresistible authority.

The word *imperialism* expresses the nature of the government called an empire, and *emperor* implies uncontrolled and uncontrollable command in the civil and military head of the government. By common consent Rome, from the time of Julius Cæsar, is taken as the greatest example in history of the empire, and to Rome modern historians, statesmen, and philosophers turn with great unanimity for instruction and warning.

It is not intended in this paper, nor is it necessary for the present purpose, to inquire in detail how the Roman republic became an empire with all power in the hands of one man. It is sufficient to say that, at the time Julius Cæsar became one of the leaders of the Roman people, the Senate was, and for many years had been, the ruling power in the State. In the great struggle for supremacy between Cæsar and Pompey the Senate sided with Pompey, and with his defeat and death its waning authority ended.

But Cæsar did not abolish it. On the contrary, he continued it and all the other offices in form as he found them, and at the very time of his death was acting as president of the Senate. But the power of that body was merely nominal. The great dictator had usurped and absorbed all the powers of the government and ruled the Roman world with unlimited sway. He knew the feeling of his countrymen against a "kingly crown," and refused it. But he demanded and received the popular title of Imperator (commander, or emperor), and under the form of a republic laid the foundations of an empire that his nephew, heir, and successor, Octavius, with great prudence, craft, and skill, completed and transmitted to his successors. As Triumvir, and in obtaining power, Octavius was guilty of great crimes, but after he became emperor his remarkable discretion prevented any serious abuse of his power. Under his successors, his comparatively mild rule degenerated into a cruel and bloody military despotism.

The final change in Rome from republic to empire is thus described by an able writer in the Encyclopædia Britannica:

> "The concentration in Cæsar's hands of all authority outside Rome completely and finally severed all real connection between the old institutions of the republic of Rome and the government of the Roman empire. And, though Augustus and Tiberius elevated the senate to a place beside themselves in this government, its share of the work was a subordinate one, and it never again directed the policy of the State; while, from the time of Cæsar onward, the old magistracies were merely municipal offices, with a steadily diminishing authority, even in the city, and the *comitia* retain no other prerogative of imperial importance but that of formally confirming the ruler of the empire in the possession of an authority which is already his. But the institutions of the republic not merely became, what they had ordinarily been, the local institutions of the city of Rome; but they were also subordinated even

within these narrow limits to the paramount authority of the man who held in his hands the army and the provinces. And here Cæsar's policy was closely followed by his successors. Autocratic abroad, at home he was the chief magistrate of the commonwealth; and this position was marked in his case, as in that of those who followed him, by a combination in his person of various powers, and by a general right of precedence which left no limits to his authority but such as he chose to impose upon himself."

It is clear that the great military successes of Cæsar in the provinces, his popularity with the army and the people in consequence of his victories, led to his successful usurpations, and to the establishment of an empire under the name and with the form of a republic. The empire began by foreign conquest and was completed by domestic usurpation. In four years from the time Cæsar crossed the Rubicon he became master of the Roman world. In that time he had created an empire and was its absolute ruler.

It is said that the great American Republic is following fast in the footsteps of ancient Rome and becoming an empire in substantially the same way, *i. e.*, by the enormous power acquired by the Commander-in-chief of her armies through foreign war, and the consequent subserviency of all departments of the government at home to the President.

Let us see if this is true. At the close of the war with Spain in 1898, our Commander-in-chief instructed his Peace Commissioners at Paris to demand of Spain a relinquishment of all her insular possessions in the Western hemisphere, and a cession to the United States of the entire Philippine archipelago; and the demand was complied with. Before the treaty was ratified, he, by proclamation, claimed the sovereignty of those islands and directed his subordinate officers there to take military possession and control of them for the United States. The Filipinos refused to surrender their country to him, and declared their determination to keep and govern it themselves. Whereupon he made war upon them to force them to submit, without consulting Congress and upon his own responsibility. This was clearly unconstitutional and an exercise of imperial power. But it is said that, inasmuch as the treaty conveyed those islands to the United States, it was the duty of the President to take possession of them, and, if the inhabitants resisted, they and not the President were the authors of the war.

The answer to this is that the treaty did not convey and could not convey a good title to the United States and that the legal status of the inhabitants was not changed by it. And this for several reasons. First, at the time of the making of the treaty the Filipinos were, and for months had been, the allies of the United States in the war against Spain, and as such, by a well settled principle of the law of nations, could not be bound by a treaty to which they were not parties. That they were allies is conclusively shown by the history of the civil and military transactions in that country as given by the parties to them, including our own civil and military officers.

Another reason why the treaty conveyed no title to the United States is that the Filipinos never consented to it, denied that they were bound by it, repudiated the sovereignty of the United States, and claimed and insisted upon their right to freedom and independence. (Their right to participate in the treaty was treated with contempt.)

A third reason why by the law of nations the treaty was not good as to the Filipinos is that Spain did not have, and could not give, possession of the islands she assumed to cede to the United States. Even the city of Manila after it had been taken from Spain by the *"coöperation"* of the Filipinos, as shown above, was in law and in fact as much in their possession as in that of the United States, and they were deprived of their possession by a mixture of force and fraud.

In the January number of the *North American Review,* Ex-President Harrison has an article entitled "The status of annexed territory and of its free civilized inhabitants." In the beginning of his paper he says: "A legal argument upon this subject is quite outside of my purpose, which is to consider in a popular rather than a professional way some of the questions that arise, some of the answers that have been proposed, and some of the objections to these answers."

The paper is a rather lengthy one, and the writer sometimes, as is often the case, goes "outside" of the limits he prescribes for himself. For instance: On page 3 of this paper occurs the following remarkable passage, in which he seems to consider one very important question in "a professional" rather than "a popular way":

> "Our title to the Philippines has been impeached by some upon the ground that Spain was not in possession when she conveyed them to us. It is a principle of private law that a deed of property adversely held is not good. If I have been ejected from a farm to which I claim title, I must recover possession before I can make a good conveyance. Otherwise, I sell a lawsuit, and not a farm, and that the law counts to be immoral. It has not been shown, however, that this principle has been incorporated into international law; and if it could be shown, there would still be need to show that Spain had been effectually ousted."

I was surprised to see that statement by an able lawyer whom I had twice supported for President of the United States. But, as it is something like an *obiter dictum,* and therefore not binding even on the writer himself, it may perhaps be permissible for a retired member of the profession to say that in his opinion it is not correct either in fact or in law.

As to the fact. It has been conclusively shown that neither at the time of the treaty, nor at any time after, did Spain have possession; that almost the entire Archipelago was in the actual possession of the Filipinos and that Spain did not and could not deliver possession to the United States.

As to the law. In the case of The Fama, Vol. 5, C. Rob. page 115, in the English Admiralty Reports, on the question "how far full sovereignty can be held to have passed by the mere words of the treaty, without actual delivery," Sir William Scott says—

> "that all corporeal property depends very much upon occupancy. With respect to the origin of property this is the sole foundation: *quod nullius est ratione naturale occupanti id*

concediter. So with regard to transfer also, it is universally held, in all systems of jurisprudence, that, to consummate the right of property, a person must unite the right of the thing with possession. A question has been made, indeed, by some writers, whether this necessity proceeds from what they call the natural law of nations, or from that which is only conventional. Grotius seems to consider it as proceeding only from civil institutions. Puffendorff and Pothier go farther. All concur, however, in holding it to be a necessary principle of jurisprudence that, to complete the right of property, the right to the thing and the possession of the thing itself should be united; or, according to the technical expression, borrowed either from the Civil Law, or, as Barbeyrac explains it, from the commentators on the Canon Law, there should be both the *jus in ad rem* and the *jus in re.* This is the general law of property, and applies, I conceive, no less to the right of territory than to other rights. . . . "

The author of this opinion (Lord Stowell) has been considered, for a hundred years, "one of the ablest and most accomplished English judges, especially in international law;" and one of his biographers informs us that his "judgments are to this day the international law of England."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Davis *vs.* The Police Jury of Concordia, said that in a treaty for the cession of territory full sovereignty does not pass to the nation to which it is transferred until actual delivery. The union of possession and the right to the territory must concur to give *plenum domine et utile.*

"This general law of property applies to the right of territory no less than other rights, and all writers upon the law of nations concur that the practise and conventional law of nations have been conformable to this principle." (9th Howard, page 287.)

Chancellor Kent states the rule in substantially the same way and nearly in the same words, and other authorities are to the same effect. So that, contrary to Mr. Harrison's dictum, this principle seems to have been "incorporated into international law" many years ago.

In the February number of the *North American Review,* Mr. Harrison says, "The fundamental principle of international law is the parity of nations." And it certainly is *one* fundamental principle. Baker tells us that *nation, State,* and *people* are often used by law writers as synonymous, and they are so used in the Declaration of Independence. It follows from the foregoing "fundamental principle" of "parity" (or equality) that any people situated as the Filipinos were after the taking of Manila have as much right to freedom, independence, and self-government as any other people. It was for this reason that Senator Hoar said in the Senate, in discussing the Spooner amendment a short time ago, "The United States has no more right to govern the Filipinos than the Filipinos have to govern the United States." And he was right. And he was right also when, upon the passage of those resolutions, he so strongly denounced the power that Congress assumed to confer upon the President as "*despotism.*" That is the very ground Lincoln would have taken had he been a member of that Senate.

It has been shown in the discussion called out by the treaty of Paris that it was not good as to the Filipinos by two other well-settled principles of international law, which have been stated above in this paper. (So that the treaty is worthless as a title to those islands whether the Ex-President is right or not on the question of possession.) It has also been shown that the claim of the President to sovereignty over those islands, and his order to the officers in command there to take possession of them for the United States, was an act of war, and that actual hostilities were precipitated by the Americans on February 4th, 1899. Here was a double exercise of imperial power by the President. First, in beginning a war without authority of law, and second, in attempting to force the sovereignty of the United States upon an alien people without their consent, and against their protest.

Mr. Harrison, in the January article, says, "It is not to be doubted that any international tribunal would affirm the completeness of our legal title to the Philippines." This would probably be the result if the trial should take place now, when the most powerful and influential nations in the world are burning with fever for territorial expansion. But this would only be another case in which the law of nations would be "quietly ignored or brutally disregarded," as stated by Prof. Hall. But let the case be continued until the fever cools and reason and conscience resume their sway: till the Divine law, which is quoted by the best authorities as the basis of international law, is again recognized as binding upon nations as well as individuals, and till the case can be tried and decided upon those great fundamental principles: "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," "Thou shalt not covet anything which is thy neighbor's," "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." We are informed by very high authority that no rules of international law are of any validity if contrary to these. And it is difficult to see how any international tribunal governed by these rules could "affirm the completeness of our legal title to the Philippines."

The case of Cuba is still more flagrant usurpation of imperial power at home and abroad. Our Senate and House of Representatives deliberately resolved that the people of Cuba "are and of right ought to be free and independent." That was a declaration of their equality, so far as international rights are concerned, with the greatest and most powerful nations of the earth, the United States included. According to the Declaration of Independence, "as free and independent States they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." Any attempt of any nation, or of the chief magistrate of any nation, to dictate to them what constitution or form of government they should adopt or what laws they should make, would be an invasion of their freedom and independence that they would have the right to resist to the last extremity.

The United States has no more right to dictate to Cuba what she shall or shall not put into her constitution, or what form of government she shall adopt, or what laws she shall make than she has to dictate the same things to Mexico or Canada or England: no more right than England has to dictate to France, or Germany to Austria. None of the nations mentioned have any more right to freedom and independence from outside dictation than Cuba has, by the showing of the United States themselves. The excuse that the people of Cuba are not fit for self-government amounts to nothing. The law of nations does not permit a great people, by an imperial assumption of superiority in statecraft over a small one, to dictate to them in the formation of their constitution and government. It leaves them free to work out their own salvation, and to learn how to govern themselves by the lessons of history and their own experience, as our fathers did and as other peoples have done. And it has been truly said by Sherston Baker that "such unlawful interference has frequently been the cause of wars the most cruel and bloody that have ever stained the annals of history."

And yet we are informed that this is precisely what the Commander-in-chief of our army has been doing in Cuba. He has been demanding that the Cuban constitution be made to suit him—demanding that it be submitted to him for approval or rejection, without any constitutional or legal authority for his demands, and in palpable violation of that freedom and independence which Congress solemnly declared of right belonged to that people. And he has been insisting that Congress give its sanction to his usurpations in the Philippines and in Cuba; and it has done so by the Army Appropriation bill.

The subserviency of this Congress reminds one of the Roman Senate in the time of Cæsar. So far as they could do so, they have made the President an Emperor in Cuba and the Philippines, and he informs the world in his inaugural address that he is *"glad to be advised* by the recent act of Congress of the policy which the legislative branch of the government deems essential to the best interest of Cuba and the United States." That inaugural address is a great curiosity. In that document he expresses himself as strongly in favor of "the establishment of a free and independent government" (in Cuba). And immediately after he is "glad" of the passage by Congress of an "act" the enforcement of which by him would make Cuba dependent and helpless in the grasp of the United States.

The Chicago *Times-Herald,* a very strong Republican paper, calls this "mockery," and says that "it is inconceivable how the President reconciles his utterances." But he does not, and cannot, reconcile them, and it required "oak and triple brass" to make such contradictory utterances in the face of the civilized world.

So far as the Philippines and Cuba are concerned, the empire, begun by the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in those islands, has been sanctioned and sustained by Congress and inaugurated with imperial magnificence.

The *Central Christian Advocate* said last February: "The inauguration this year will afford another perfectly magnificent opportunity to spend the people's money. And it looks as if the money were to be paid out, not in spoonfuls or ladlefuls, but by the shovelful. But we confess that we tremble at this barbaric display of money in this government of the people, by the people, and for the people." To which it may be answered that "this barbaric display" arises from the fact that at present this is ***not*** a government by the people, but by a rich and powerful oligarchy, through whose hands we are passing from the economy of a republic to the extravagance and corruption of an empire.

It is said that the inaugural ball alone caused the waste of at least twenty, and perhaps of forty, times as much money as was dissipated in the most splendid and extravagant entertainments of Lucullus, and that the entire cost of the inauguration amounted to millions. The economy and simplicity of a government by the people do not suit the exalted taste and temper of those who now govern this country; and the late magnificent inauguration, following so much successful usurpation, is a sure harbinger of the coming home of the empire and its establishment here as well as abroad, unless its progress be arrested by the people.

Do the people see and realize the danger? And if so, do they desire and intend to arrest the progress of the imperial forces?

SAMUEL C. PARKS..

Kansas City, Mo.

THE NATIONAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFERENCE.

THE Americans as a nation have two great contrasting and often supposedly opposite characteristics. They love order and the sharp, efficient, executive direction of an enterprise which is one of the requisites of success and progress. But deeper than their love of this centralizing business quality is their desire for freedom and equality. They believe in the opportunity of every individual to develop as he sees fit or is fit. The latter quality is the more fundamental and important; the former the more superficial and apparently dominant. These two qualities, order and freedom, execution and equality, are not necessarily opposed, but they are often made to appear so. Thus in the campaign of last fall the Republicans in their foreign policy appealed to the first, the American love of order and execution, and the Democrats to the latter, the sentiment of freedom and equality. The Republicans won because the American people felt that order and progress were needed abroad, and they could not now see that liberty and equal opportunity were as yet seriously jeopardized. The contrast between these two great American qualities was then strongly brought out.

To some few people it seems as if these two qualities were directly opposite, but they are not; and when they are united they produce the American composite of order with liberty, of progress with equal opportunity, which satisfies every true American. Perhaps no meeting of recent times has so united these qualities as the First National Social and Political Conference held at Buffalo, N. Y., from June 27th to July 4th, 1899. Its inception, management, and method were executive, almost to the verge of being autocratic. The spirit of its management, the courtesy of those attending, the living thought in the resolutions and addresses, breathed the broadest freedom and brotherhood.

Here is the plan of the Detroit Conference. Notice two things about it—its freedom and flexibility and the fact that there are to be no long speeches, but many short ones from the floor. Usually one or two address and the rest listen. This is to be a conference of the many—the usually silent many.

Like the Buffalo Conference of 1899, this Conference will be held for the five week-days preceding the Fourth of July, 1901. On the intervening Sunday, meetings arranged by the local committee and announced at the time will be held in the churches of Detroit. On July 4th, patriotic meetings arranged by the city authorities and a local committee will be addressed by attendants at the Conference. The Sunday and Fourth of July meetings are outside of the program committee's work.

The general plan of the Conference will be the same as the Buffalo Conference of 1899. The program for the first three days, Friday, Saturday, and Monday, will be arranged by the program committee, and they will appoint the chairman and fix the rules. On the afternoon of the third day, Monday, group meetings will be held at which speakers will be chosen for the fourth day, Tuesday. This is one of the most successful features of the Buffalo Convention. Any person or persons can call a group meeting on any social or political subject, and the group so called together will choose their speaker, who with the discussion to follow his address will be allotted time on the fourth day, Tuesday, in proportion to the size of his group. On the fifth day, Wednesday, when the members of the Conference have become fully acquainted, the Conference will choose its own chairman and secretary, adopt its own rules, fix its own order of business, and pass such resolutions as it sees fit. A resolution committee, to which all resolutions will be referred, will be nominated in the morning and elected by proportional representation in the evening of the third day, and they will report on the last day. Such other resolutions as the members see fit may also be introduced on the last day for action. Previous to the last day, no motions will be entertained or action taken by the Conference.

This is a *Conference,* and in passing motions and taking action on the last day it is distinctly understood that no member is bound by a majority vote; and on any disputed motion or resolution the number voting yea and nay shall be counted and published with the resolution.

The meetings will open and close exactly on time. Each subject will be opened by an address of from ten to twenty minutes, according to the length of time allotted to that subject. Should the subject be one that admits of debate, it will be opened by two persons, one for and one against. After the opening, any one from the floor can speak for not more than five minutes; and where the time is short and many want to speak the time limit will be three minutes. The only other rules for all speakers are brevity, pertinence, courtesy. No personalities will be allowed. Every effort will be made to secure opening speakers of note and ability.

There will be two meetings each day: in the morning from 9.30 A.M. to 12.30 P.M. and in the evening from 7.30 to 10.30 P.M., save on the last day, Wednesday, when in the absence of different determination by the Conference there will be no regular evening meeting, but instead an afternoon meeting from 2.30 to 5.30. On the afternoon of the first day, there will be an "acquaintance gathering" in the hall. The afternoon of the third day, Monday, will be filled with group meetings to choose speakers for the fourth day. Other afternoons and the evening of the last day are open for any meetings that any one wishes to arrange. These extra meetings will be announced by the secretary upon notice handed to him, and, if arranged in time, published in the final program.

The National Direct Legislation League have called a meeting at Detroit of the advocates of Direct Legislation for the day before the Conference, June 27. Attendants at the Conference are invited to this meeting. It is probable that the National Good Government League may call a meeting at Detroit either just before or just after the Conference meetings. It is also probable that the Gull Lake Summer School of Economics will begin its sessions immediately at the close of the Conference, at Gull Lake, a few hours' ride from Detroit.

It is also probable that a special excursion will be arranged for members of the Conference to the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo.

The program for the first three days is most carefully digested and balanced. There will be discussed, among other things: The Function of the Church in Furthering Equality; How to use the Press: (*a*) Newspapers, (*b*) Pamphlets, Magazines, Books; The Unification of Reform Forces and Organizations: (*a*) How far Desirable, (*b*) The Place of Trade Unions in the Reform Movement, (*c*) Relation of Temperance Organizations to Economic Reform, (*d*) Other Non-Partizan Organizations and Federations, (*e*) Is Political Union Possible? American Ideals Abroad; America's Position as to Colonies; Shall we Enlarge or Decrease the Army and Navy? The Ruskin Hall College Movement; What can be Secured by Working Locally; What can be Secured by Working on State Lines; What can be Secured by Working on National Lines; Should Political Reforms Precede Social and Economic Reforms? Are Political Parties Necessary, or Are They Obstacles to Progress? Can Reform be Gained Through the Old Parties? The Best Methods and Their Relative Place: (*a*) Papers and Tracts, (*b*) Clubs and Public Speaking, (*c*) Classes and Personal Work, (*d*) Existing Organizations, (*e*) New Organizations.

The last of March the secretary compiled a record by States of those accepting an invitation. There were then nearly 1,200 —a very large number for three months before. It is interesting to see where they come from: 586, or nearly half, are from New England and the Atlantic Coast States as far south as Washington, and of these 311 are from New York State and City; 88 hail from the South, and 369 from the middle tier of States beginning at Ohio and ending with Iowa and Missouri; 153 live in the West and 41 on the Pacific; 49 are from Canada, and two are coming each from Alaska and Mexico, while one calls Cuba his home. If this is any test, the reform sentiment is stronger in the East, and particularly in New York, than anywhere else in the country. It is weaker in the South than anywhere else. Considering the number of the people and the location of the Conference, the great Middle States do not come up as well as one would think, while the West and the Pacific States come up better, the distance and fewness of the people considered.

What will be the outcome? We know not time and seasons. Many think that with the vast educational work done by many agencies in the past, with the unrest, the divine discontent, the many creative and constructive attempts of the present and the indefinable but tremendous stir to the imagination of all peoples given by the beginning of a new century, a new, a strong, a concentrated movement to lift up the masses is germinating in the womb of time and is ready to come forth. If so, why not at Detroit? The place, people, and time are propitious.

But we do not know. We can only see through a glass darkly. Such movements are not made by any gathering of men, however skilfully drawn together. They are born when the time is ripe. In any event, the Detroit Conference will deepen the bonds of friendship, broaden the basis of thought, inspire to new hope and activity, and be an aid to future success.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

East Orange, N. J.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

I. Its Relation to Some Present-Day Religious Problems.

"Whatever contradicts the real nature of the divine *esse,* though human faith may clothe it with angelic vestments, is without foundation."—*Mary Baker G. Eddy.**

HOWEVER vain and wearisome religious discussion has generally proved in the past, it certainly cannot be pronounced uninteresting or insipid now. Not since the days of the Son of Man have such rapid and revolutionary changes in religious thought been witnessed, and one prominent cause and occasion is neither remote nor obscure. It is a constantly expressed thought of both ministers and lay-workers that the apprehension of spiritual truth, for which Christian profession, as a whole, stands to-day, is entirely inadequate to the problems in hand.

The startling indifference of our political, commercial, and social life to religious sentiment and ecclesiastical protest; the vast multitude of the unwashed and unconcerned who ignore all religious appeal and opportunity, in our great centers of population; the freely expressed sense of labor organizations, and the "Third Estate" generally, that the Church as such is not for, but against them; the apparent compromise of ecclesiasticism with the dominant world ambition, as revealed in its tolerance if not indorsement of wars that are not free from the savor of selfishness and imperialism, and in its willingness to accept endowments and other benefactions at the hands of those whose methods of acquiring their vast wealth have made "business enterprise" a synonym for iniquitous selfishness and monopoly; the passing of the camp-meeting, the revival, and other aggressive forms of evangelical activity by which the non-churchgoing were formerly reached and won; the prevailing unrest and unsatisfied longing for more of spiritual dominion and peace, and the half-hearted support given by the great lay-majority to spasmodic efforts to rehabilitate old methods of Christian endeavor; these and kindred "signs of the times" express in no uncertain tone the need of the stimulus of a new wine of spiritual thought that shall revitalize and deepen the religious life of the people, and save the Church from its unworthier self.

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* "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," p. 259.

This sense of the inadequacy of the old and the nearness of the new begets a haste in the progress of many which is revealed in some surprising associations and incongruities of thought. The author of "The Theological Views of a Layman," which appeared in the February number of THE ARENA, though standing for Congregationalism, has so far departed from traditional orthodoxy and accepted the modern idealistic point of view, as to ridicule the idea of a personal devil and deny the reality of sin, disease, and pain, while asserting the present possibility and practical duty of realizing health by the knowledge of the Christ Truth; and yet he insists that sin is a necessary corollary of good, and asserts the entity, the "coordinate substance" of matter with mind, like a pronounced materialist: in all of which he presents a grouping of allies so unusual as to command recognition as a theological novelty.

The "spirit of the times" is both critical and scientific. It takes nothing for granted and demands the logical statement and proof of every proposition, and it is not surprising if under its ruling dogmatic theology should fare ill, so far as it embodies traditions and interpretations, the truth of which has never been conceded by the court, nor proven by the counsel. The world's demand for a religion that shall be consistent in its statements, its methods, and its demonstrations is insistent; and, *nolens volens,* the pressing problem for every phase of traditional faith to-day is the adjustment of its content and demonstration to the unyielding exactions of the scientific method. Christian Scientists unhesitatingly submit their faith and works to this test and invite every inquiry and investigation that is candid and sincere, and in this they freely and gladly take a position to which every religious organization and belief will ultimately be driven.

Accepting the consensus of Christian belief concerning the Supreme Being—that he is the one Father-Mother God; Infinite, Absolute, and Supreme Good, Soul, Mind, Wisdom, Power, Principle, Law, Life, Truth, and Love; Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omnipresent Being; the Creator and Preserver of all things, the All-in-all—logical consistency surely demands that other statements of belief upon the part of those who maintain this basal postulate shall be in harmony therewith, and that all doctrines and dogmas, be they ever so venerable and generally accepted, which impair the integrity of the same shall be revised or held in abeyance.

What of Matter?

The most fateful and far-reaching misconception smitten by this test is that embraced in the common assertion of the reality of matter—a lumpish, space-filling substance, in which the forces of magnetism, gravity, chemical affinity, etc., inhere; and that these forces are the tools with which the great world-architect shapes the universe. That matter is "coördinate with Mind," and therefore eternal, is not so generally believed as that it is a creation of God; but the above would be a fair and, we think, generally satisfactory statement of the ground and position of current theology. It must be conceded that this view is somewhat material and mechanical; and that it does not harmonize with the given concept of the divine nature will we think, upon reflection, seem equally manifest.

It may be safely affirmed that the Infinite cannot both be and not be; but, apart from such self-contradiction in being, or manifestation, the Infinite can have no limitations. To say, therefore, that God is Infinite, Absolute, All-in-all, is to say that he cannot be conditioned by "inert and eternal matter"—to use Seneca's phrase, a substance or somewhat objective to himself. The common conception of matter as a material stuff for Mind's use, links and subjects Mind, Spirit, to its opposite, weds life to death, and makes the ultimate of the universe a stupendous contradiction. Further, to posit God, the creator, matter the objective, unspiritual stuff out of which things are created, and material forces (laws, so-called) the means by which creation is effected, is to deny the conceded unity of fundamental being, and affirm, at its best, "an impossible dualism."

The Idealistic Point of View.

Order will come out of this confusion if we but realize with both ancient and modern idealistic philosophy that "substance is not stuff," but "an indivisible casuality, or agent," and that "all principles and all manifestations alike must flow from the Infinite and the Infinite must be one."

"Reality," says Professor Bowne*, "can be predicated of that only which is cause, agency. It cannot be pictured; it must be thought. The world as it appears is not the final fact." "That which exists for common sense as a hard center or lump in which force resides, exists for reflection as a point where mind manifests itself." "The Infinite must be viewed as the source of all outgo and manifestations. All laws, principles, phenomena, and all finite reality must be viewed as consequences or manifestations of this basal reality, the Infinite God." "The positing of matter as 'an original datum, objective to God,' is the outcome of a paleontological condition of thought which is a scandal to philosophy." "The indestructibility of matter, in the only sense in which it has been proved, is compatible with the complete phenomenality of matter."

This philosophic point of view will reveal itself the more clearly as we realize the subjectivity of experience. "Not only the world of sense-qualities, colors, sounds, odors," etc., says this author, "but also the world of form and extension, the world of apparent things, is to be viewed as existing only for and in consciousness." Now, it is apparent that we can have no consciousness of an external world: our raw material is the sensations awakened by it; on these our perception, or judgment of the nature of things, is based; and, as in the case of color and sound, it is easy to see how utterly unlike are these perceptions and the procuring facts. Speaking in terms of mortal experience and common thought, men are wont to think of the thinking self as confined within the inner sanctuary of the cerebral center whose threshold may not be crossed while we remain upon this plane of existence, and all our ideas of the world without must be formulated from messages of the nature of highly complex vibrations or excitations of the nerve lines through which they reach us. Under these circumstances, with no consciousness, or inner knowledge of the assumed external facts, it is not surprising if our immediate, primary sense or judgment of things should call for revision and correction when we have reached a mature rational thought, and enter upon the task of "harmonizing these sense experiences with one another" and with those self-evident, self-consistent concepts of the source of all being and manifestation, for which the teaching of Jesus stands.

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* "Metaphysics," *Ed.* 82, pp. 140, 187, and 273, et sqr, *Methodist Quarterly Review*, vol. 49, p. 395.

It is here that the distinction between things as they seem and things as they are, between "the phenomenal and the ontological reality," will be made, and the dictum of common sense, "the unreasoned assumptions of sense experience," will give place to rational sense and spiritual apprehension. It is here, too, that the value of this rational metaphysical sense of things is most manifest. The mistake involved in the statement that the sun rises is harmless until we begin to make deductions from it. "There is," says the philosopher, "an immanent metaphysics in all thinking and in all science," and hence all profitable reasoning must be grounded in divine Principle, that ultimate determinative Truth which is the final explanation of the universe. This is the metaphysics which is absolutely essential to rational religion. Said the wise and good Aurelius, "Be not disloyal to philosophy, whatever may befall." To "remorselessly relegate metaphysics to uninvaded obscurity," as we have been advised, would be to deny the legitimacy of any consideration of the principle, the reality that lies behind all manifestation and phenomena, which is a palpable *reductio ad absurdum*. For vagrant dreaminess the Theistic Idealism of Christian Science has no place or tolerance. Its philosophy and demonstration lead *to* reality, not *from* it, and in its metaphysics it seeks that right-mindedness respecting the infinite, without which all our thought were vain and unsatisfying.

The Testimony of Physical Science.

In the escape which we are realizing from the enslavement of common material sense, physical science is proving the handmaid of philosophy, and brings the indorsement of empirical investigation to those deductions of the reason which harmonize with the teachings of Jesus Christ. The established facts of physical science have long been cited in support of the unity of the ultimate. The universe witnesses to no disharmony, discomfiture, or defeat. The solidarity, the mathematical action and interaction of all the parts, and the repose and uniformity of the entire world-system lead irresistibly to the recognition of one law and one governor who is God over all. Respecting the nature of matter, the attitude of a very large proportion of the most eminent scientists, including men like Huxley and Tyndall, may be fairly represented by Professor Oswald, of the University of Leipsic, when he says: "Matter is a thing of thought which we have constructed for ourselves, rather imperfectly, to represent what is permanent in the change of phenomena." All that physical science knows of the atom is, that it is a point where there is manifest a force which acts with an unvarying constancy— an all-embracing wisdom and exactness to be predicated only of Infinite Intelligence. Indeed, speaking metaphysically, it is impossible to conceive of force apart from will, and yet in all this we are not led to the denial of the reality of the objective world, but simply to the denial of the correctness and reliability of our material sense of its nature. The objective world remains, but it is no longer material save to material sense. The material translation of what is now seen to be a spiritual fact has been repudiated, that is all. The world of stuff has given place to a world of Spirit, the manifestation in every part and point of the Divine Life. God, Mind, is reënthroned, and "in him all things consist." There is no matter; for, as are light and darkness, so are spirit and matter mutually exclusive. "All is infinite Mind and its infinite manifestation."* Creation is no longer thought of as an event of the indefinite past, but as a present and eternal going forth of the divine energy and will, the continuous manifestation of God, "whose relation to the universe is that of a thinker to his thoughts."

The spiritual advance and practical significance of this concept can but appear and appeal to all who are not under the dominion of inwrought prejudice or gross material sense; and its liberating and illuminating influence is being revealed in every expression of religious thought. This is the much misapprehended teaching of Christian Science respecting matter. It is thus differentiated from all those semi-idealistic concepts which, while declaring for the supremacy of mind, concede the reality of a material universe which it dominates. The fact that Mrs. Eddy's system of thought stands for a point of view which is thus self-consistent, which is thus supported by a philosophy that is rapidly dominating Christian metaphysics, and, as well, by the highest authorities of physical science, entirely refutes the intimation that her "science apparently makes havoc of logic, and antagonizes every scholar renowned as physicist or philosopher." Further, that she reached this goal by the contemplation and study of the teachings of Jesus, rather than by philosophic speculation, and, following his footsteps, made the truth of her conclusions, as she advanced step by step, a matter of practical demonstration in the healing of sickness and sin; all this renders the more convincing that great body of cumulative and corroborative testimony on which Christian Science is based.

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* "Science and Health," p. 464.

What of Evil?

The next most serious misconception placed under the ban of scientific adherence to the fundamental postulate of the nature of God, is that of the reality and eternality of evil. This old Persian idea of the existence of a principle of good and a principle of evil, at war with each other, has followed the sun, with the race; and, though its bald paganism in origin and content is hidden under the livery of modern faiths, it shapes the religious thinking of Christian millions to-day and exerts much of its pristine influence upon character and life.

It is gratifying, however, to know that so large a body of evangelical ministers and teachers have entirely escaped the thrall of scholastic theology respecting this subject; for, so long as the leaders in the warfare against evil maintain, as they so generally have, its ontological reality, asserting its actual presence, place, and power in the universe of being, so long will it seem folly to most thoughtful folk to undertake its overthrow. If evil is one of the "all things" which consist and subsist in God, then who may hope to successfully resist it?

As it follows, if God be one all truth is one and all law is one; so all error, the counterfeit of truth, is one, and the asserted reality of evil (the devil) is but a sequence of the asserted reality of matter. Nothing is more plainly taught by Jesus than that evil—all discord, sin, sickness, and even death—in the last analysis, pertain to the belief in the material world, or the material sense of being, the carnal man. This sense, he declared, is to be replaced, through the understanding of Truth, by the spiritual sense—the belief in, the resting on, and the looking to Spirit alone. This is "the mind that was in Christ," and this explains his purity, his patience, and his power. All evil being thus identified with the so-called material world, it follows that, if matter is the manifestation of God, the evil that inheres in matter is also a manifestation of God!—a proposition that is as untrue as it is unthinkable. The oneness of error is further indicated by the fact that Jesus denied and dispelled its every type and form by a single antidote—the word of Truth; and he distinctly taught his disciples that they should not only cast out demons and heal the sick, but that they should tread upon serpents and scorpions, and that nothing should in any wise hurt them. Every disharmony, disability, and antagonism was to become amenable to Truth, "and it was so."

Now, if God be the absolute Good, by what logic or consistency can it be thought that evil, his opposite and antipode, which is cast out and condemned in every page of Revelation and of human experience, and to the destruction of which Jesus devoted his life, belongs to or is a part of God's universe—that kingdom of heaven which must embrace and include all reality, since "there is none beside him," and "in him all things consist"? "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit;" this is the law, and all the manifestations of life in Nature declare its universal sway, that like begets like. To assert the reality of evil is to deny the universality of this law and predicate evil of good. Is not this a lie, and the "liar from the beginning" to which Jesus referred, and the assertion of which called forth Isaiah's vigorous declamation: "Woe unto them that call evil good and good evil"? (Isa. 5:20).

The outcome of this historic belief in the reality of evil is a further evidence of its untruth. Its initial and perpetual violation of the first great commandment has made it the primary source of all the calamities and sorrows of the race, and yet it is the one idolatry to which good men cling, and for which some of them battle to-day with a zeal that is no less heroic than surprising. Not a few of the clergy, however, are now free from these shackles, which the dogma of verbal inspiration riveted upon their hesitant credulity, and having denied its corollary, the reality of evil, they will eventually realize the error of the main proposition and deny the reality of matter.

In asserting the groundlessness, the actual nothingness, of this material sense of evil, Christian Science stands for a perfect Creator and a perfect creation, consistent and harmonious in every manifestation and part. Evil is recognized as a specious, all pervasive, and as yet inexplicable illusion—a false sense of that which is true, without entity and without power, save that which inheres in the belief of a lie. To human sense enslaved by fear, it constitutes a horrible reality and has become the nightmare of the ages; but, as the arc-light pierces the unimpeding blackness of "dark-ribbed night" with its pure revealings, so does the knowledge of God, the demonstrable truth of being, annul evil's pretentious power, dispel its gloom, and bring to waiting eyes the dawn of Spirit.

What of Man?

Misapprehension of the nature of matter has also led to the misapprehension of the nature of man, who figures in traditional theology, no less than in sense experience, as a monstrosity, a child of the assumed but incredible union of God and the Devil. For the better part he is spirit; for the worse, matter; and within the breast of this good-bad man the parental strife between a real good and a real evil is perpetuated, as described in the seventh chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

All the inconsistencies involved in the declaration of the reality of evil in the universe are revealed in the concept of man, its microcosm. Though God's child, his nature is dominated by evil, and the wisdom, love, and power of his Father are not thought of as coming to him by inheritance, as the natural and inevitable sequence of sonship, but only as being imposed upon him, or acquired. Though called to be perfect as his Father, he is subject to a divinely appointed law of heredity (his evil parent), which loads him with all the accumulated discredit and disabilities of his ancestors, and he may thus find himself under the lash, shackled and accursed at the very moment of awakening to conscious innocence.

There is a pronounced rebellion to-day against all this teaching respecting man, in wellnigh every branch of the Protestant Church, but the objectors are, perhaps, in the minority as yet, and in most theologies the taint of inconsistency enters into the thought of man's origin, nature, and inheritance; while the fear of a God who, though declared to be Love, is thought of as capable of that which in our fellow-man would be pronounced cruel and unjust, yet remains as one of the impelling motives to a religious life.

Taught to look upon evil as a reality, man comes under the law of sin and sickness; and here again gross misapprehension waits to fasten upon him its perennial ills. He is assured theologically that escape from sin may be realized through faith in the Great Physician, but escape from the suffering and sorrow sin entails must not be anticipated. These are to be borne as normal experiences of divine appointment for his spiritual good, should another divine appointment, *materia medica,* fail to bring relief. Though Jesus made the cure of sickness a crowning attestation of the truth of his teaching, and commanded his disciples to continue the doing of these works as a part and proof of their ministry, suffering humanity is warned by the prevailing theology to beware of those who declare the gospel of healing from both sickness and sin; and orthodox physicians of the most divergent schools of medicine have not hesitated to join hands in an effort to legally interdict the attempted realization of this blessed hope and assurance of the gospel! Christian Science in its stand for an interpretation of the Master's teaching which is consistent with the fundamental postulate of the nature of God, and which is again effecting demonstrations of the power of spiritual truth to heal the sick, has thus become an occasion for the manifestation, on the part of some, of that type of intolerant dogmatism which invariably begins with inconsistency and ends with self-stultification.

It is gratifying to know that in his recognition of the beneficent work of Christian Science in healing the sick, and in that just appreciation of its effect upon character which leads him to say that "every genuine Christian Scientist, no matter of what denomination or church he has been a member, is the better and nobler for his belief," the honored layman already referred to, is the representative of a rapidly increasing number of those who, though actively identified with other churches, have become convinced of the genuineness of the demonstrations effected by Christian Science, and the distinctly Christian spirit and character of the movement, and who wish it only good. The leaven of their influence is destined speedily to work a great change in public thought, and the efforts to estop and interdict healing by the word of Truth, which have so marred the pages of current history, will at no distant day be regarded somewhat as we now look upon the suppression of Galileo and Savonarola.

Tri-Unity and Sacrifice.

Two other misconceptions growing out of the failure to consistently maintain the fundamental postulate of the divine nature, deserve brief mention: to wit, the tri-personality theory of the Trinity, and the expiatory theory of the atonement. These doctrines no longer obtain, with their traditional content, in the minds of the great body of intelligent Christians, and Christian Science will have relatively little opposition to meet in its apprehension of the Trinity, not as the three-unit-in-one-unit of scholastic theology, but the threefold manifestation of one God, as Life, Truth, and Love.

So, too, the pagan-Jewish sense of sacrifice, by which the placation of an angry God was to be effected, gives place to that spiritual sense illustrated in the self-accepted cross of Calvary on which love's purposeful overcoming found its supreme opportunity and expression. The at-one-ment may no longer be regarded as a condition favorable to the pardon of sin, which was believed to be effected in God by the exacted suffering of innocence, but rather as the measure of man's awakening to spiritual consciousness, his apprehension and embodiment of the love, his reliving of the life exemplified in Jesus Christ.

The Teaching of Christian Science.

Christian Science, while accepting the orthodox postulates of the divine nature, and the fundamental doctrines of catholic Christianity, presents its great contrast in its consistent, persistent, and philosophic maintenance of these postulates; (1 its increased emphasis of the spiritual significance of Scripture teaching; (2 its constant direction and uplift of thought from human personality to divine Principle; 3 and its declaration and demonstration of the present possibility of healing through the apprehension of the Christ Truth. It avers that religious truth is one with all truth, and is scientific; that the laws of God are always operative, and that the one and only adequate attestation of truth is demonstration. It asserts that the universe is the constant going forth of the Infinite wisdom, power, and love, and that it is therefore spiritual and harmonious; that evil—all error and disharmony—springs from, and pertains to, that false sense and interpretation of the universe surnamed matter, and that it is unreal because it does not and cannot manifest the life and law of God; that man is wholly spiritual, a ray of light which ever images and reflects the divine nature, and which is the consciousness of Good alone; that the material sense of life is not man, but a false consciousness, or sense, which passes with the awakening to spiritual reality, the assertion of his true self. It declares that the knowledge of God, Truth, is as efficient now as ever to defeat and destroy error and give that triumph over sin, sickness, and death which attended the ministry of Jesus and his disciples; that Divine Love, not fear, governs *all* in the universe of Mind, and that its dominion in us will break all our fetters, heal all our diseases, and give us that victory and peace which alone can satisfy man's immortal instincts and craving. It bids man know that his bonds are but the straw of human belief; that all that is real is good, and that to know God *now* means health, freedom, sovereignty, and eternal life. Submitting to the requirements of the scientific method, it proceeds to prove the truth of its teaching, as did our Lord, by the healing of sickness and sin; and with love for all and malice toward none it addresses its constant endeavor to the realization of an unselfish end, the salvation of humanity from the sin and sorrow which mark its bondage to material sense. "As the ages advance in spirituality, Christian Science will be seen to depart from the trend of other Christian denominations in no wise except by increase of spirituality."*

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II. ITS PREMISE AND CONCLUSIONS.

CHRISTIAN Science is based upon the Scriptural definition of God as Spirit, Love, Truth. All that is included in the body of "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker G. Eddy, is deduced from the above stated premise.

Much comment has been made regarding Mrs. Eddy's relationship to this movement, and her God-given position in the estimation of her followers. Having been the Discoverer of this Science, Mrs. Eddy became its natural Founder and the natural Leader and adviser of the Christian Science movement. Having applied this Science most faithfully for about thirty-five years, she has acquired much of the spirituality and wisdom which this Science promises to all its students. Christian Scientists, noting the superior judgment and spiritual discernment of their leader, are eager to be guided by her advice —not because of any fanatical or superstitious notions, but because they have succeeded while so doing and have learned by experience that she is a safe and wise guide. With them it is not a matter of the deification of her person, as some have erroneously claimed, but simply the acknowledgment of superior ability acquired by living Christian Science. The value of this ability is demonstrated in the results which have accrued to those who have faithfully followed her words of counsel. If Christian Science has not given wisdom and understanding to her, who has so long and industriously applied it, there is little encouragement to her followers.

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* "Miscellaneous Writings." By Mrs. Eddy. P. 21.

Mrs. Eddy's own attitude in respect to the charge that she claims to be a second Christ is expressed in the following message which she sent to the New York *World:*

"A despatch is given to me, calling for an interview to answer for myself, Am I the second Christ?

"Even the question shocks me. What I am is for God to declare in His infinite mercy. As it is, I claim nothing more than what I am, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, and the blessing it has been to mankind which eternity enfolds. My books and teachings maintain but one conclusion and statement of the Christ, and the deification of mortals.

"Christ is individual, and one with God, in the sense of Divine Principle and its compound divine idea.

"There never was, is not now, and never can be but one God, one Christ, one Jesus of Nazareth. Whoever in any age expresses most of the spirit of Truth and Love, the Principle of God's idea, has most of the Spirit of Christ, of that Mind which was in Christ Jesus.

"If the Christian Scientists find in my writings, teachings, and example a greater degree of this spirit than in others, they can justly declare it. But to think or speak of me in any manner as a Christ is sacrilegious. Such a statement would not only be false, but the absolute antipode of Christian Science, and would savor more of heathenism than of my doctrines. MARY BAKER G. EDDY."

I can think of no more effectual way of presenting the rules of Christian Science practise than by reviewing a recent comparison which I have been privileged to read. A writer on the New Thought Movement has said:

"The New Thought devotee as well as the Christian Scientist holds to the thought of the oneness of life—that all life is one life. . . . Starting with this fundamental idea of life, it might be thought by some that the two bodies would reach virtually the same conclusions; but that there is a radical difference will be clearly seen in the following paragraphs."

Evidently there must be a difference in the premises of these two theories, else there could not be an immediate divergence in the conclusions, provided the conclusions are consistent deductions from their principles and the methods of practical application are the natural outcome of the theories.

Christian Science has a distinct definition of the word *Life,* making it synonymous with *Spirit* and *Mind,* so that the oneness of Life, according to our teaching, does not include the imitative, mechanical action of animal existence commonly called life, which is to be controlled by the real Life. In his statement, "All life is one life," I wish our advocate of the New Thought had explained what he means by "all life." Does he believe that there are lives which, taken together, constitute one great Life? Such is not the teaching of Christian Science; for its basic proposition is that there is no life or substance outside of God—that the creation does not constitute God, but is His manifestation. It would not be a clear statement of Science to say: "All life is one life." Life is not a sum, but an infinite, indivisible Whole. There is one infinite Life and one "infinite manifestation."

The expression, "All is Life," might be construed to be pantheistic, referring to the many or "all" of creation, constituting one Infinite God or Life; while the declaration, "Life is All,"—that is, the only Substance,—is more Scientific and cannot be misunderstood. It refers to God as complete and entire within Himself, the natural conclusion of which is that His creation is His likeness or reflection. The conjoint propositions that God is Spirit and the only Life, Substance, and Intelligence were never stated outside of the Bible until taught by Mary Baker G. Eddy, and later stated in her text-book, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures." Evidently the writer from whom we have quoted believes himself indorsing this premise, yet proves his failing to do so, probably because he has misunderstood it, by departing from it and decrying the consistent deductions therefrom, as contained in the body of the Christian Science text-book. I shall not attempt to define the doctrines of the "New Thought" movement, except to consider those points which its advocate has compared to the teachings of Christian Science. I deem it unwise, as a rule, to apostrophise concerning any religion or philosophy. That which one has not made his very own is likely to be comprehended but superficially. This is especially true of Christian Science; for it must be lived to be understood, since it is not offered as a mere theory but a demonstrable Science.

Our critic's chief objection to the philosophy of Christian Science seems to be that it *denies* sin and disease, while he claims that "the New Thought practitioner stands fairly and squarely on the *affirmative* side of life." In this connection he declares that malice, hatred, sensuality, and kindred emotions are but "indications of a lack of development." Does it imply that God's creation is imperfect and needs to be developed by man, or does he mean that evil, an element foreign to God's creation, is to be developed into good and adopted into the divine kingdom? If evil is undeveloped good,—a species of good, a bad kind of good,—what, then, is the standard of good? What constitutes righteous good? Can darkness be developed into light? Want may be supplied with entity, but can never be developed into an entity. How can we close our eyes to sin, fail to grapple with it, and yet overcome it? How can it be retained and yet eliminated? St. John truly said: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Our Lord said: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." It is essential to spiritual growth that we not only choose the good but reject the bad. Truth is a two-edged sword. In its process of dividing, it reveals simultaneously the fulness of God and the emptiness of evil.

In respect to the New Thought teaching, our friend asserts: "No disagreeable or unwholesome thought goes forth to a patient, as would naturally be the case if the mind of the healer were engaged in denying the mistakes that he hopes to overcome." This statement is based upon the assumption that the Christian Scientist attempts to heal by depending upon an argument or denial of evil and disease which does not extend to a consciousness of their unreality; that, while denying their existence, he at the same time believes them to be real. But such is not the true teaching and practise of Christian Science. Students of this school depend upon bringing to the consciousness of their patients the realization of the Divine power and presence: thus overruling and destroying evil and disease as light overcomes darkness, and fulfilling the Master's injunction to "overcome evil with good." Putting on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, necessitates "putting off the old man with his deeds." Jesus said: "If any man will come after me let him deny himself, and take up the cross, and follow me." To deny evil is to depart from it, while at the same time recognizing its impotence and knowing that God, Good, is the only power. To deny sickness is to be so filled with the consciousness of God's omnipotence that evil becomes powerless to us; in other words, God must be infinitely great to us that evil or disease may be infinitesimal. Our Master declared: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing." Here we have the statement of Christian Science: Spirit is the only life, while matter—flesh—is unprofitable nothingness. Not that the universe or any part of God's creation is unprofitable; but that our fleshly, false sense of it is unprofitable.

The abstract statement that "there is no matter," conveying the impression that Nature and its beautiful phenomena are void, does not clearly state this Science, since it teaches the reality of all created things, from the least to the greatest. In our present unspiritual condition we are more or less imperfect in our perception of visible phenomena, and it is this false sense that Science denies, not the creation itself. As we grow spiritually and consequently improve in our conception we have brighter and clearer views, and this progress will continue until we shall finally awake in His likeness. Then will we see as God sees, and behold the heaven and earth in the perfection of their beauty, righteousness, and spirituality, the cloud of material sense having been dissolved by spiritualized vision; "for now we see through a glass, darkly, but then face to face."

The first part of Jesus' statement, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth," declares the Principle of Christian Science. The second part, "The flesh profiteth nothing," is the application of the Principle to the error which is to be overcome. The following is the commandment of God: "I am God, and there is none else." According to the New Thought theory, as presented in our quotations, we should stop with the first statement, "I am God," and refrain from the denial, "there is none else." We find by practical experience in healing that in order to overcome evil it is not only necessary to know that there is but one God,—that is, one Life, one Substance, one Intelligence,—but equally needful to realize that "there is none else;" for simultaneously with the appearing of truth is the disappearing of error. Evil can never be developed into good. It must be seen, overcome, and destroyed with good.

It has been stated: "Christian Science asserts that sin, sickness, and death have no existence; the New Thought affirms that they have an existence, but that their existence is only limited and their destruction comes through right thinking and hence right living."

We affirm that if they have an existence in reality they must be a part of God's creation, and in this view their destruction would necessitate a house divided against itself. Christian Scientists recognize the claims of wickedness in all their hideousness, and disease in all its subtlety and supposed power, but, applying their recognition of the absolute omnipotence and omnipresence of Divine Mind, prove that the things which are mountains to human sense weigh nothing in the sight of God.

The Christian Science text-book is indeed a spiritual interpretation of the Bible. The earnest student faithfully adheres to this, excluding all conflicting theories on the subject of metaphysics, simply because he is thoroughly convinced that

Christian Science is true, and is satisfied therewith. The earnest student believes that the day of searching and testing has passed; that he has proved the "all things" and there remains only to "hold fast that which is good," till the clouds of material sense have been dispersed by the "fervent heat" of divine Love.

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W. T. STEAD: A JOURNALIST WITH TWENTIETH CENTURY IDEALS.

I.

"For the union of all who love,
In the service of all who suffer."

BEFORE me lies the latest photograph of Mr. W. T. Stead, received a few days ago with the above lines inscribed by the journalist over his autograph. They may be said to embody the spirit that has ever dominated the words, deeds, and life of this justly famous editor, essayist, and worker for humanity's upliftment.

For more than a score of years Mr. Stead has been a conspicuous representative of the conscience force in modern public life, which is the leaven of enduring civilization in a world too much given over to the materialism of the market and the pursuit of selfish ends. Were he a man of far less mental ability than he possesses, he would yet leave an indelible impress for good upon the world; for he early elected to follow the voice of conscience instead of the promptings of expediency. Hence to him duty became divine and her voice an imperative mandate which, with a courage rarely displayed in our age, has been unfalteringly obeyed.

The real need of the world is not so much for men of profound intellectual attainments as for men of courage and conviction—men who know no fear save that of doing wrong, and who acknowledge the Golden Rule as the supreme law of life. The age is overburdened with intellectual giants who are also moral dwarfs. If we except the curse of fanaticism, civilization has known no greater blight than that inflicted by men who represented the keenest literary training unaccompanied by moral development. The most hopeless slavery, the most frightful indifference to others, is found where the mind is keenly alive and where the conscience is dead. The call of the age is for conscience to take the helm of life in each soul—for the spiritual nature to assert its supremacy over the mental and physical being. This done, the individual becomes a power for good, an ally of progress and civilization, a co-worker with God. He who thus becomes a knight of the dawn is in no danger of being misled by false cries. He will not mistake an inclined plane, leading to a precipice, for the pathway of progress. His ideal is a high and a sacred thing to him. The light of the Golden Rule falls about his pathway. He feels the full force of Victor Hugo's declaration that "it is beautiful on this somber earth, during this dark life, brief passage to something beyond—it is beautiful that Force should have Right for a master, that Progress should have Courage as a leader, that Intelligence should have Honor as a sovereign, that Conscience should have Duty as a despot, that Civilization should have Liberty as a queen, and that the servant of Ignorance should be the Light."

Now, the true secret of Mr. Stead's power is found in his fidelity to the eternal demands which love imposes upon the enlightened ones of earth. All those who realize the solidarity of the race and the mutual dependence of the units—all who in their souls feel and know that humanity is one, and who are ready unhesitatingly to do what they know to be just and right—range themselves on the side of the Infinite and fight with the eternal purpose of the ages. Their work is not measured by the suns nor computed by the span of a lifetime. Place Caiaphas and Jesus side by side and let the multitude of two thousand years ago say which of the two throughout the ages will wield the greater influence, which will be longer remembered, and whose position is the most to be coveted. The answer—the unhesitating answer—will be in favor of the high priest. Place the judges of Socrates by the side of the accused, and put the same questions to the Athenians of that day, and who doubts that the answer will be instantly given in favor of the judges? And yet the great Nazarene has been the day-star and the holiest inspiration for millions of lives, while the high priest is only remembered because of his unsavory connection with the condemnation of the Prophet; and Socrates's words and his sublime courage in choosing death rather than renounce the truth and become a time-server have been a beacon-light to faltering souls throughout the long stretch of two thousand five hundred years. So also to-day they only really live who subordinate the lower self to the demands of the spiritual nature, who place the good of all above all thought of personal gain, who consecrate life to "the service of all who suffer."

II.

Mr. Stead was born in 1849, when all Europe was profoundly agitated. The revolutions of 1848 were in process of suppression. Classes were warring against classes. Principles were battling against ancient theories. Richard Wagner was in exile; Karl Marx and Wilhelm Liebknecht had been banished, and everywhere were agitation, unrest, high hopes, and gloomy forebodings. Children born during such periods often reflect at once the hopes and fears that swell in the maternal breast prior to their birth, and—what is still more remarkable—they not infrequently seem to embody in a large way the opposing principles that are battling for supremacy. They can sympathize with the old and also with the new. Paradoxical as it may seem, they are at once radical and conservative; that is, they can place themselves in a sympathetic way in the position of the two extremes, and if they are supersensitive, as was Sir Thomas More for example, they may by turns be swayed by the influence that is most powerful in their immediate environment, thus at one time being radical and at another ultra-conservative. Sir Thomas More, Victor Hugo, and Richard Wagner are conspicuous illustrations of this interesting fact. To understand one such nature is to know all; but, because men by habit and custom judge superficially, there is no class of individuals so liable to be misjudged or whose actions are so certain to be by turn condemned as those of these sensitive, finely-strung natures in whom a concern for the right is ever uppermost and who of all men desire to be absolutely just. Men of this class are more susceptible to the thought forces and subtle psychic influences that beat upon the brain of man than are the hard-headed materialists, who are little influenced by sentiment or idealism.

In this extreme sensitiveness, however, lies a real peril. The influences that environ life at a given period are liable unduly to color the thought world of the sensitive. Thus, for example, we find Sir Thomas More in early youth, under the narrow religious influence of his first preceptors, almost an ascetic. He scourged himself regularly, fasted, and wore a coarse garment next to the skin. Later the New Learning dawned upon his mind, and for a time he became a leader in the march of progress, lighting up his age with a noble liberalism and a broad humanitarian spirit of toleration. During this period he gave the world "Utopia," thereby proving himself to be one of the great prophet voices of the ages. Then he came under the reactionary influence of great churchmen who had gained his confidence and sympathy, when we find him an ultra-conservative.

Victor Hugo was by turns a champion of monarchy, a eulogist of Napoleon Bonaparte, and an ardent republican. His life, however, was a steady unfoldment which led him cheerfully to accept exile rather than become a betrayer of freedom. Richard Wagner was exiled in 1848 because of being a radical and revolutionary republican, while in later years we find him the pensioner and the eulogist of a king.

But if the gifted and receptive sons of transition periods and eras of upheaval are sensitive, they are also as a rule idealists in the noblest sense of that term. They hear a voice above the turmoil of earth calling them to ascend the heights. They follow the ideal, and from the mountain peaks catch glimpses of the dawn. These chosen sons of earth bear messages from the Infinite to humanity, and they become the apostles of some great moral idea that is pressing for acceptance. From the Sinai to which they have been called they descend to the plain bearing a word or a picture; but to the careless rich, to the frivolous, to the self-absorbed among the people, and to the slow-thinking slaves of intellectualism and conventionalism their message is but idle and meaningless. They who speak of brotherhood, of peace, and of the common rights of humanity, they who demand that altruism shall supplant egoism, usually find that they have been speaking in an unknown tongue to prince and pauper; but their messages are not in vain. The true word once spoken cannot die or return barren. It awakens the sleeping God in some souls; it kindles fires that burn brighter and brighter through each succeeding generation. The ideal once given becomes an inspiration. The eternal law of justice and progress, when once broadly and truly stated, sits in judgment on individuals, societies, and nations throughout all time.

Mr. Stead is preëminently a child of a transition era. In him the opposing principles of the old and the new are represented. He admitted on one occasion that he was one-half a visionary socialist and one-half a practical optimist. "I think," he added, "a good deal of the heavy work of the world has been intrusted to tyrants and all manner of evil creatures." And yet no man living has striven more persistently for justice, freedom, and social progress than he. Thus, while being able to sympathize with the old, he may be justly called a child of the new. Indeed, it is not too much to claim him as a noble representative of the twentieth century ideal of manhood. From early youth he has striven consistently, tirelessly, and for the most part wisely to unite good people of all creeds and beliefs for the realization of better conditions and of those good things upon which all agree. If, he holds, those who seriously desire social progress, the bettering of man's estate, and the dignifying and exalting of life will only cease to fight one another and unite for the realization of the things they all believe in, the world can be made much happier, brighter, and better. This has been a fixed idea—the very north star in his mental horizon; but, while striving "for the union of all who love, in the service of all who suffer," he has been no visionary dreamer. Practical plans, daring projects, and brave deeds have marked his every step, as will presently be seen.

III.

He was born into the home of an Independent minister. His father was a poor man, with a large family, so the boy had a rather hard lot. When fourteen years old he was compelled to take a position as errand-boy in a merchant's office, where he earned four shillings a week, and from that time until he was eighteen or nineteen he received three-pence, or six cents, a week as his only allowance for spending money. Like Abraham Lincoln and scores of other poor boys who thirsted for knowledge, the youth managed to pursue systematic studies and to digest the contents of the books that came to him. On one occasion, while in his teens, a piece of rare good fortune was his. He won a prize of one guinea for a sketch of Oliver Cromwell written for the *Boys' Own Magazine.* The guinea, however, was to be taken out in books furnished by the publishers. Among the volumes selected was a paper-bound copy of the poetical works of James Russell Lowell. This little volume, "thumbed almost to pieces, underscored, and marked in the margin," is still in Mr. Stead's possession. "With the exception," he writes, "of the little copy of Thomas á Kempis which General Gordon gave to me as he was starting for Khartoum, it is the most precious of all my books. It has been with me everywhere. In Russia, in Ireland, in Rome, in prison, it has been a constant companion."

IV.

In the life of Mr. Stead we find a striking illustration of the fact that no man liveth unto himself—that fact which, though continually impressed and carrying with it a lesson of supreme importance, is nevertheless too frequently ignored by parents, teachers, and the thought-molders of civilization. There are moments in the life of every human being when the deepest emotions are stirred, when the mind like a sensitive plate is ready to catch and hold the image of anything that is flashed in a positive way upon the mental retina. At such moments a word or an act often influences a life for weal or woe. A book, a great painting, a song, an immortal creation of music, or even a pile of stones whose presence tells of noble deeds, of lofty ideals, of unselfish lives, as well as true acts or words of loving sympathy or encouragement, have time and again awakened the sleeping God and called forth the divine potentialities resident in every human soul, and have changed an obscure or humble life into a mighty moral force whose beneficent influence has extended to thousands and not infrequently to millions of lives.

In the year 1841 a young English manufacturer stood beside the lifeless body of his cherished young wife. All the brightness seemed to have vanished from the world. His whole being was bowed with a grief that knew no words. Beside him stood a young friend who, after gently placing his hand on his shoulder, in a voice vibrant with sympathy, yet clear with the earnestness born of conviction, said: "There are thousands of homes in England at this moment where wives, mothers, and children are dying of hunger. Now, when the first paroxysm of your grief is past, I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest until the Corn Laws are repealed."

Raising his grief-dimmed eyes to those of his friend, the mourner extended his hand, and the two made a solemn covenant; and from that moment they never ceased to labor on behalf of the resolution they had made. That was the turning point in the life of John Bright. The prosperous young manufacturer became the apostle of freedom, justice, and human progress, and one of the greatest influences for enduring civilization which the England of the nineteenth century contributed to the unborn ages.

At the time when John Bright, under the overmastering influence of duty's solemn charge, was awakening the conscience of England and compelling men to feel a new interest in the starving thousands of the realm, a young American youth—a Quaker boy of scant education, but with mind aflame with moral enthusiasm—was writing burning verses in freedom's cause. These lines came under the eye of a young Harvard College man who was standing at the parting of the ways. On the one hand conventionalism with its multitudinous siren voices sought to lead him toward the pleasant places where ease, fame, applause, and wealth spread their seductive charms. On the other hand, duty pointed to the rugged path, with no assurance for bodily comfort, but with the pledge of an approving conscience. At this critical moment the verses of the Quaker youth decided the life course of the college man, and years later we find Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the intrepid champion of freedom, justice, and human rights, penning the following lines to the poet Whittier:

"At dawn of manhood came a voice to me
That said to startled conscience, 'Sleep no more!'

. . . .

If any good to me or from me came
Through life, and if no influence less divine
Has quite usurped the place of duty's flame;
If aught rose worthy in this heart of mine,
Aught that, viewed backward, wears no shade of shame;
Bless thee, old friend! for that high call was thine."

In much the same way the noble poems of James Russell Lowell influenced Mr. Stead at a crucial moment in his life. The boy had early cherished the dream of becoming a historian, and from childhood had eagerly striven to acquire a good education. As we have seen, the poverty of his father necessitated his early engaging in remunerative work, and the long hours of service left little time save at night for him to prosecute his studies. Nothing daunted, however, he redoubled his efforts to fit himself for a worthy place in the literary world. Overstudy resulted in a physical breakdown, and at the age of fifteen his health and eyesight gave way. Then the old gloomy theology which had been a part of his early education further conspired to make the outlook hopeless. He became convinced that his literary ambitions were prompted by the devil, who thus sought his soul. Then it was that the high, strong, and helpful words of James Russell Lowell came as a healing medicine to the fear-darkened mind. Mr. Stead, in writing of this experience, says:

"This little book reached me at a somewhat critical period. I was saturated with the memories of the Puritans, and filled with a deep sense of the unworthiness of my own ambitions. My health, impaired by overstudy, affected my eyes, and for some terrible months I was haunted by the consciousness of possible blindness. It was then that I came upon Mr. Lowell's little poem, 'Extreme Unction.' . . . This poem changed my life. . . . I don't think any four lines ever printed went into my life so deeply as these:

"'Now here I gasp; what lose my kind,
When this fast-ebbing breath shall part?
What bands of love and service bind
This being to the world's sad heart?'

The idea that everything wrong in the world was a divine call to use your life in righting it sank deeper into my soul."

Not only did the works of Lowell lift the young life out of the slough of despond, arouse it, and hold a positive ideal before it, but they even shaped its calling. I think it will be interesting and perhaps helpful to my readers to hear the message of the American author which served to turn the current of a life that has exerted so real an influence on our time. Hence I quote at length from Mr. Stead's paper on "James Russell Lowell: His Message and how It Helped Me:"

"I was little more than a boy of fifteen when I first felt the inspiration of Lowell's word. It was not till several years later that I ever bethought myself of journalism as a profession; but I think I can trace the first set of my mind in a journalistic direction to reading the preface to the Pious Editor's Creed, which I make no scruple about quoting almost entire:

"'I know of no so responsible position as that of the public journalist. The editor of our day bears the same relation to his time that a clerk bore to the age before the invention of printing. Indeed, the position which he holds is that which the clergyman should hold even now. But the clergyman chooses to walk off to the extreme edge of the world, and to throw such seed as he has clear over into the darkness which he calls the Next Life. As if *next* did not mean *nearest*, and as if any life were nearer than that immediately present one which boils and eddies all round him at the caucus, the ratification meeting, and the polls! Who taught him to exhort men to prepare for eternity, and for some future era of which the present forms no integral part? The furrow which Time is even now turning runs through the Everlasting, and in that must he plant, or nowhere. Yet he would fain believe and teach that we are going to have more of eternity than we have now. This *going* of his is like that of the auctioneer, on which *gone* follows before we have made up our minds to bid—in which manner, not three months back, I lost an excellent copy of Chappelow on Job. So it has come to pass that the preacher, instead of being a living force, has faded into an emblematic figure at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Or, if he exercises any other function, it is as keeper and feeder of certain theologic dogmas, which, when occasion offers, he unkennels with a *staboy,* "to bark and bite as 'tis their nature to," whence that reproach of *odium theologicum* has risen.

"'Meanwhile, see what a pulpit the editor daily mounts, sometimes with a congregation of fifty thousand within reach of his voice, and never so much as a nodder, even, among them. And from what a Bible can he choose his text—a Bible which needs no translation, and which no priestcraft can shut and clasp from the laity—the open volume of the world, upon which, with a pen of sunshine and destroying fire, the inspired Present is even now writing the annals of God! Methinks the editor who should understand his calling, and be equal thereto, would truly deserve that title which Homer bestows upon princes. He would be the Moses of our nineteenth century; and whereas the old Sinai, silent now, is but a common mountain stared at by the elegant tourist and crawled over by the hammering geologist, he must find his tables of the new law here among factories and cities in this Wilderness of Sin (Numbers xxxiii., 12) called Progress of Civilization, and be the captain of our Exodus into the Canaan of a truer social order.'

"That great ideal of the editor as 'the Captain of our Exodus into the Canaan of a truer social order' still glows like a pillar of fire amid the midnight gloom before the journalists of the world. But, alas! it may still be asked—as it was when the Rev. Homer Wilbur preached the sermon which led the editor of the *Jaalam Independent Blunderbuss* unaccountably to absent himself from the meeting-house—of the thousands of mutton-loving shepherds who edit our newspapers: 'How many have even the dimmest perception of the immense power and the duties consequent thereon? Here and there haply one. Nine hundred and ninety-nine labor to impress upon the people the great principles of Tweedledum, and other nine hundred and ninety-nine preach with equal earnestness the gospel according to Tweedledee.'"

There were many moments when the youth felt how impotent he was to change the social conditions around him. He beheld great crying wrongs, but he felt that all that he could do was trivial and infinitesimal compared with what had to be done. Then the old despondent mood would come upon him until, taking up the poet's words, the prophet voice brought courage into his fearful soul. Such verses as these, from Lowell's memorial to William Lloyd Garrison. "inspired" him "as with the blast of a trumpet":

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnitured, and mean;—
Yet there the freedom of a race began.

. . . . . .

O Truth! O Freedom! how are ye still born
In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!
What humble hands unbar those gates of morn
Through which the splendors of the New Day burst?

. . . . .

"Whatever can be known of earth we know,"
Sneered Europe's wise men in their snail-shells curled.
"No!" said one man in Genoa; and that No
Out of the dark created this New World.

. . . . .

Men of a thousand shifts and wiles, look here!
See one straightforward conscience put in pawn
To win a world; see the obedient sphere
By bravery's simple gravitation drawn!

Shall we not heed the lesson taught of old,
And by the present's lips repeated still,
In our own single manhood to be bold,
Fortressed in conscience and impregnable?

. . . . .

O small beginnings, ye are great and strong,
Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain!
Ye build the future fair, ye conquer wrong,
Ye earn the crown and wear it not in vain."

And here also are some verses dear to the youth who had elected to place right above expediency:

"Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free!

"They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

Lowell's words, leaping from a brain aflame with moral enthusiasm, were the clarion call to the conscience of his reader. Young Stead heard the summons with swelling heart. He too would consecrate life's best endeavors to the cause of those who suffer. All around him were the very poor. "How well I remember," he writes, in speaking of this crisis in his life, "night after night, looking down from the Manors railway station over the house-crowded valley at the base of All Saints' Church, Newcastle, which towered above them all, all black and empty, like the vast sepulcher of a dead God, and thinking that behind every lighted window which gleamed through the smoky darkness there was at least one human being whose heart was full of all the tragedies of love and hate, of life and of death; and yet between them and me what a gulf was fixed! How could bands of love and service be woven between these innumerable units so as to make us all one brotherhood once more? There they sat by lamp and candle—so near, and yet in all the realities of their existence as far apart as the fixed stars. And there grew up in me, largely under Lowell's influence, a feeling as if there was something that blasphemed God in whatever interposed a barrier impeding the free flow of helpful sympathy and confident intercourse between man and man."

The question of the unemployed seemed to him the most pressing problem nearest at hand. Eagerly he pursued every account of work for the relief of the "out-of-works." One day he read with intense interest a description of the operation of the Blackheath Mendacity Society. He at once placed himself in correspondence with the officials of this organization, and next wrote to the editor of the *Northern Daily Press,* suggesting the founding of such a society in Newcastle. His letter was promptly published, and one hundred marked copies of the daily were mailed to leading citizens. In this manner he succeeded in awakening a deep interest which resulted in the formation of a society that accomplished much good. The success of the undertaking led the youth to write to papers in other parts of the realm. One of these letters was published in the *Northern Echo* of Darlington. Mr. Copleson, the editor, was much impressed by the contribution, and immediately wrote to the young man inviting him to contribute other papers. This correspondence led to Mr. Stead's entrance into the field of journalism, and a year after the publication of his first communication he was offered the editorship of the *Northern Echo,* a position that he accepted and retained nine years. He is a born journalist, and his editorial management of the *Echo* was marked by such conspicuous ability that metropolitan publishers recognized his talent. An invitation was extended to him to accept a place as assistant editor, under John Morley, on the *Pall Mall Gazette.* When Mr. Morley entered Parliament Mr. Stead became virtual editor of the *Gazette.* During this period the spirit of the paper was conspicuously broad, liberal, and humanitarian. It evinced an active sympathy with the artisan class and became a commanding power in the social and political life of England. Its temperate yet just and intelligent advocacy of social betterment and higher civic and personal morality contrasted strikingly with most of the great newspapers of Europe and America. Seldom has a leading daily reflected the ideals of its guiding spirit more markedly than did the *Pall Mall Gazette* when Mr. Stead was its virtual editor.

One of the great questions it made its own during this period was the better housing of the poor. This question, as we have seen, had ever been dear to the heart of Mr. Stead, and largely through the agitation of the *Gazette* a royal commission for the housing of the poor was appointed in 1883; and, what was far more important, the public interest awakened at this time has continually grown. Individuals as well as groups of thoughtful citizens were led to engage in a propaganda work, with such effective results that the civic conscience of the electorate of London has been aroused as at no previous time in the history of the great metropolis. This fact has been evinced in the elections of recent years, and most notably in the recent city contest which resulted in the overwhelming victory of the Progressive party, giving to London a council that is probably the most radical, progressive, and wisely socialistic governing body to be found in Great Britain or America; and one of the things that most actively concerns this body at present is the question of model tenements and kindred reforms relating to the better housing and the more wholesome surroundings of the very poor. In the furtherance of the educational work essential to the successful prosecution of the progressive program, Mr. Stead has been a tireless and effective worker; and in this connection it may be observed that no journalist in the English-speaking world has done more to arouse the civic conscience in Europe and America than he. By his pen and through active personal work he has so deeply interested thousands of citizens in municipal problems that there is now going on an educational agitation which is bound to bear rich harvest.

Perhaps the most notable work achieved by Mr. Stead while editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* was the unmasking of the frightful traffic in little girls in London. It was a fact only too well known that many of the nobles and large numbers of individuals of high rank and station were engaged in the most heinous and revolting of crimes; but, wide as was the circulation of these ugly rumors, it was impossible to obtain the evidence necessary to establish the awful truth; and because of this the influence in Parliament interested in the traffic in virtue succeeded in preventing the passage of laws essential to the protection of young girls. Mr. Stead heard enough to become convinced that the horrible stories were only too true. He felt the proposed legislation to be of vital importance, and yet the only way to make an effective exposure was to obtain indisputable evidence which, while it would probably save the honor and virtue of thousands of helpless little ones, would also entail a technical violation of law. None knew better than he the risk and the cost of such action as seemed necessary. He who exposed the iniquity would at once have all the power and prestige of a number of individuals in the highest stations in government and society working secretly, but with great influence, against him, and no effort would be spared that might discredit his work and reflect on his motives. Conventionalism might also be expected to join with the guilty rich and powerful in expressing its indignation and disgust at the unmasking of such revolting depravity; for conventionalism is usually more concerned about the exposure of evil than about its reality and presence in the body politic. He furthermore knew that if possible the opposition would crush him, and it was not improbable that he would be arraigned as a criminal for the technical breaking of law. All these facts were clear to the intrepid reformer, and his course in the matter reveals a courage rarely equaled in modern life. He placed his name, his reputation, and the freedom of his person in pawn for the rescue of the helpless little ones.

When it became clear, however, that the legislation for the better protection of very young girls would fail in Parliament unless the public conscience could be aroused by an overwhelmingly conclusive revelation of the iniquity that was flourishing through the corruption of high society, Mr. Stead set about to collect such indisputable evidence as would compel the nation to act. He proceeded with great care, collecting an array of facts substantiated in such a way as to make of none effect the continued denials of the guilty.

When all was ready, one morning in 1885, London, England, and indeed all the civilized world was appalled and horrified by the revelations contained in the *Pall Mall Gazette*—exposures written by Mr. Stead and entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." Anything less authoritative and conclusive would have been promptly discredited, but there was no escape from a recognition of the truth of Mr. Stead's revelation. The brave reformer was arraigned and sent to prison for the technical violation of the law, but he had succeeded in accomplishing the task undertaken. Public indignation ran so high as to compel the passage of the Criminal Law Amendment act for the protection of girls. Nor was this all. The effect of the exposures was quite as marked in America as in the Old World. Here also the public conscience was startled, and investigations soon revealed the fact that the statutes in the various commonwealths of the Republic were a disgrace, so far as they related to the protection of girls. A persistent effective educational agitation was undertaken which has resulted in the passage of important protective laws throughout the Republic.

In 1886 the *Pall Mall Gazette* was the only London paper that supported the right of the people to meet at Trafalgar Square, and at this time Mr. Stead formed, with Mrs. Annie Besant, the Law and Liberty League, a federation of all the socialist societies in London for the defense of unfortunate persons who were in the hands of the police.

Space forbids my dwelling upon the service Mr. Stead rendered Ireland by his masterly historical justification of the position of the Home Rulers, published after an extended trip of personal investigation; or on his memorable visits to Russia, his interviews with the Czar, and also his bringing to the attention of the English-speaking world in a popular way the life and social ideals of Count Tolstoy, and other notable achievements that marked his journalistic career while connected with the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

In 1890 he founded the *Review of Reviews,* which continued to carry out to a large extent his original idea, which he summed up in the following words: "First, to create an organ by which the best thought of the best men and women in the world could be brought every month for sixpence to the doors of the masses of the people. Second, to promote the organization in every sense of those who love their fellow-men and are willing to coöperate on points on which they are agreed for the promotion of the social and moral welfare of the community at large."

The English *Review of Reviews* has ever been in many ways a unique and vitally helpful publication, dominated by the noble humanitarianism and breadth of thought which are so eminently characteristic of William T. Stead.

V.

One of the most prominent characteristics of Mr. Stead is his absolute fearlessness in the presence of a great wrong that needs to be righted or of an unpopular truth that is pressing for fair treatment and for public consideration. We have seen an illustration of his superb courage in the presence of a great crime in his action when he unmasked iniquity in high places by the publication of "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." In his treatment of psychical facts we have a no less impressive illustration of his courage in the presence of an unpopular new truth. Several years ago he became interested in psychical phenomena, which were then, as they have since been, commanding the serious attention of many of Europe's greatest savants. The work of the English Society for Psychical Research and the positive conclusions of such leaders in the scientific world as Sir William Crookes, Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace, and Prof. Stainton Moses convinced him that this great subject was worthy of consideration. A little investigation led him to believe that psychical phenomena held a truth of immense value to the race. Impressed with this thought, he founded *Borderland,* a large and able quarterly devoted to occult philosophy and psychical phenomena. This journal was ably edited for several years and has done much to popularize the interest in and inform the public concerning the subjects to which it was devoted.

It was during this period that Mr. Stead's hand was moved to write "automatically." Soon communications came of a most astounding character. A large number of facts were given of which Mr. Stead was entirely ignorant. An influence purporting to be the spirit of a beautiful Christian woman who had passed into the other life wrote much through his hand at this time, some chapters of which he has compiled in a little volume entitled "Letters from Julia," which admirably outline the ethics of Modern Spiritualism and embody much interesting matter purporting to describe conditions in the other life. In the preface to this volume Mr. Stead gives a lucid description of his automatic experiences and the overwhelming evidences of the identity of the spirit of Julia, which left no alternative but his frank acceptation of the verity of the claims made. After a summary of the reasons that led to his conclusions, he observes:

"Hence I feel it impossible to resist the conclusion that these communications are what they profess to be—real letters from the real Julia, who is not dead but gone before. I know, after five years' almost daily intercourse with her through my automatic hand, that I am conversing with an intelligence at least as keen as my own, a personality as distinctly defined and a friend as true and tender as I have ever known. From those who scout the possibility of such a phenomenon I would merely ask the admission that in this case their favorite theory of intentional fraud, at least on the part of the medium, is excluded by the fact that these messages were written by my own right hand, no other visible person being present. No one who knows anything of the prejudice that exists on the subject will deny that I have no personal interest to serve in taking up the exceeding unpopular and much ridiculed position of a believer in the reality of such communications. For years I have labored under a serious disadvantage on this account in many ways, both private and public. I am well aware that the contents of this Preface will be employed in order to discredit everything I may do or say for years to come. That is unfortunate, no doubt, but of course it cannot be weighed in the balance compared with the importance of testifying to what I believe to be the truth about the messages written with my hand."

VI.

During two visits to America Mr. Stead made a careful study of the municipal government, or rather misgovernment, of Chicago and New York. He was amazed to find the extent of the corruption in our greatest cities. He also gave close attention to the labor struggle in America. The result of his municipal, social, and economic studies was embodied in three works: "If Christ Came to Chicago," "Satan's Invisible Empire Revealed," and "The Labor War in America." The first work created a profound sensation and obtained an enormous sale on both sides of the Atlantic. "Satan's Invisible Empire Revealed" was a historic review of Tammany Hall and the New York City government under its rule. It merited a great sale in America, but for some reason it never seemed to have been vigorously pushed.

VII.

The dime novel stands with us as a type of the cheap literature that is also vicious and abnormal. The amount of injury wrought by such publications is incalculable. Especially have their evil effects been observable in the homes of the poor, where with the extension of the common school education came the mental hunger for something to read, while limited purses prevented any indulgence save in cheap books, pamphlets, and papers. Mr. Stead conceived the plan of adding to the broader culture of his people and stimulating a love for the best in our literature by the publication of little pocket booklets, each to contain representative poems of one of the great masters of British and American poetry, with descriptive and explanatory notes calculated to increase the interest of the reader while further informing his mind and illuminating the poetic thought, the booklets to be sold for the small sum of one penny each. With this idea in mind he began the publication of the now famous Penny Poet Series. Each work is bound in strong yellow paper and contains enough of the poet's best work to make the reader acquainted with his writings, thus adding materially to his literary culture; while in many instances those who read the poems in the Penny Poets will become so interested that they will not rest content until they have secured the entire work of the master. Up to the present time there have been issued sixty-six of these Penny Poets, the whole set costing but five shillings and sixpence, if purchased at the office of publication, or eight shillings if mailed post-paid to the United States or Canada. How far-reaching has been the influence of this practical effort to bring the best poetry of the English-speaking world into the homes of the poor is evidenced by the fact that already several millions of copies have been sold. Similar series containing abridged novels, and also illustrated juvenile publications, have appeared and obtained enormous sales.

VIII.

Since 1897 Mr. Stead has given much time to agitation for international peace. After the publication of the Czar's rescript he visited most of the capitals of Europe in order to gauge popular feeling and to obtain the sentiments of rulers and statesmen touching international arbitration. His interesting and instructive work entitled "The United States of Europe" embodied the result of this memorable tour. He next took a leading part in the peace crusade movement, which did much toward creating a popular sentiment in England and America in favor of international arbitration as outlined at the Hague Conference. Since the South African war-cloud appeared, no man in the English-speaking world has waged so persistent a war against the crime of England in crushing two flourishing South African republics as has Mr. Stead. His writings on this great theme have done much to arouse the conscience of the finer natures in Great Britain and America at a time when the lust for empire is running riot through the veins of the Anglo-Saxon world.

IX.

To thousands of persons Mr. Stead's life and words have been a positive inspiration. I well remember a remark made to me by Frances E. Willard some years ago about the author of "If Christ Came to Chicago." "Oh!" she exclaimed, "he is a glorious character—a man who always dares to do God's work, let the cost be what it may; and he is broad and loving in spirit. It is ever easier for him to see the good than the evil in warring bodies who at heart aim at progress and human betterment, and that is something too many of us seem to fail in doing. The world is full of men," she continued, "who say 'Lord, Lord,' but who do not the will of their Master. Mr. Stead is a doer of the will of Christ."

And, I would add, he is in a very real sense a prophet of progress. The one overmastering ideal that came into the mind of the poor errand-boy in Newcastle, far back in the sixties of the last century, has ever guided his life; and this ideal—"the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer"—is the key-note of enduring progress, and we believe it will more and more become the ruling influence of the twentieth century. The moment that anything like all who are ready to devote life and fortune to the furtherance of what they believe to be humanity's greatest need unite, the era of altruism and coöperation will be assured and the knell of the exploitation of the masses by the few will have been sounded. With Mr. Stead the ideal—the high yet practical ideal—has subordinated all thought of self; and "the ideal," as Dr. Lewis G. Janes observes in his delightful new work, "Health and a Day," "is the most powerful influence in our human life: it is the fulcrum on which rests the lever which moves the world. One man with an ideal is a more potent force in the world than a thousand men who idly drift."

Long after Mr. Stead has passed from view the ideal to which he has given the best service of his life will be the greatest motor-power that will be pushing humanity onward and God-ward; and the multitudinous influences for truth and progress that have received a strong impetus from him will also be blessing the world. B. O. Flower.

Boston, Mass.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

WILLIAM T. STEAD*

ON

ENGLAND'S CRIME IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By B. O. Flower.

Q. Mr. Stead, some months ago in the course of an editorial I called attention to what I believe to be the thoroughly unjustifiable course of Great Britain in regard to the South African republics, and compared the action of Great Britain with that of the United States in the Philippines, stating, however, that in my judgment we were more culpable than Great Britain, from the fact that we had taken as a people higher grounds in regard to self-government than any other nation; and therefore our attempt to crush the Filipinos into submission made the Republic stultify itself and practically repudiate the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, which it has heretofore claimed to uphold. Some of our readers took exception to my views in regard to England and the South African republics. One correspondent in particular, while denouncing our position in the Philippines, insisted that England was not blamable for the war in South Africa; that the Transvaal was the aggressor, from first to last, and that England was only properly protecting the rights of her citizens in engaging in this war. Believing that no Englishman is better able intelligently to discuss this question than yourself, I should be very glad to have some views from you on this tragic page in present-day history. While it was doubtless true that the South African republics were blamable in many

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particulars, was not their action in regard to the Outlanders such as England or the United States might have felt justified in taking, in view of the fact that the Boers felt their national existence imperiled through the presence and the machinations of the foreigners?

A. Yes, most positively.

Q. Do you hold that England was as culpable in her action as was our Government in attacking the Filipinos?

A. Far more so. I hold that the South African conflict is the wickedest war that has been waged in our time. With regard to the war in the Philippines I prefer to say nothing further than this: that it is much to be regretted, but that it is a splendid deed when compared with the infamy of our war in South Africa. You got into the Philippine business unawares, not having any idea of what would happen as the result of destroying the Spanish fleet; and from that time to this you have found it difficult to extricate yourself from the toils. We, on the other hand, deliberately intrigued ourselves into this business for the purpose of seizing the country and destroying the independence of the Boers.

Q. Was there any necessity for the war? That is, might it not have been settled by arbitration?

A. Certainly. The dispute between us and President Kruger was one of all others most suited for reference to a court of arbitration; and such a settlement was in line with the express and explicit declaration of the Government of Lord Salisbury as seen in the position taken at the Hague. Article XVI. of the Convention of Arbitration, ratified by England before the war began, applies in the clearest manner to the dispute with the Transvaal, which turned entirely upon the question of the interpretation or application of the International Convention concluded between the South African republics and the Government of Great Britain. It declares that "in juridical questions and, in the first place, in questions of the interpretation or application of International Conventions, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable means of settling disputes which have not been solved by diplomacy." The circumstance that the South African republic was not one of the signatory Powers, not being represented at the Hague Convention, does not matter in the least, for the article in the Convention does not say that arbitration is recognized as efficacious and equitable only between the Powers that signed that Convention, but lays down the general principle that, whenever governments disagree as to the application or interpretation of International Conventions, arbitration is the best means of settlement.

Q. Was not the Transvaal willing to submit the disputed questions to arbitration?

A. Yes. President Kruger not only consented, but passionately and repeatedly appealed to the Government of Great Britain to allow all outstanding disputes to be referred to arbitration. Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, in reporting the result of the Bloemfontein Conference, observed: "The question of arbitration . . . I think is the matter that interests the President most." He further observes that Kruger brought this question up continually. It was the one thing the President seemed to have set his heart upon, and, if we would only have promised to let our dispute be settled in that way, he was willing to make almost any concession, including the five years' franchise.

Q. One of the objections, I believe, was the disinclination of Great Britain to allow a foreigner to serve on a Board of Arbitration. She held that it was not a matter to call for foreign interference?

A. Yes. That point was raised, but President Kruger met it by acceding to Sir Alfred Milner's objections. Mr. Conyngham Greene, the British resident at Pretoria, reporting his negotiations with President Kruger, said that the latter was willing to concede the five years' franchise, and, to use Mr. Greene's own words: "As regards arbitration, they are willing that we should have any of our own judges or lawyers, English or Colonial, to represent us, and that the president or umpire should be equally English, Colonial, or Boer."

Q. It would seem that that would have met England's objections. Surely, she could ask nothing more liberal than that proposition?

A. If the English Government had desired a peaceful settlement, there would have been no difficulty; but this was not what Mr. Chamberlain wanted, and, being unable longer to refuse arbitration on the ground that it involved foreign interference, the Government fell back upon the assertion that the questions in dispute were not proper subjects for reference to arbitration, Mr. Chamberlain's exact words being—"There can be no question of the interpretation of the preamble of the Convention of 1881, which governs the articles substituted in the Convention of 1884;" therefore, he would only consent to arbitration on condition that this vital question, upon which, in the opinion of the Boers, everything turned, should be excluded from the tribunal of arbitration. Mr. Chamberlain furthermore declared that there were "other matters of difference between the two Governments which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration." And Sir Alfred Milner asserted that "it is, of course, absurd to suggest that the question whether the South African republic does or does not treat British subjects in that country with justice, and the British Government with the consideration and respect due to any friendly, not to say suzerain, power, is a question capable of being referred to arbitration. You cannot arbitrate on broad questions of policy, any more than on questions of national honor." Yet these were the very questions that brought about the war.

Q. Is it not true that there would be very little prospect of arbitration if questions of national policy or national honor were excluded from courts of arbitration?

A. Yes. If the British contention was correct, then it would be almost impossible to secure the reference of any important question to arbitration; for every nation would declare that the matter in dispute was a question of national honor. The Alabama arbitration, for example, was a question of national honor but it was arbitrated. As a matter of fact, questions of honor are usually those that can most safely be referred to an impartial friend.

Q. You hold, then, that from first to last the South African republic sincerely and consistently contended for arbitration?

A. Yes. Their desire was admirably characterized by Secretary Reitz in one of his latest despatches before the war, which closes thus: "In order to reconcile races in South Africa and to cause old feuds to give way to a new spirit of co-operation and progress, this government once more makes this appeal for arbitration, from its feeling, not alone of right and equity, but also of anxiety for the future of this one beloved portion of the world." England answered this appeal for a peaceable settlement by ordering thousands of soldiers to South Africa, although less than three months had elapsed since Sir Julian Pauncefote and Sir Henry Howard, in referring to the Convention of Arbitration at the Hague, wrote: "Thanks to the noble initiative of one of the youngest and at the same time one of the most powerful rulers of the world, the great family of nations has met in solemn conclave to devise measures for the settlement of future differences on the basis of reason and justice, and to denounce the arbitrament of the sword. Thus the new century will open with brighter prospects of international peace."

Q. The action of the English Government would indicate that she was conscious of the injustice or weakness of her contention. In your judgment was not this the case?

A. Yes. No impartial tribunal, even though exclusively composed of English judges, would have declared their contention just. They deliberately appealed from a tribunal of reason and justice, in which they believed they would be defeated, to a tribunal of brutal force, in which they confidently believed they would be easily victorious.

Q. One of my critics insisted that the Boers had been preparing for war on an extensive scale long before the Jameson Raid. Is this true?

A. No. The exact opposite is true, as the following facts prove: (1) All the arms, with the exception of an insignificant number, are of a pattern only made after 1895. (2) The arms they had in 1895 were so few that, according to Chief Justice Kotze, a hundred Outlanders with walking-sticks could have seized the Pretoria Arsenal without any difficulty. (3) The dates and receipts of the new armaments were reported punctually to our War Office, which knew all about them from the first. (4) The military expenditures, as shown in the Transvaal budgets from 1893 to 1898, further confirm this fact. Thus we find the total military expenditures in 1893 to be £19,340; in 1894, £28,158; in 1895, £87,304; in 1896, £495,618; in 1897, £396,384; in 1898, £357,225. Thus we find that the expenditures from 1893 to 1895 inclusive amounted to only £134,802; while those after the Jameson Raid, or from 1896 to 1898 inclusive, amounted to £1,249,227. Mr. Spender, in the *Westminster Gazette,* says: "Controversy on that subject is rendered superfluous by the full and accurate report on the Boer strength, prepared by the British Intelligence Department many months before the war broke out, which was picked up by the Boers in Natal and has since been published in an American paper. The following extract is conclusive:

> "Of the enormous quantity of rifles now in possession of the South African republic only some 13,500 Martini-Henry rifles were in the country before the Jameson Raid. The whole of the remainder have been purchased since this date in England, France, Germany, and Belgium. This enormous stock of rifles would suffice to arm more than double the number of the whole forces of the Transvaal.
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> "In January, 1896, the strength of the Staats Artillery was nine officers and 100 men, though only seventy men were actually doing duty. Immediately after the Jameson Raid the corps was increased in strength to about 400, and in January last was stated by the Commandant-General to have an actual strength of 473 officers and men. This is exclusive of the reserve, which at the time of the Raid amounted only to fifty men, but may now be estimated at 200 or 300 at least."

It was not until after the South African republics had been warned by the Raid, and the President had become convinced that the British Government was privy to the outrage, that the

Transvaal began in a serious way to prepare for war. On this point a public utterance of Mr. Balfour is pertinent. Ministers, he said, knew the Boers were arming, but they could not object because these armaments were made after the Raid. Here are his exact words as given publicly at Manchester: "Why did not the Government, knowing that armaments were being accumulated in the Transvaal, enter a protest two years ago, and declare that either armaments should cease which could only be directed against this country and colonies, or else we should regard it as a cause of quarrel between us and the Boer Government? Our hands were tied and our mouths were closed at the time of the Raid. How could we say to the Boer Government, 'You disarm; you have nothing to fear from us'? How, I say, could we use that argument when three years ago an expedition composed of our countrymen had made an onslaught—a feeble and ineffective onslaught, it is true, but still an onslaught—on the Boer Government? We were helpless in the face of that argument."

Q. I am convinced that if one-half the money expended in any war of conquest should be employed in aiding men to help themselves—in developing coöperative industries, in reclaiming barren or waste sections, and in making the desert places rich in harvests that would contribute to man's material needs—uninvited poverty within the boundaries of the nation would be quickly reduced to a minimum, and the real wealth of the nation would be materially increased; while society would receive an ethical uplift of incalculable value to national life and to civilization in general. Yet whenever any proposition is advanced in America looking toward the Government assisting the "out-of-works" to become independent wealth-creators by aiding in the reclamation of waste lands, or by assisting in other work that would augment national wealth and elevate citizenship, a cry is raised against what the exploiters of the workers are pleased to call "paternalism." Few voices, however, are heard crying down the exhibition of governmental paternalism that we find in such wars of criminal aggression as we are waging at the present time against the Filipinos.

Indeed, the very influences that cry out the loudest against innovations that would secure to the workers independence and increased comforts in life are persistently encouraging the Government in prosecuting the war against the freedom of the Filipinos. So in South Africa, is it not true that the cost will be incomparably greater than any possible return in wealth, power, dignity, or greatness to the Imperial Government?

A. Incomparably. Look for a moment at some facts bearing on this case. The actual cost in money will be between eighty million and one hundred million pounds sterling. The number of lives lost in the war, according to the official figures published as far back as last September, amounted to 9,813, with 15,000 men then in hospitals and 29,438 invalided and sent home. It was further stated by Mr. Charles Williams, an authority in close communication with the War Office, that more than 25,000 men in South Africa were incapacitated by ill health and exhaustion from taking part in the war. To this wanton sacrifice of life, and the great burden the people must meet in payment for the war, we must add other losses, such as the devastation by fire and sword of two republics, whole tracts of which have been converted into waste wildernesses, homesteads burnt, women and children driven homeless into the wintry veldt, railways destroyed, fruit trees cut down, and every abomination of savagery let loose in the midst of a Christian population. Furthermore we have incurred the hatred and contempt of all European nations; we have alienated the loyalty of the majority of our own subjects in Cape Colony; we have sacrificed our moral position among the nations, and have created a blood-feud, inextinguishable for generations, between the two races that inhabit South Africa. And our position in South Africa has been weakened or rendered less secure than it was before the war. When the late Government went out of office, our supremacy was maintained in South Africa without difficulty by a garrison of 3,000 soldiers; and now we are informed by Mr. Chamberlain that when the war is ended he believes it will be necessary to maintain in South Africa a standing army of 30,000 soldiers in barracks and

15,000 military colonists. Thus, as a result of this war, we will be compelled to maintain more than fifteen soldiers to keep our flag flying where one soldier before the war was amply sufficient. It can therefore be hardly claimed that the war has increased the strength or power of Great Britain; while when we remember that a year and a half has elapsed since war was declared, and that our army of 250,000 trained soldiers, equipped by the richest Government in the world, has been required to cope with 40,000 untrained farmers, it can hardly be claimed that the prestige of Great Britain has been enhanced by this war. It matters not whether we examine the question from a moral or a commercial point of view—everything points to the fact that the war was as unwise as it was unjust, and that the evil in every direction has been far greater than any possible benefits that could accrue to the nation.

THE SERVANT QUESTION IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

IT is a true saying that "no question is settled till it is settled right." And the reason is not far to seek, though few there be that find it. Man's life is from God; hence, all its problems are problems of righteousness, not of expediency. It was through the perception of this truth that Ruskin transformed political economy from the "dismal science" of scholastics into his glowing and inspiring gospel of social well being, with its magnificent announcement—"There is no wealth but life: life, with all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration." And it is only by keeping fast hold upon this central social fact that we shall find a solution of special problems.

The air is full of "questions." The Woman Question, the Problem of the Child, the Servant Question, Capital and Labor: these and many others are discussed pro and con in a never-ending stream of books, papers, and magazines, club and drawing-room talk, till the brain reels and we ask, despairingly, Is there any way out of this domestic and social ferment into a place of peace? Yes, but not till we are ready for a righteous settlement, and have renounced in good faith the remedies of expediency; not till we have come to see life as a whole and can study our special problem in its relation to the social body. Generally we see it only in its relation to self—using the word in its lowest interpretation: as our individual comfort, convenience, or taste.

The woman, the child, the servant, the man—these are mere dummies to our thought. The only living personality that enters into the problem is our own. The chief question with us is our own supposed well being. Even of that we have no clear sense, but go about the business of attaining it in a fashion analogous to that of the quack who treats one organ with an absolute disregard of its relation to the others. "Is not this *my* child?" says the parent. "Did not *I* bring it into the world? and do not *I* now provide for it? and shall not *I* do with it as pleases *me?*" This is the average parental creed. *No;* over the creative power that brought this child into existence you have no control. You are but its instrument, and the world into which it was received is the creation of untold generations of men. You are its guardian—responsible both to God and man for its wise up-bringing. Not your pleasure, but its best welfare, is your business; though by the providence of God your pleasure is best secured by devotion to the highest end of its being. So with the servant question. There is for it no solution on the basis of class selfishness; and all attempts to settle it from the standpoint of expediency will prove futile in the future, as they have done in the past. It is the problem of the Whole, with unsuspected relations to the social ideals that are stirring the minds and quickening the consciences of the men and women who are to be the makers of history in the twentieth century.

To the mind of the average upper and middle class woman the servant question appears only as an unmitigated evil. Modern life opens up before her fascinated gaze infinite possibilities for self-development and enjoyment; but her ability to avail herself of these opportunities depends, she believes, upon the existence of a well organized, disciplined, and contented servant class. Deep down in the (it may be) subconscious mind of this modern Christian woman is the belief of the ancient heathen world that a civilized society can be maintained only upon the foundation of a slave class. She does not, of course, state her faith with such brutal frankness. She abhors the word *slave,* and most likely prides herself greatly upon her kinship with some great light of the Abolition period. Nevertheless, shorn of all its specious phases, there is little to choose between her faith and that of the ancient Greeks upon this point. Thirsting to enjoy all that modern life has to offer. she finds herself face to face with the disagreeable fact that the woman in the kitchen has the same desire to live her own life as she, herself, is conscious of; and to her mind the situation seems to point to an irrepressible conflict from which one party must emerge defeated and humiliated.

The subject has become one of the burning questions of the day. It colors current literature, and even has its own bibliography. In drawing-rooms, in clubs, on the street, in all places where men and women meet, it is sure to make its voice heard. Yet very rarely in all that is said and written on the subject do we find the question regarded as other than an evil to be approached in a spirit of lamentation. With a blind and persistent pessimism, the force of kitchen discontent is looked upon as something that threatens the peace of the home and the good of society. Various futile efforts have been made to control it, but only in the interest of the class of employers. Even when philanthropy pleads for the modification of conditions in domestic service there is a glance of mutual understanding between our modern pet virtue and the drawing-room divinity addressed which suggests a prearranged program warranted to be the best possible for the latter, taking all the circumstances into consideration. This is not the path by which men arrive at solutions. The best that can be hoped from it is a compromise that shall be temporarily useful.

But there are women capable of a wider outlook, and to them it is beginning to be seen that the demand of the woman in the kitchen is a just one, and that justice demands certain changes here as in other social fields. Recently, in club discussions, women have come to declare before an unsympathetic audience of their own sex their belief in the rights of the woman in the kitchen to share in the benefits, privileges, and opportunities opening for their sex. This is truly to have the courage of one's convictions, because the great body of women are not prepared to grant such freedom.

In a book lately published a wealthy American woman has offered a solution of the problem, which is substantially a suggestion to introduce into domestic life the shift system. This appears to most minds as impracticable. To the writer in question, who probably has a large corps of servants, there is little difficulty in organizing a household after this fashion.

but to the woman with two or one it is simply impossible; hence, its condemnation as impracticable has great force. Its dismissal is easy to-day with those who demand a quack remedy that shall leave the patient relieved of his pains but undisturbed in his sins. But, visionary as it appears, the suggestion is one of those that come from a sudden quickening of the prophetic spirit. The plan suggested provides a basis for the domestic system of the future, which the spirit of coöperation is even now in process of evolving.

There are, then, these two classes: First, the large class—the great majority—who believe that the present order of domestic service can continue while at the same time in every other class modern progress will have full sweep. The second are those women—comparatively few in number at present—who see that it is simply impossible that the woman in the kitchen should be left untouched by the modern spirit and keep contented with her colorless life, while at the same time in contact with all that life has to offer.

But there is a third point of view that has as yet, so far as I am aware, had no exponents either in speech or writing. It is that the unrest and discontent of the servant class are *not* an evil; that they are in fact a part of the evolutionary process going on throughout the world; and that if servants were content to remain as they are they would be a positive check upon social advance. From this standpoint, their discontent is a great force which can not only be used in the future, but is at the present time contributing toward the preparation of humanity for a full coöperative life. Coöperation, to be other than merely mercantile or political, must touch life at every point. We are not as yet wholly prepared for it, and the process of preparation is necessarily sometimes disagreeable. Our very ideals must change. We must learn to take pleasure in the common life; to transfer our consciousness as much as possible from the individual to the whole; and to do this not from a so-called philanthropic spirit, but in obedience to an impulse of self-expansion. That is to say, we must learn to see ourselves in the common life;

to find our enjoyments there, as formerly we found our pleasures in exclusiveness. To reach this, an evolution of the home-life is absolutely necessary. Not that we are to have no homes. To make a home will be a more sacred thing when it is lifted from the plane of material comfort and made to consist in the union of certain individuals who are bound not only by ties of affection and habit but also by the deeper tie of common ideals, purposes, and large hopes. This is not the home of to-day as a rule. From the point of view of co-operation, the home of to-day presents in miniature a picture of society in its strife, its unequal division of labor and enjoyments, its suppression of some for the selfish enjoyment of others.

In the United States, where the social ferment is perhaps greater than elsewhere, the process of home destruction, which is the preliminary to the building of the future home, is going on apace. Apartment houses are springing up everywhere, and more and more people are coming to live in a coöperative way. When asked the reason for this tendency, we have almost invariably the reply that it is impossible to get servants who can be trusted. The real meaning of this is, it is impossible now at the beginning of the twentieth century to find servants who will cheerfully accept and bear the duties laid upon those of our grandmothers' time. What wonder? Are mistresses prepared to accept cheerfully and bear patiently the burdens of their grandmothers? I warrant you we are not. We have been touched by the modern spirit. We are part of our own time. We share the impulses of life to-day, and must grow accordingly. So also with the woman in the kitchen. Social evolution does not stop above stairs. So, private establishments are being given up and the family takes its suite of apartments, where the work is done with regularity and more or less skill according to modern methods. True, the apartment house in its present form is only a milestone on the path of domestic evolution, making possible the introduction of labor-saving appliances that would be too expensive for the private establishment, and permitting experiment along any line that promises a lessening of the friction in daily life. The apartment house of to-day is coöperative only in the sense in which the Trust is coöperative. It is the crude beginning of the system destined to displace our wasteful and irrational individualism; it contains the germ of a new principle that will transform society. Through it the wants and habits of the luxurious classes are simplified and several branches of domestic work eliminated from the problems of the housewife. The heating, lighting, cooking, and outside work are done by contract with the regularity, precision, and skill only attainable with a large staff of workers, using most improved appliances. The sad spectacle of young girls or delicate women toiling upstairs with heavy coal and down again with dirty ashes no longer offends our eyes and pricks our consciences. "Housemaid's knee" is unknown where housemaids can do their work without assuming the attitude natural to the lower animals. Man is a biped, and Nature will consent to no other arrangement. Work that constantly infringes her law is immoral even though it be part of the slowly dying domestic economy of our existing civilization.

Thus people are forced, unwillingly in some cases, out of the old paths into the new. They have not yet learned to adapt themselves to the new because the change is not a voluntary one. Their ideals are not yet coöperative. They are only acting in obedience to an outside pressure that is tending toward coöperation.

Even of those who believe in evolution the majority are very far from seeing the extent of its operations. They make, whether consciously or unconsciously, certain exceptions. For example, one-half of humanity (women) are put outside its pale. Certain classes they would have exempt from its operations. They want their creeds to remain as they are, and the home. Now it is clear that the evolution of society must go on in a very one-sided fashion if so large a part of it is to remain in its present condition. The only evolution is the evolution of society as a *whole*. Let us suppose man to progress and woman to remain stationary. How, then, is he to find in her a companion? How is the man of the future to find in the home of the past all that the home should give —inspiration as well as material comfort? And how are we to have perfection in coöperation unless every class is included in its benefits? How is political evolution to go forward unless the democracy, into whose hands power is so rapidly coming, is educated? Of what use to give to men the power to vote unless also they are given the knowledge that enables them to know how to use that power? Now, the servant question, beside all these questions, seems a very insignificant problem, but in fact it lies at the root of several other problems admitted to be very important. When the servant class is emancipated the home will begin to take on the form necessary to coöperative life; and *it will not take on this form until this emancipation is accomplished.*

No healthy-minded man ever regarded his own physical weaknesses or deformities as objects of admiration and self-satisfaction. Only morbid and diseased natures see in their own divergence from the ideal something picturesque and attractive. But many who are perfectly sane in their view of the individual, especially when that individual is *self,* have quite other standards and other theories about society as a whole. Even so great an authority as Prof. James falls into this error. In his "Talks to Teachers" he relates how he spent a week at Chautauqua, where "all is peace and joy and love," and at the end of that time fled back to the world of sin and crime and misery, wearied to death of the Happy Valley and its colorless monotony of existence. From that experience he draws the inference that man needs the lessons and temptations that a sinful, wretched world can alone afford, and concludes that a perfect human society would be self-destructive. Keen analyst of the human mind as he is, he has failed here rightly to interpret his own emotions. He fled not from the *peace* of Chautauqua, but from the hollowness of an artificially devised Happy Valley. He hungered for the world, not because the world is wicked, but because, such as it is, he felt himself to be an essential part of it; because it was his Mother, and drew him by forces too subtly powerful to be resisted. For God has ordained that no man or class of men shall build for themselves a Happy Valley shutting out the rest of mankind in their misery and ignorance and poverty. We are united together by a chain of God's welding that no cunning of man's brain nor strength of man's arm will ever break. Let us be thankful for it; thankful for the law that holds us, whether we will or not, in the path which alone leads to our full development, which ordains *growth* and not mere present enjoyment, whether physical or intellectual.

In the writings of Swedenborg we are told that humanity in the sight of the Lord is as a Grand Man, each individual of the human race belonging by reason of his particular talents and nature to some particular organ or limb of the Grand Man. The figure is striking and full of suggestion for the student of sociology. In a society thus organized we cannot conceive of any individual or part suffering wrong or injury. Every molecule of such a body shares to its utmost capacity in the well being of the whole. A starved organ, a limb devoted wholly to thankless service, would be a contradiction. No; through every part of the Grand Man courses the blood that nourishes all equally, *according to need.* Through every part of the individual body stretch the nerves, sending thrills of life and joy: no rebellion anywhere; no usurpation of another's function, or absorption of another's due reward of service. Such is the picture of a perfect human society.

The first effects of emancipation generally appear as an argument against it. The slave does not know what to do with his liberty. Woman to-day does not know what to do with her new-found opportunities. No more may we expect the servant class to make a wise use at first of its emancipation. But all this is no argument against freedom. If it were, then we should have to give up the democratic ideal entirely, because the actions of the democracy, the men who enjoy all its privileges, are still very far from ideal. We have need of a great patience both with ourselves and with others, for it is certain that the wise use of liberty must come long after emancipation.

Those who make use of this argument against the enfranchisement of servants are very often shining examples of the fault they condemn. Their own leisure is devoted either to the pursuit of pleasure or the pursuit of a culture that has for its object the attainment of accomplishments for merely selfish purposes. But in how few cases is it used nobly! In fact, they who have learned to make a wise use of leisure are precisely those who wish to see extended to all classes the same opportunities they themselves enjoy. The use of leisure is in reality *work*. It lies alone in the privilege it gives of choosing the work for which one has a special aptitude. As soon as consciousness is transferred from self to the whole it becomes clear that social wholeness, like physical wholeness, or health, depends upon the perfection and activity of all its parts. Then only do we realize that whatever individual loss may be demanded in the social transformation going forward to-day will be more than compensated by the gain to the whole. And this is not a form of self-sacrifice; it is rather self-expansion—because both suffering and enjoyment come through consciousness, and wherever the enlargement of that consciousness takes place the way is prepared for enjoyments that were before impossible.

The first use that the woman in the kitchen makes of her freedom is perhaps one that makes the lady in the drawing-room smile disdainfully; but after all it is only an imitation of that lady's own pleasures and pursuits. She, herself, is quite as much an object of pity to those who are a little further advanced in mental development. At present among the vast majority of women the prevailing ideal is social self-advancement, with its dependent ambitions of dress and household decoration. The woman whose heart is set upon the possession of jewels, fashionable dresses, and bonnets has no reason to look down upon her poorer sisters who aspire to a cheap imitation of these things. It is a difference of degree only, not of kind. It is only when the woman develops beyond a desire for these things that she finds herself suddenly coming upon a plane where the objects of her ambition are of a kind that lose nothing in the sharing, but on the contrary grow greater by being shared. And it is this class, small though it be to-day, but growing in power, that is voicing the demands of servants for a larger share in the opportunities of modern life. They have only to voice it. The work of transformation is being done by many unconscious workers, but resistance can be lessened and the work of evolution go forward more smoothly through the intelligent coöperation of more advanced minds.

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Boston, Mass.

TOPICS OF THE TIMES.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

THE BROADENING SOCIAL IDEAL.

The history of civilization has been the story of an ascent from the darkness of ignorance, barbarism, and savagery toward the light which ever glorifies the mountains of the ideal, where the moral order reigns, where altruism rises above egoism, and where the love of the best overmasters all baser dreams and desires.

It has been a slow and a toilsome ascent, over pathways that may be compared to trails that lead from fens, bogs, and swamp-lands to the regal summit of a mighty mountain range. Between the lowlands and the heights rise ranges of foothills and low mountains, with valleys intervening—eminences from which the pilgrim bands inhale for a little time rarefied air and behold broader and grander visions than have heretofore been vouchsafed to them, and depressions that hide them from view and shut out from their eyes the glory of the heights until it becomes to many a memory rather than a reality.

From time to time groups, and even nations, have reached such noble eminences, and joy has kissed the brow, hope welled in the heart, and a song leaped from the lips of those who stood in the light. Greece in her nobler and freer moments, Rome during brief periods, and other nations of the far-away past experienced something of this exaltation that is known to man as he rises toward the light; but for the most part the great prophet voices, the true philosophers, and the poets of the olden times have been lonely witnesses to the truth who have sung of the ideal that is to bring growth to the soul, light to the mind, felicity to the heart, and the deep, unfathomable joy to life that can only be known when civilization recognizes the solidarity of the race and the mutual responsibility, duty, and obligation of every unit as the underlying principle upon which the happiness, progress, and growth of humanity rest. Jesus taught, and the early Church for a little season, ere she became corrupt, sought to practise this supreme lesson of life; but the night settled around the cradle of the new religion—a long, dark, and tragic night, in which growth was so slow as to be almost imperceptible.

In the middle of the fourteenth century, however, from the intolerable misery and suffering of the very poor, there came a voice that struck the key-note of the prophets' messages of the past—aye, and went even back to the closing gates of Eden—a voice which raised a question that reaches the very root of social problems. Coming as it did from the pit of popular misery and taking up the cry which had long been sounded by the prophet sentinels on the walls of progress, it marked a great forward step, a real advance toward the light. The essence of this cry, this disquieting question that was taken up as a refrain and sounded from one end of England to the other, was found in this rude couplet:

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who then was the gentleman?"

We hear it first during the years of terrible suffering that marked the reign of Edward III., after the black plague had devastated England, and the throne and parliament had striven by edicts to reduce the toilers to intolerable slavery. The wretchedness of the poor and the oppressions endured by them beggar description, and from this awful night of suffering issued this momentous question, first propounded, perhaps, by old John Ball, whom the alarmed nobles denounced as a "mad priest" and whom the courts imprisoned, but to whom the multitude flocked, even as in another age and land they flocked to hear the message of universal brotherhood and the Golden Rule as taught by One who was even then under the shadow of the cross. We can easily understand how the upholders of special privilege heard with dismay and denounced with vigor as the ravings of an insane brain such ominous words as these, which fell from the lips of Ball:

> "Good people, things will never be well in England so long as there be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother, Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and their ermine, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we

have pain and labor, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state."

"It was," says the historian Green, "the tyranny of property that then as ever roused the defiance of socialism." At that time also William Longland, the poet of the poor, in his creation of "Piers the Ploughman," further voiced the people's cry which spoke so significantly in the night of feudalism of the broadening social ideal that had at last found expression at once in priest, poet, and the slow-thinking multitude.

To-day in sweeping the past of history this cry and the vision of the suffering men of that time stand out as a headland in social history. It was one of those milestones that reveal the enlargement of man's social conceptions—the expanding of the consciousness of right in the heart of the people. A reaction followed, but it was but the receding of the incoming tide, and in the first century of modern times and during every succeeding century it rose higher, until, with the American War of the Revolution, the French Revolution, and the upheavals of the first half of the nineteenth century, the progress became very marked and the periods of depression were shorter and less pronounced. It seemed to be evident that civilization had reached the plateau that divides the foothills from the mountain range.

Now, it is true, we are in a period of depression; but is it not possible that the seeming retrograde movement which narrows the horizon and shuts civilization from the broader and truer outlook, and which is marked by wars, by insolent arrogance among rulers, and by commercial injustice and oppression, is but a small valley that fringes the base of the noblest range that rises before humanity? The diffusion of the light of education among earth's millions, the hunger of the heart of the world, and the voice of the advance-guard of social progress indicate such to be the case. To-day as never in all historic time there is a general recognition of the fundamental fact that happiness must rest on justice and that the upward progress of the world depends on each man doing his share of work and receiving what he earns, and on no man reaping where he has not sown. Now for the first time man is coming to appreciate the fact that the unfaltering acceptance of the imperative mandate, said to have come from Deity as the gates of Eden were closing, holds the key to the true happiness of all—the real solution of the social problem. This thought, which may be said to hold the kernel of the new social ideal, has been thus admirably expressed in Joaquin Miller's exquisite prose poem, "The Building of the City Beautiful":

> "And the first great law of God is, . . . in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou returnest to the ground. . . . The very first, last word of God to man, as the gates of Paradise closed behind, were these: 'In the sweat of *thy* face—not in the sweat of the face of another—thou shalt eat bread till thou returnest to the ground;' and we search the Bible in vain for any single exception in favor of any human being, be he priest, prophet, president, or king. . . . And so firmly fixed is this law of God, established in the laws of Nature, that the experience of six thousand years testifies that this is the only path to perfect health. This is a positive law, the first law, and a positive law that admits of no equivocation. It fell from the voice of God centuries before Moses reached up his hands to receive the tablets where His finger, amid thunder and flame, had traced the negative laws of the Decalogue. . . . This one first law, that thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, is a positive law. The Decalogue is almost entirely negative. But only let the one first great command be strictly observed, and the Decalogue will never be broken. It is the one continual effort to escape this one first command that brings man in collision with the laws of Sinai."

This broadening vision in social life has two aspects. We have noticed the *duty* of each to work. There is also the fundamental *right* of each man to obtain work—a right that has too often been denied in these latter days. On this phase of the question William Morris well expresses the growing demand of the best thought of the age as voiced by the new conscience:

> "It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.
>
> "Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet again I say if Society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended. To feel that we are doing work useful to others and pleasant to ourselves, and that such work and its due reward *could* not fail us! What serious harm could happen to us then?"

This new and full-orbed ideal of social progress has recently been admirably expressed by Mayor Jones of Toledo, Ohio, in the following lines:

> "'An idle brain is the devil's workshop' is an old saw, and a

true one, and, to my mind, it is equally true whether the idler is rich or poor. God never made a place for drones in human society. God never provided a place wherein a human being could be happy and idle. Let me not be misunderstood. In the juster order of society that is coming the right to work will not involve slavish drudgery for eight or ten hours a day, but the right to participate in creating the world about us, and the right to such conception of art as that to which William Morris gave us a definition when he said that 'art is the expression of man's joy in labor.' That is the kind of work that all have a right to share in. That is the kind of liberty that we are yet to know through the large recognition of social obligation that is coming to us, and coming with a whirlwind speed.

"Private ownership of public utilities is a public immorality. No legislative body has a moral right to farm out a privilege granting certain individuals the right to rob the people while pretending to serve them. Perhaps the word 'rob' may be extravagant in this sense, but I mean to say that no moral right is lodged in any legislative body to grant a privilege to a corporation to make profit from the people by providing a social necessity when this class of service is the manifest duty of the people. If we are a democracy, we must believe in the people; there is no escape from that conclusion. If we believe in the people we must believe that we are going to be saved altogether or lost altogether, and it is my belief that we are making progress toward nobler ideas of democracy and brotherhood than we ever yet dreamed of. I see the promise of this in the growing desire to enlarge the functions of government in ministering to the social necessities of the people. The acceptance of the idea of democracy involves the dismissal from the mind of any thought of class or classes, and this degrading notion has always hindered the progress of the world. The idea that a few of us are endowed with the 'divine right of kings,' and are especially fitted to govern or rule what we have called the lower classes, is undemocratic, as well as un-Christian, and, of course, unbrotherly; and, worst of all, it is unscientific.

"Work is the moral condition of a healthy man or woman, as play is that of a healthy child; and a social system that enforces idleness and a non-productive life, on either rich or poor, is as unscientific in theory as it is vicious and wrong in practise. . . .

"Selfishness and greed and love of money, grown rampant, have wellnigh consumed us; but the people, the great people, the patient, loving, waiting people, are thinking, as they never thought before, that the reign of the people is about to begin. The right to live of every man who is willing to work is admitted. The ideal of the Republic, which we find in the well-ordered family, must be realized, and soon, if the nation is to be saved and the Republic to be permanent, I believe we are coming to this realization at a tremendous pace. The machinery of the world, which does the work of the world in one-quarter of the time, or less, than was required to do it, has made it unnecessary and impossible to provide ten or twelve hours' work for all the people. The people will not willingly starve or commit suicide. They have a right to live, because they are willing to work. The Almighty Himself promised it at the very dawn of creation, when He said, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou earn bread.' "

This higher and truer conception of right, which recognizes the unity of life, with all that that stupendous fact implies, is appealing to the consciousness of more people to-day than ever before, and to each child of earth at this crucial period is given the holy privilege of furthering a realization of its far-reaching import to civilization. And in order to appreciate how solemn is its obligation we have only to realize that its general recognition and acknowledgment will transform the world and make life richly worth the living to all earth's millions. Its supremacy means the enthronement of Divine love over self-love—the advent of the Golden Age of human brotherhood which Edwin Markham, another of the great prophets of social righteousness of our time, thus describes:

"The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is Brotherhood;
For it will bring again to Earth
Her long-lost Poesy and Mirth;
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race.
And till it come, we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.

Come, clear the way, then, clear the way:
Blind creeds and kings have had their day.
Break the dead branches from the path:
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men,
Star-led to build the world again.
To this Event the Ages ran.
Make way for Brotherhood—make way for Man."

* * *

ORGANIZATION FOR INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AND CIVIC ADVANCEMENT.

I. GROWTH THROUGH ORGANIZATION.

In every community there are earnest men and women, as well as young people, who desire to improve themselves and benefit those with whom they come in contact; yet they are permitting the golden days, freighted with opportunities, to pass without accomplishing anything definite. Many of these persons do little because they feel they can do nothing of great moment, overlooking the fact that it is the schooling gained in faithfully doing the duty that lies nearest us which fits us for the greater struggles that come for souls that thus prepare themselves successfully to grapple with emergencies and to improve opportunities when they appear. Others, failing to recognize the obligations devolving on each individual—the duty to self and to others—shrink from a work which would call for much faithful labor, and which might, and frequently would, put them to personal inconvenience. Their failure is due to lack of appreciation of the fact that we rise in life only by putting all thought of self, ease, and enjoyment aside when the larger issues of growth and the good of others, or the real development of ourselves, are at stake. Still others fear the sneers and ridicule of the more listless and of the unawakened ones among their companions; yet one of life's most important lessons is found in bravely meeting just such unpleasant experiences and turning the ridicule and scoffing into a respect which in time serves to awaken the sleeper by the magic of love and truth.

Now, in every city, town, village, hamlet, and agrarian community there are groups of people who should be organized with some serious purpose in view—organized for mutual benefit, for the cultivation of the civic and individual conscience, for the broadening of the intellectual horizon, for the deepening of the human feelings and emotions, and for the enriching of life through that culture which favors a well-rounded character. The good work achieved by such unions far exceeds the dreams of those who engage in the effort. Indeed, only those who have through long years carefully traced the beneficent results of such organizations begin to appreciate their far-reaching influence.

II. The Story of the Arena Club.

About ten years ago we urged in the pages of The Arena the formation of clubs for mutual improvement and the betterment of the community. A number of Unions for Practical Progress were formed in various cities, and accomplished much good. In other places clubs were formed with some definite object in view, but without attempting, as did the Unions, to draw together into one working body the various social forces. The most successful of these independent clubs organized as a result of this agitation was the Arena Club of New Orleans, founded by Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, a broad-minded Southern lady of culture and refinement, and a few other chosen spirits who appreciated the importance of the work which the founder had in mind. The club was organized exactly nine years ago —June, 1892. It took for its motto the well-known lines of Heine: "We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into the arena, where . . . we must fight for them."

This club had for its primary object, as set forth in its constitution, "the endeavor to increase good-fellowship among women, and among women and men; to properly educate the moral, mental, and physical faculties of its members; to disseminate a knowledge of the laws that should govern life in all its relations; and whenever occasion demands to take such private or public action as shall serve the best interests of both sexes." This purpose has been steadfastly followed. The club has prospered as have few similar organizations. From its inception until last spring it has regularly met each week at the home of Mrs. Ferguson. In April of the present year it moved into its own club-room, at 606 Julia street.

It would be impossible properly to estimate the real value of this club in broadening and deepening the culture and feeling of its members and in various ways enriching their lives, nor yet the benefit which this live, earnest, energetic little group has exerted in the city of New Orleans and in the State of Louisiana; but some conception of the work accomplished may be obtained from the following outline of some of the good work achieved, as kindly furnished me by its president:

Free Lectures Given Under the Auspices of the Arena Club.

"Single Tax," fiscal point of view, by Prof. J. H. Dillard, of Tulane University.
"Single Tax," ethical point of view, by Hamlin Garland, author.
"Dignity of Labor," by Catherine Cole (Mrs. M. R. Field), newspaper writer.
"Parliament of Religions," by Dr. Joseph Holt, of quarantine fame, of New Orleans.
"Shakespeare Studies," by Mrs. Annie L. Pitkin; four lectures: *Othello, Macbeth, Lear, Hamlet.*
"Address on Shakespeare," Frederick Warde, actor.
"Description of the Passion Play," by Mrs. M. K. Sinclair.
"The Law and the Lady," by Judge J. H. Ferguson, on the status of women in and under Louisiana law.

"The Drama," by Joseph Jefferson, actor.
"Why, How, and What to Read," by the Rev. Beverly Warner, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church.
"Union for Practical Progress," by the Rev. H. C. Vrooman, of Boston.
Readings from her own work, by Miss Will Allen Dromgoole.
"Mazzini," by Prof. J. H. Dillard, of Tulane University.
"Heredity," charts used, only women present; by Dr. Mary A. G. Dight.
"The New Woman and the New Man," by Mme. Gertrude de Aguirre, author.
"Talk on Japan," with exhibition of pictures, clothing, carvings, etc., by Miss Georgiana Suthon, Episcopal missionary, who had been for seven years in Japan and spoke the Japanese language.
"Our Monetary System," by Mr. James Middleton.
"Hegelian Philosophy," by Pres. B. V. B. Dixon, of Sophie Newcomb College, New Orleans (woman's part of Tulane University).
"The Social Balance," by Bishop Davis Sessums (Episcopal).
"The Tariff," by Mr. A. B. Booth.
"Henry George and the Single Tax," by James A. Herne, actor.
"Shoes and Health," by Dr. Mary A. G. Dight.
"Anti-Trust Meeting" (public), held under the auspices of the Arena Club; public invited; hall and galleries crowded. Speakers: Mr. Ashton Phelps, president and editorial writer of the *Times-Democrat* of New Orleans; Rev. B. M. Palmer, a distinguished Presbyterian divine and famous orator; and Bishop Hugh Miller Thompson (Episcopal), of Mississippi.

Besides the above lectures and addresses the club has had many instructive talks, with discussions following, on "The Tendency to Centralization of Population in Cities;" "Capital Punishment;" "Social Condition of Women in Norway;" "Graduated Taxation;" "Proportional Representation;" "Talk of Venezuela," by a member who had been there on a visit; and other timely and interesting subjects.

We never have what are called "original" papers *by the members.* The general line of study is indicated, and the appointed reader gets some "authority" on that subject, reads it at the club, and the club at large discusses the subject. We thus get real information, and bring out the individuality of members by the discussions.

The Jefferson, Herne, Dromgoole, and Vrooman lectures were held in public halls. The rest were held in my rooms, where the club, up to April first, met every Monday evening. The Anti-Trust meeting also was held in a public hall. Our meetings are always crowded; we never give pay functions, and, except to the Anti-Trust Meeting, invite by personal card. The press of New Orleans has ever given us generous support and encouragement. We have no debts, and have never had one cent given us, nor have we even charged for our lectures, etc. We have a small bank account, and we are not allowed to use our club money except for the real interests and benefit of the club—no frolicking from club funds. We have an annual dinner, but each member pays out of his or her own pocket, and for any guest he or she may invite. We gave the First Regiment Louisiana Volunteers, in the Spanish War, a large reading tent, with fly; sent them a huge box of books, games of chess, backgammon, paper, envelopes, pencils, etc.; and presented to Company A of that regiment a beautiful silver bugle.

It has not all been *couleur de rose* by any means. You know the superficiality of human nature too well not to know, without telling, the difficulties of such steady, unostentatious work as that carried on by the Arena Club. Yet we "have done what we could."

In addition to the work enumerated above by Mrs. Ferguson, the club has accomplished a noble service to society by its steady educational agitation for a higher morality and for enlightenment on fundamental social problems.

One has only to glance over the preceding outline of work to realize something of the value to a community of such a lecture course as the above in broadening its intellectual range, in deepening its culture, and in stimulating the finer emotions, while affording the purest and most elevating kind of enjoyment. And yet this is but one of several phases of the educational work that has been wrought by this club—a work of which any group of Americans might be justly proud; and I feel that it is perfectly safe to say that the high-minded president and those associated with her, who have faithfully borne the brunt of the work during nine years, have been paid a thousand-fold—not in the way which those who gauge success only by dollars and cents amassed might count pay, but in that deep, pure joy which enriches life and fills the soul with a content known only to those who through lifting others are themselves lifted in spirit to the audience chamber of the Infinite: for no man or woman who helps others or who earnestly strives to be of service fails of rich reward. It is the law of life that we can only really rise by lifting others, and can only truly enjoy, in the deeper sense of the term, after we have given pleasure to others.

The record of nine years of faithful work by this club is the story of a signal achievement by a few—a very few—earnest, sincere men and women with a definite aim in view; and it serves to show how vast a work for broader culture, for social righteousness, and for human happiness may be wrought if a few persons in every city, town, and hamlet will thus consecrate a little time in their busy lives to this forward movement, which, while meaning very much to every individual, will also work incalculable good to the community and quicken other minds, especially among the young, who in turn will exert a beneficent influence on the ages yet unborn. Teachers, parents, and individuals that have civic pride should give this subject serious thought, not only for the benefit of the community, but especially for their children and the young about them, who can in this way be most easily and helpfully reached.

In giving this brief story of the work achieved by the Arena Club I have been prompted by the conviction that it would prove a revelation and an inspiration to thousands of our readers, and I trust it may be the means of leading to the formation of similar bodies in many centers of life. We are in the midst of a transition period that calls for the most serious, earnest, and conscientious efforts of every awakened soul. None can shirk the responsibility and be quit of guilt. None can earnestly strive for social betterment and individual elevation without achieving much good. As in the olden times, so to-day, the harvest truly is white, but the laborers are few.

* * *

MUNICIPAL PROGRESS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

I.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times in the political life of England and America is the awakening of the civic conscience in municipal affairs. London has elected the most radically socialistic Council in her history, and elected it by so overwhelming a majority as to indicate clearly the temper of the electorate. And now comes the news that Manchester and Glasgow are arranging for the purchase of coal mines that will enable these municipalities to furnish coal to their citizens at cost. The *New York Journal,* in an editorial comment on this sane and bold innovation, says:

> "Here in New York Mr. Astor can buy coal at $5 a ton.
>
> "The poor woman in an Astor tenement who buys coal by the pail pays for it at the rate of $20 or more a ton.
>
> "Society and commerce received a severe shock when Nathan Straus in extremely cold weather began selling coal by the pail to the very poor at actual cost.
>
> "He was asked by so-called 'charity' organization people whether he '*investigated*' those who came to buy the cheap coal.
>
> "He replied that when a woman walked ten blocks to a dock and carried a pailful of coal ten blocks home, he considered that she had investigated herself and that he need do no investigating.
>
> "This coal to the poor at cost was bad enough, and it certainly ranked Nathan Straus among dangerous anarchists.

> "But think of Manchester and Glasgow proposing to do for the entire population what Nathan Straus endeavored to do for the very poor and needy!"

We can easily understand with what alarm and indignation the coal trust and its special pleaders regard this wise movement in the interest of the purses of all the citizens of two great municipalities; and perhaps it is not to be wondered at that this action is being promptly denounced as a dangerous manifestation of socialism, as paternalism run mad, and as an exhibition of municipal insanity, because such socialistic innovations threaten soon to rob the coal octopus of its occupation; and the destruction of one of these great trusts, which to-day so seriously menace free institutions, means the destruction of all. But, though such action may appear very alarming and dangerous to the exploiters of the people, the time is at hand when the electorate will see the matter in a very different light. It is time that the people should demand that the special advocates of corporate greed substitute arguments in the place of epithets of abuse and alarmists' cries.

Let us consider this question for a moment. Why should the citizens of Boston and New York, for example, have coal furnished them for say three or four dollars a ton, when a great coal trust provides it for them at from five to seven dollars a ton? Why should the guardians and representatives of the interests of a municipality or State concern themselves in a matter that would yield several millions of dollars to the citizens which are now being diverted into the pockets of a few score of overrich men? These are questions that the trust magnates evidently do not care to have dwelt upon, but they are questions that will more and more force themselves to the front with every passing month. There are many reasons why municipal and State ownership and operation of coal mines would be preferable to their ownership and operation by a small group of men who through the advantages of possessing a monopoly are becoming enormously rich at the expense of the many. Thus, for example, (1) the supreme menace to free government to-day arises from the concentration of great wealth in the hands of a few and the use of a portion of that wealth to debauch legislation, control opinion-forming influences, and anesthetize the public conscience. This is a truism that finds such startling illustrations in the history of recent years that it need not be dwelt upon further than to point out the fact that if there was no other reason why the great storehouses of Nature's treasure, provided by a beneficent Deity for all the children of men, should be employed by the State for the comfort and benefit of all the people, it would be reason enough. (2) Whenever a people is placed at the mercy of a monopoly, it sooner or later suffers unjust exactions of robbery by the few for the enrichment of the few. The action of the coal trust last winter in Eastern cities affords an eloquent illustration of this fact. Millions of people, among whom were tens of thousands of the very poor, were made to pay exorbitant prices to enrich a mighty monopoly, whose oppressive exactions would not have been possible under either free competition or State ownership. (3) The condition of the coal miners and their families is one of the scandals of Western civilization. No such wretched conditions could prevail under government ownership as do obtain in the great coal fields under the control of the trust. Imagine, if possible, the government paying its letter-carriers such pitifully small wages as the coal miners receive, and then further robbing them of their little all by compelling them to buy of the "pluck me" stores, and to pay enormous rents for shacks and hovels owned by their employers. There are many other reasons why State ownership and operation of coal mines would be incomparably preferable to their ownership and operation by a trust for a trust; but the above are sufficient to show the absurdity of the alarmists' cries that periodically issue from the trust-controlled dailies in all our great cities. And as time passes the people will come to see more and more clearly that the position of the social reformers represents common sense and business wisdom no less than simple justice, and that journals which pretend to advocate the interests of the people but which yet uphold the exploiters of the millions for the benefit of the few are unreliable and faithless to their trust. The agitation along these lines has already gained such momentum that it cannot be side-tracked or silenced, and it is safe to say that it will rapidly gain strength until it is able to overthrow industrial feudalism in spite of the great opinion-forming organs that are so zealously seeking to maintain commercial despotism.

II.

The news that the London City Council proposes to expend $7,500,000 in model homes for workmen shows the presence of a degree of sanity and wisdom that promises great good for all the people if the wise measure and kindred reforms are steadily prosecuted. The slums of our great cities have been the moral and physical cesspools of Western civilization, whence have emanated contagion and pollution that have exerted a deadly influence on society, individually and collectively. From these wretched, filthy, and overcrowded sections have gone forth the seeds of death at all times, but most markedly in seasons of epidemics. Here also has been the spawning-ground of crime, intemperance, and pauperism. The vast expense to the citizens for prisons, almshouses, asylums, and the machinery of justice necessary to the proper protection of society, growing out of crime concocted, born, and bred in and of the slums, would go far toward building and sustaining model apartment houses and healthy environment for the very poor under wise and proper sanitary supervision. Yet there is no need for model cottages and apartment houses to be a cost or burden to the city. Returns in rentals, as experience has shown in London and Liverpool, will yield a good percentage on the investment required. The menace of the slums has been recognized by thoughtful persons for several years, but thus far the enormous revenue derived by wealthy landlords from rentals of the slum property has been too powerful for the wise and humanitarian efforts put forth to abolish these plague-spots. All honor to London for leading the way! The sum which that city proposes to spend in model homes will house 42,000 people. This is a good beginning. We believe that the conscience of the great metropolis is now sufficiently aroused to sustain wise and true statesmanship until a practical revolution in the housing of the very poor shall have been brought about. The poorer districts of London to-day, says a recent writer, are not as crowded as are the congested districts of New York City.

III.

In the United States the recent reëlection of Samuel M. Jones, the Golden Rule mayor of Toledo, Ohio, was an important victory for honest and progressive municipal government. Mr. Jones is an avowed socialist—a brave, consistent, high-minded idealist—who believes in making the Golden Rule the rule of public and private life.

Another triumph, and under the circumstances a very signal victory for municipal reform, was the election of the Hon.

Tom L. Johnson to the office of mayor of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Johnson had to face an opposition that seemed wellnigh invincible. The old-line Democrats, who believed in private ownership and control of public monopolies, as well as the Republicans, were a unit in opposing him. The great streetcar monopolies, the railways centering in Cleveland, and other commercial vampires that fatten off of the public weal, were organized and active in their opposition to the man who was boldly fighting for three-cent street-car fares and for municipal ownership of the street railways. Mr. Johnson has also long been a special thorn in the side of the national committeemen of the Republican party, and, as Cleveland is Mr. Hanna's home city as well as a municipality in which he has large vested interests, the opposition from this source was peculiarly bitter. And yet, in spite of the union of corporate wealth with the Republican party, in a Republican city, and the aid and comfort extended by the old-line Democrats, Mr. Johnson won the mayoralty contest by several thousand majority. This victory is one of several indications that at last the American people are beginning to awaken to the importance of rescuing the cities from the iron grasp of corrupt government as it has long existed under the mastery of that trinity of the pit—the corporation, the political boss, and the party machine.

IV.

The public career of Mr. Johnson in Congress and elsewhere displays little of the crafty politician. He is a brave and a sincere man, and nothing better illustrates these characteristics than his prompt, decisive, and unceremonious action which foiled the retiring mayor in an attempt to give the Pennsylvania Railway Company valuable water-front privileges.

Mr. Johnson's predecessor was in thorough sympathy with private ownership of natural monopolies. He furthermore saw no impropriety in giving to an immensely rich railway corporation water-front privileges that belong to Cleveland and which should yield the city a handsome revenue. The city council was also subservient to the railway magnates, and, when it became evident that Mr. Johnson might be elected mayor, an ordinance was drawn up and passed by the council that would have given to the railroad company, through the kindly offices of its good friends in the municipal government of Cleveland, the immensely valuable privileges it coveted.

This was during the closing days of the mayoralty campaign, but before the mayor could sign the measure Mr. Johnson exposed the whole miserable work as a gigantic steal and secured an injunction for ten days, restraining the chief magistrate from approving the ordinance. As a result of the election Mr. Johnson was chosen mayor. It is, however, an unwritten law in Cleveland that the incoming officials shall not take their offices until the tenth of April, and the injunction restraining the outgoing mayor from signing the railway company's ordinance expired at eleven o'clock on April 4th. Mr. Johnson learned that the mayor intended officially to approve the act as soon as his injunction expired. To prevent this crime against Cleveland required prompt and unceremonious action. After hastily canvassing the case Mr. Johnson concluded that the only hope of protecting the city was for him immediately to be sworn into office. He hastened to the election board and as soon as the official count was announced he offered his bond and was sworn into office, after which he immediately repaired to the mayor's office, arriving about half an hour before the expiration of the injunction. Here he demanded the keys of the office and desk, and took possession before it was possible for the retiring official to approve the pernicious act.

* * *

MEN WITH IDEALS SPEAK FOR THE REPUBLIC.

The saviors of the world have been the idealists, its destroyers the materialistic casuists or policy-mongers. Nations can only be exalted by a love of the best and a faithful attempt to attain noble ideals. They have been time and again destroyed by their substitution of lust for power, gold, or glory for love of right, justice, and freedom. To-day we as a people are at the parting of the ways, and, as is always the case, the prophets of Baal are numerous. But, be it said to the honor of our day and generation, there are still many men who refuse to bow the knee to the false gods, christened "duty and destiny," which brutal materialistic greed has exalted in the very temple of freedom.

Below I give two characteristic letters recently received from idealists—from the kind of men who in past generations made the Republic the greatest power in the world, and from the type of men to which the Republic must turn if she is to be rescued from the position of a camp-follower of despotic nations and made again the representative of Freedom's cause—the true leader of the world's progress. I believe the readers of THE ARENA, in a larger degree than those of perhaps any other magazine, are practical idealists, and I believe that these clear, frank letters will strike a responsive chord in thousands of hearts. The first communication is from Professor Edwin Burritt Smith, of the Northwestern University of Chicago. The second is from a well-known business man of Kansas City:

"*Dear Sir:*

"I am glad to find your able review of Judge Parks's 'Great Trial' in the current ARENA. You confirm me in my judgment of its quality. The plan was bold and full of peril. The author's great familiarity with the thought of each of his principal spokesmen alone saves him from failure. As it is he has most effectively brought the mighty leaders in the long struggle for liberty to pass judgment on 'the Master of the Game' who has permitted, in our time, its wanton betrayal.

"The amazing repudiation of the Declaration, and all save sordid and immoral national ideals as well, by Prof. Prince in this issue of THE ARENA, is a frank and brutal admission of the base purposes of those now in control at Washington. The contrast between the ideals of the fathers and the low instincts of these betrayers of a sacred trust is startling.

"Ex-President Harrison, in the January *North American Review*, answers Professor Prince thus:

" 'They [the fathers] cherished very broad views as to the rights of men. Their philosophy of liberty derived it from God. Liberty was a divine gift to be claimed for ourselves only upon condition of allowing it to "all men." They would write the law of liberty truly, and suffer for a time the just reproach of a departure from its ~~precepts~~ that could not be presently amended. It is a brave thing to proclaim a law that condemns your own practises. You ass~~ume the faul~~t and strive to attain. The fathers left to a baser gener~~ation~~ the attempt to limit God's law of liberty to white men. It is not a right use of the fault of slavery to say that, because of it, our fathers did not mean "all men." It was one thing to tolerate an existing condition that the law of liberty condemned, in order to accomplish the union of the States, and it is quite another thing to create a condition contrary to liberty for a commercial profit.'

"Professor Prince jauntily repudiates personal liberty because, forsooth, we have not fully attained our ideal of liberty. Is he prepared to surrender the idea of the sacredness of human life because murder is everywhere prevalent? In every year of our history murder has been done. Last year there were committed in the United States more than ten thousand murders; yet no teacher of youth has yet had the hardihood to say that to the American people the sacredness of human life is but a hollow pretense, or that as an ideal it is 'passing.'

"Yours very truly,
"EDWIN BURRITT SMITH."

"Dear Sir:

"I admire the baldness of Professor Leon C. Prince as displayed in his article, 'Passing of the Declaration," in the April ARENA. It is true that powerful and crafty forces have always opposed the ideals of the Declaration, but some of us have not yet struck our colors. Professor Prince is not only audacious, but—may I say it?—philosophically atrocious. His article, considered as a whole, may be characterized as a tattoo of averments, abetting a retreat from those ideals. He does not regard them as having any higher warrant than the 'egotists and pamphleteers of the Revolutionary period.'

"Were he gifted with philosophic discernment equal to his baldness, he would see that those ideals have a higher warrant; that they were not invented by egotists nor devised by the framers of the Declaration. Their validity exists in the nature of the human soul. And, moreover, he would see that our failure to make them real in our government and institutions does not impeach the ideals, but ourselves, and therefore does not justify the conclusion that, 'in discarding the Declaration of Independence, then, we shall lose nothing of political or moral value.' Herein is his great error.

"Every man's mind is a community of ideas or ideals that give shape to his character and conduct. The shape of a bronze figure depends upon the mold into which the metal is poured; and so it is with institutions. The supervising mold or ideal determines the form of the institution, and *form* is the chief factor in determining character as well as efficiency. Every Boston shoemaker understands this principle. While form is not all, still let us hold to the ideals of the Declaration as molds until we can devise something better, and not abandon them on the plea of casuistical *necessity,* as Professor Prince would have us do. 'Necessity' is only the law of sequence between the two poles of cause and effect. It does not enforce causes.

"I hope, Mr. Flower, that you will give us something in THE ARENA, soon, on the *practical value of ideals,* and in this connection show the unsoundness of Professor Prince's philosophy,—no, not philosophy, for he has none,—assertions.

"Please excuse this intrusion by one who, when a boy, on hearing of the fall of Fort Sumter, went behind the corn-crib and cried. His ideal had fallen, wounded. He suffered. Professor Prince has wounded his ideal now. He does not cry now, but he suffers now, as then. Verily, ideals are something of political and moral value if their wounding can cause us to suffer.

"Very truly,
"D. E. MERWIN."

BOOKS OF THE DAY.

Reviewed by B. O. Flower.*

POEMS OF THE NEW TIME. By Miles Menander Dawson. Cloth, 170 pp. $1.25. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company.

A Book Study.

I.

How often in this busy, prosaic life, amid the multitudinous distracting cares and perplexities that environ us, a name is spoken, a song is sung, or a picture meets the eye, when lo! as though touched by a magic wand the sealed doors of Memory's chambers fly open, and as children trooping forth from school come visions of golden hours of the long ago—treasured remembrances which heighten the charm of the vanished past!

Before me to-night lies a little volume of poems, and at sight of the author's name I am carried back to my college days. It is all as vivid as though it were yesterday—my arrival at Lexington, Kentucky, with a boyhood companion from my native town in southern Illinois. At morning the sun was shining, later the sky became overcast, and as night approached and we neared our destination, a fine, drizzling rain began to fall. Our spirits were in keeping with the somber sky. I shall never forget that first night—that long, gloomy night—in our bare and cheerless room in the college dormitory. And in the morning how well do I remember the coming into our room, with bounding tread, of a frank-faced boy, who greeted us, as I recollect, in these words:

"You boys are from Illinois? I come from Wisconsin—Lacrosse, Wisconsin. My name's Miles Dawson. Which of you is Flower and which Hardy? Shake! There are a few other Yankees down here. You know the Southern boys call all of us from north of the Ohio Yankees. My room-mate is from Australia. We hang up on the other side of the building. Our room's near the one Jeff Davis occupied when he attended the Kentucky University—Transylvania they used to call it in those days, I guess. Say! get your hats on and let's go out into the sunshine."

And so, like a breeze from the northwest, came Miles M. Dawson into my life. He was one of the most candid, outspoken, and fearless boys at the Kentucky University. He was something of a heretic, as many of the timid students thought who were preparing for the ministry in the Disciple Church; but none ever accused him of insincerity, of cowardice, or of hypocrisy. His refreshing candor offended some classmates, for it is not every one who can maintain Emersonian serenity when another plays the looking-glass before his soul. I see him to-night, as I saw and loved him in the old days—a sturdy, frank, courageous, manly youth, with superb confidence in himself and an indomitable will.

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*Books intended for review in The Arena should be addressed to B. O. Flower, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass.

After leaving college I lost track of Miles Dawson for many years. One day, after I began editing THE ARENA, I heard from him. He was living in Chicago. He had married, and into the home a little child life had come—and gone. The parents were wrapped in that bitterness which we all at times experience, but which no words can adequately describe; and my friend wrote to me to know something of my conclusions as the result of my psychical investigations. Had I received anything that seemed to answer in a satisfactory way the old, old cry of the poet and sage in far-away Arabia?—"If a man die, shall he live again?" Thus we came into touch again, and later he moved to New York, where besides the exacting demands of a busy business life he gives much time to literature, translating from the Norwegian, writing authoritatively on insurance, discussing live problems, and writing poems of the New Time; and these poems have now appeared in a beautiful little volume whose interest and charm on account of association and friendship are small compared with that which arises from their intrinsic merit.

II.

"Poems of the New Time" is a volume of verse full of the high, fine, advanced thought of our age—a protest against the narrow prejudice, selfish materialism, and low commercial ideals that exist throughout our civilization, and a plea for a better, higher, juster, and nobler order. Many of these poems deal primarily with the great human problems that are pressing for adjustment and upon the wise and rightful solution of which depends the upward and forward movement of the race. By this work Mr. Dawson has placed himself in that brotherhood of prophet-poets of the people of which Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay, and Charles Kingsley were the illustrious leaders during the Corn Law, Free Trade, and Chartist agitation in the England of the forties, and of which William Morris in Great Britain and James G. Clark in America were the most eminent representatives at a later date. To-day Edwin Markham, Ernest H. Crosby, and Miles M. Dawson have vindicated their right to the robe of Elijah. All these men are brothers. Of them we may say, in the language of Victor Hugo: "Freedom was the nurse that bent over their cradles; that ample breast suckled them all; they all have her milk in their bodies, her marrow in their bones, her granite in their will, her rebellion in their reason, her fire in their intelligence."

The poet of the New Time recognizes the solidarity of the race and the mutual obligations devolving upon all earth's children. He battles for coöperation, for mutual enjoyment and growth, for justice for all mankind, for the higher and truer patriotism that embraces the whole world and sees in each man a countryman and a brother. How well our poet reflects these high demands of the incoming age may be seen from such poems as the following, which is fairly representative of that part of the volume which is devoted to poems of protest and of promise. Perhaps we may say the key-note of Mr. Dawson's social verse is found in the opening poem, entitled "Solidarity":

The world is mine to live in and enjoy,
  Is mine to love in and to weep,
Is mine to build upon but not destroy,
  Is mine to labor in and sleep.
The world is mine, my heritage it is;
  It is not mine alone;
Who's born of woman, it is also his,
  His title is my own.

'Tis more my own than were it given me
  To hold in undisturbed repose.
For me alone, a desert it would be;
  Men make it blossom like the rose.
And whoso will not for my title fight,
  Must likewise his resign:
And whoso tramples on another's right,
  Abridges also mine.

We stand together; neither can escape
  Our joint responsibility.
The injuries we do each other, shape
  The common, racial destiny.
Our interests are mutual, communal,
  Wherever we may be;
The blows which on a cowering fellah fall,
  Are an affront to me.

Americans, 'tis time we understood:
  Our flag, the red, the white, the blue,
Means Freedom, Equal Rights and Brotherhood
  For all Earth's children, as for you.
That fellow-men in Cuba or Cathay—
  It matters nothing where—
Are driven as slaves beneath a despot's sway;
  That, too, is my affair.

The world grows smaller; men are closer drawn
  Antipodeans now are neighbors;
And sympathetic strikes announce the dawn
  Of justice for each man who labors.
National lines are nothing; all is this;
  Whoso wills every man
To be as free as he would be—he is
  My fellow-countryman.

Our grandsires summoned hither the oppressed
  Of every nation; they have thronged

Unto us from the East and from the West,
The souls from cruel tyrants wronged.
Our land is full; let us our shield extend
To wheresoe'er men be;
While anywhere man must to despots bend,
I am not wholly free.

Here is a companion poem to the above, entitled "The Presence":

The great, sad souls of every age
Have walked with God;
'Mid unseen witnesses the sage
Has ever trod.

Though, save on great occasions, they
Reserve their speech,
They never fail his call but stay
Within his reach.

All spirits of the good and true
About him stand
And proffer aid; he needs but to
Put forth his hand.

Upheld by such as these is he
Whose cause is just;
He meets whatever is to be
With simple trust.

'Tis thus he tastes of victory
Though overthrown;
'Tis thus that in the desert he
Is not alone;

'Tis thus he doth his potion take
Without a cry;
'Tis thus he for his fellows' sake
Fears not to die.

The new patriotism is in harmony with the broader and saner view of life that is coming into the consciousness of the best minds of our age. In olden times a man's patriotism was bounded by his tribe. Each little band under its chief or patriarch had its special protecting deity. These gods were for the most part believed to be jealous and bloody, and it was thought that they rejoiced when men and women among the conquered were slain, and maidens and children were sold into cruel slavery. As nations evolved patriotism expanded. In Hellas it came to include in a certain sense the Attic, Ionian, and Peloponnesian States; but they who were not of Grecian blood, be they never so wise or good, were barbarians. Primitive Christianity struck boldly at class prejudice and limitations and sought to bind men in a common brotherhood, but its arm became wellnigh nerveless before it had long contended with a world's petty passion and prejudice, and the broadening of man's conception advanced but slowly—so slowly, indeed, as to be wellnigh imperceptible, until our War of the Revolution and the upheavals in the two worlds which followed it. To-day, however, the advanced thought of civilization is well voiced in the following stanzas from "The New Patriotism":

I love my country; I would have it be
The guardian of all men's liberty.
Slaves, once they reach it, are no longer slaves.
Oh let it stretch its arms across the waves
    And stay th' oppressive hand
Of tyranny beneath whatever name,
    Whatever banner; and
Of such a land 'twere glory to proclaim:
    "This is my native land."

I love my country and in him I see
My country's most insidious enemy
Who seeks its privileges to confine
To those of Anglo-Saxon race and mine.
    We guard our liberties
When all men's freedom as our own we prize.
    Himself he only frees
Who frees all others; we must recognize
    No narrow boundaries.

I love my country; let it be so wide
That in it all men everywhere may hide!
I grow with it; increase its domination.
And citizens are lifted with the nation.
    It is worth while to fight
To free ourselves by making others free.
    So that in all men's sight
To go wherever one may list may be
    Not privilege but right.

I love my country; I would make it great
Beyond the limits of a petty state.
All men who wish their fellows to be free
Should constitute this sovereign state with me.
    Heredity or chance
Of birth or language would not do alone;
    But dwellers in all lands
Should join us, crying: "Earth shall be our own—
    And every other man's!"

How nobly these words contrast with the wretched truckling, time-serving spirit of modern sordid commercialism that dominates our government at the present time!—

"Let all be free," said Jefferson,
    "And all of equal rights!
Who draws his sword with Washington
For his own freedom fights.
Not for another tyrant he
    Takes arms against misrule;
He strikes for all men's liberty,
    The people's right to rule!"

. . . . . .

Establish this, whate'er you do:
    The rights of property,

Like other rights are subject to
The people's sovereignty.
There are no rights but rights of man;
The thing is but his tool;
No right can be more sacred than
The people's right to rule.

Here, too, is a spirited reply to the camp-followers of Old-World despotism who are making our flag a synonym for oppression, injustice, and dishonor, and who with unctuous rectitude prate of duty and honor even while refusing to do that which they admit to be our plain duty:

It is not un-American to be
A champion of all men's liberty,
To hold that "all men are created free."

It is not un-American to claim
For every denizen of earth the same
Equality in fact as well as name.

It is not un-American to teach
That each should be a brother unto each,
However strange in fatherland and speech,

. . . .

And, therefore, nevermore put under ban
As something foreign, un-American,
These plain, unalienable rights of man.

Count Tolstoy on one occasion, when commenting on the sympathy and charitable donations of certain wealthy and honored sons of conventionalism, observed that the rich were willing to do almost anything for the poor man except to get off his back; and this fact, which in few words expresses so much, is nowhere more apparent than in our own land at the present time. Still—

"The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,
And wholesome berries thrive and ripen . . .
Neighbored by fruit of baser quality."

And they judge superficially indeed who gauge tendencies merely by surface indications. The undercurrents are very significant at the present time. Far and wide among the people the idea of coöperation—the saving truth of present-day civilization—is taking such deep root that we believe the seemingly impregnable Babylon of special privilege will fall, as did ancient Babylon, at a time when its masters least imagine its overthrow possible. Mr. Dawson sings a twentieth-century song in these lines from a poem on "Coöperation:"

Alone man is a savage;
To murder, maim and ravage
And prey upon his fellow-man is his delight.
He is not civilized
Till he has recognized
That men are only strong when men with men unite.

. . . .

There is a way to rise,
A passage to the skies,
Not on our fellows' backs but with them side by side.
Heed not that musty fable
About the tower of Babel;
Coöperate and God will not our ranks divide!

. . . .

He is not truly great
Who does not elevate
As he toils on and upward, all his fellow-men.
Rise, then, by raising others;
Coöperate, my brothers;
You speed your own and all men's evolution then.

This thought is further emphasized in a long poem on "Universal Brotherhood," embodying a demand that must become the dominant note throughout civilization if religion is longer to mean aught but empty, meaningless cant, and if humanity is to press toward the heights that alone hold security and happiness for the race. Not self-worship, not king-worship, not priest-worship, nor the worship of gold can longer satisfy the heart-hunger of humanity. In these lines the poet represents the spirit of the New Time:

The man who seeks his highest to evolve
By patient, unremitting labor,
By serious thought and loftiest resolve,
In him I recognize my neighbor.
Across wide seas, if need be, we clasp hands
In real brotherhood;
And though thus separated in far lands,
Lo, we are of one blood.

Be his skin ebony as mine is white,
Or be it copper, yellow, red,
If but his soul yearn upward to the light,
What are such trifles? We are led
By inborn instincts from a common parent
To seek the common good.
Such things come not of chance; it is apparent
That we are of one blood.

Then czars and emperors and kings, hands off;
All men, our brothers, must be free;
The Hanover, the Hapsburgh, Romanoff
Yield to the human family!
Ye foes of liberty, in time beware!
It must be understood
That all men—at their option—everywhere
Are of the self-same blood.

Yea, at their option! Who appropriates
By force, by fraud, by merest chance
The wealth another's industry creates,
Forfeits his own inheritance.
Men make their choices; who their duties shirk
And for self-comfort would
Degrade their fellow-men to thraldom, work
Corruption of their blood.

Who loves his fellow-man acts never thus
  And by their deeds we know our brothers.
He who asserts relationship to us,
  Proves it by granting it to others.
Exclusiveness, the "I am holier
  Than thou!" has ever stood
As the sure mark of their true character
  Who are of alien blood.

Mark the distinction! It is radical
  And it is vital. They who ask
No more of any than they grant to all
  Are brothers; they who fain would task
The weaker with the burdens of the strong
  And have till now withstood
The right of all men with their private wrong.
  Are not of the same blood.

. . . .

Strike hands across the oceans, then, my brothers;
  Stop not at nations' boundaries!
The foolish enmity of nations smothers
  The spirit which all nations frees.
Let not tongues, customs, mouldy prejudices
  Prevent the common good.
The true solution of your troubles this is,
  Let all be of one blood.

Each period of depression that visits our people finds the condition of the millions more pitiable than before, and under the rapid concentration of wealth this widespread suffering will be greatly accentuated during every panic and through succeeding years. In a poem entitled "Lamentations," penned in the early nineties, Mr. Dawson gives us something that reminds me of Mrs. Browning's "Cry of the Children" and of some of Massey's and Mackay's strong poems of protest:

There comes a lamentation from the close-packed tenement,
From slum and dive and ghetto where the sons of toil are pent,
From Boston, from Chicago, San Francisco and New York;
From every city in the land come pleading cries for work;

The wail of helpless beings, desperate, forsaken, doomed,
Diseased, depraved, corrupting, in a living grave entombed;
The wail of children nurtured in filth, poverty, and crime,
And lofty souls revolting at life's sordidness and slime;

The wail of infants starving and of mothers gaunt and lean,
Of fathers in whose sunken eyes no ray of hope is seen;
The wail of noble spirits who their fellows' welfare willed,
Whose generous aspirations in the fight for bread are stilled.

. . . .

There's raiment for the naked backs and for the starving, bread;
There's shelter for the homeless and there's burial for the dead;
There's nursing for the ailing ones and for the drooping, song;
But somehow all these blessings fail to go where they belong.

What mean these lamentations? Answer, ye who stand between,
Who all this desolation with unmoistened eyes have seen,
Who let the farmer go unshod, the cobbler go unfed
Save when there's opportunity for you to get ahead!

What mean these lamentations? Answer, ye into whose mesh
The stricken workers come perforce and yield their pound of flesh!
Ye have our commerce by the throat and from us filch a toll
Which is not merely part or much but oftentimes the whole.

What mean these lamentations? Ah my brothers, they portend
The liberties our fathers won, soon to be at an end
Unless by honest ballots these bloodsuckers are o'erthrown
And with united effort the despoiled resume their own.

In the warfare of modern life the idealistic reformer suffers many rude awakenings and receives many severe blows from sources whence he least expected disappointments, most painful among which are the wounds inflicted by a loved leader whose words and deeds have been to him a star or beacon, but who in a crucial moment falls back into the night. We who have experienced these cruel disappointments know full well with what brutal force such blows fall on the soul; and our poets, who are the best interpreters of the human heart, have not been slow to express the feeling of thousands in burning words that live in literature. Perhaps the most notable two illustrations of this character found in the English poetry of the last century were written by Robert Browning and John Greenleaf Whittier. Browning's poem on "The Lost Leader," prompted by Wordsworth's falling away from the cause of liberalism, is a masterpiece of its kind. How keen was the disappointment of the poet is seen in such bitter words and terrible implications as are found in these stanzas:

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
  Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
  Lost all the others she lets us devote;
They, with the gold to give, doled him out silver,
  So much was theirs who so little allowed.

. . . .

We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him,
  Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
  Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,
  Burns, Shelley, were with us—they watch from their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freeman,—
  He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves!

. . . .

Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
  One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more devil's-triumph and sorrow for angels,
  One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!

Companion lines to these burning words are found in Whittier's "Ichabod," called forth as an arraignment of Daniel Webster when in

1850 the New England statesman delivered a speech which carried dismay and bitterness to the hearts of all abolitionists in the North. In this address Mr. Webster argued against any further extension of the restriction of slavery in the Territories of New Mexico and California. He further declared that the fugitive-slave law must be obeyed. Whittier read the address of the Massachusetts statesman—who by the way was a blood relative of the poet—with amazement and an indescribable feeling of disappointment. It was, he tells us, one of the saddest moments of his life when he laid down the powerful speech and took up his pen. I hardly think "sad" is the word that should be used to describe a mental condition which called forth these lines, which must ever sound strangely enough as coming from a Quaker:

So fallen! so lost! the light withdrawn
    Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
    Forevermore!

Revile him not—the Tempter hath
    A snare for all;
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
    Befit his fall!
Oh, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
    When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age
    Falls back in night.

. . . . . .

Let not the land once proud of him
    Insult him now,
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim,
    Dishonored brow.

. . . . . .

Of all we loved and honored, naught
    Save power remains,—
A fallen angel's pride of thought,
    Still strong in chains.
All else is gone; from those great eyes
    The soul is fled:
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
    The man is dead!

Something of these feelings were experienced by Mr. Dawson when David Swing preached his last discourse, which, to use the poet's words, "was a pæan of gratitude for deliverance from the Pullman strike—that is, for delivery of the toilers into Pullman's hands." This strangely inappropriate swan-song from one who had been a tower of strength in Freedom's cause called forth a poem entitled "The Fallen Hero," from which I take these stanzas:

    We mourn thee, David Swing!
Not for that thou hast died. All flesh must perish.
    Not for so light a thing
Are we afflicted who thy memory cherish
For what thou wert and didst to free mankind
    Ere age and failure came

And with mad fears and weakness of the mind
Brought thy gray hairs to shame.

. . . .

We mourn thee, David Swing!
We who are young and urge the world ahead
Even if thou didst fling
With stern defiance thy devoted head
Against embuttressed bigotry. We stand
Where thou thyself hadst stood,
Wert thou now young again, intrepid, grand
And full of generous blood.

. . . .

We mourn thee, David Swing!
We who, when thou art dead, begin to live,
We who begin to sing
When thou art silenced, we, the young forgive!
In thy youth's prime thou shouldst have gone away;
Death's summons came too late.
We recognize the power of age and pray:
Preserve us from like fate!

In a somewhat similar strain are two stanzas on "The Passing of Tennyson," prompted by feelings such as thousands of us felt when we read "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After."

III.

This volume, however, is not wholly given up to poems of progress and protest. There are many lines in which the sweetest sentiments blossom forth. Take, for example, this exquisite poem, entitled "I Love Thee":

Before thy coming, love of mine,
I had not known the light;
Thou camest like the glad sunshine
Unto the prisoner's sight.
The white glow of thy spirit shone
Into the dark depths of my own.
I dwell within the sunshine of thee;
Light of my life, I love thee, love thee!

Before thy coming, truly I
Knew joy but as a word,
As some fair, fabled butterfly
Of which I read or heard.
The happiness that in thee is
Tries my capacity for bliss.
I revel in the rapture of thee;
Joy of my heart, I love thee, love thee!

Before thy coming, life was all
And living it the whole;
Thy clearer vision pierced the pall,
Revealing me the soul.
Our one fear perished; mine thou art
Forever; we shall never part!
I shall have countless ages of thee;
Bride of my soul, I love thee, love thee!

Here, too are some beautiful lines called forth by the coming and going of the little daughter who became the idol of the poet and his devoted wife. This poem reminds me of those rare creations of Massey, "Babe Christabel" and "The Mother's Idol Broken'—not as in any sense imitative, but as embodying the same sentiment or poetic feeling:

She came like floods of sunshine
Between the gusts of rain,
Like stretches of sweet respite
Between the throbs of pain,
We never knew such joy before
Nor will we soon again.

She filled our hearts a-brimming
With tenderness and love,
Such as we had not dreamed of
Nor guessed the flavor of.
The few short months of her we prize
All other days above.

Like a bright revelation
She burst upon our earth;
We prize within our memories
The moment of her birth
And after she had come to us,
All else was little worth.

The days she tarried with us
With rapture we recall;
The day that we were parted
With bitterness of gall;
Yet this thought checks our grieving: "If
She had not been at all——?"

Her day of life was better
Than never to have been,
And death is not so dreadful
As living long in sin.
Before death's awful mystery
We stand and peer therein.

The sun is not extinguished
Because a while withdrawn;
He seems to set at even,
Yet ever shines he on;
Thus we who sunned us in her light
Are waiting for the dawn;

Are waiting for the shadows
Which here from there divide,
To lift and let her love-light
Stream through the gateways wide.
A little child is leading us,
The little girl that died.

Mr. Dawson is a lover of Nature, and, though this volume is chiefly given to the songs of the human, there are some fine stanzas that show how deeply the poet comes under the witching spell of Nature, a fact well illustrated in the following lines from a poem entitled "The Rock":

> There is a grandeur in the immortal rocks,
> An inborn majesty as of a god.
> Their sullen, frowning brows and uncouth limbs
> Are deeply furrowed by the dripping flow
> Of waters as of tears, tears wrenched by force
> From one who humbles pride to grudge them forth.
> And over their uneven heads the moss
> Spreads ever-verdant like a mat of hair.
> Each season from their earth-filled crevices
> The haughty pine and ghostly, white-stalked birch
> And graceful hazel burst their various green.
>
> Thus have the rocks a language; the faint stir
> Of birds and insects, sough of trees which bed
> Their roots into the fissures and which murmur
> Unto the winds that woo them, gratefully.
> They have their records, too; heiroglyphs
> Of rents and seams and gulleys—magic runes
> Which wise men may decipher and which tell
> How oft this seeming-changelessness has changed.
> And there are other records, futile signs
> Of youths and maidens who upon the stone
> Print names of rough initials dented in,
> Intent to co-eternalize their fames
> With the existence of the lasting rock.
> Another speech they have—an undertone
> Not vocal to the ear but to the soul
> Which is the theme of nature's symphony
> And easily attunes my spirit to its pitch
> With subtlest harmony.

A number of dialect poems, which appear under the title of "Kickapoo River Ballads," further attest the author's versatility.

IV.

In many respects the most notable creation of the volume is the long poem which closes the book and which is called "Kismet: A Drama of the New Time." As the prologue suggests, the poem is fragmentary or suggestive rather than closely connected. It reminds one of a canvas in which certain scenes are brought out boldly and others are traced in outline or by a few suggestive strokes. The poem deals with a young man who in youth falls in love with a maiden of great beauty, but who, fearing lest he may be refused, even though her eyes have spoken love to him, fails to woo her and journeys to the west. She marries a millionaire whom she does not love. The wanderer becomes a famous poet, and leaving a little wayside blossom—a simple, loving child of the West—who has learned to care for him, he returns to the East, meets his old love, and yields to passion's stormy voice. He persuades her to fly with him. She yields after a struggle to his spell, and dies because life is intolerable when the light of day brings shame rather than joy. The poem is marked by strength, imagination, and subtlety of thought. It is a fine study in psychology, but perhaps the general reader will chiefly enjoy the truth-bearing passages of beauty with which it abounds and of which the following are examples:

Love likes not gifts that cause the giver pain
And questions still:
"Is this thy pleasure, sweet? Say, once again:
Is this thy will?"

. . . .

Sad are the souls that wait!
Sad they who lose what their hearts have won!
The fiercest agony under the sun
Is his who awakes too late!

. . . .

Lust feeds on tears and gloats on agony;
He has no heart.
Love's temper melts at sorrow's plight and he
Drowns down his fires with sympathy
And doth depart.

. . . .

More harsh than nature human customs are.
Whoso would fly
In custom's face, must ready be to war
And strong is he the struggle does not mar;
The weak must die.

I think there are few readers who will lay down the volume without regretting that the exacting demands of a busy life leave the poet so little time in which to weave truths, philosophy, and visions of beauty into verses that would sing themselves into the common life and become at once an inspiration and a monitor in crucial moments.

AN AMERICAN COMMONER: LIFE AND TIMES OF RICHARD PARKS BLAND. By William V. Byars. Illustrated. Cloth, 404 pp. Price, $3.50. Columbus, Mo.: E. W. Stephens, publisher.

This work by William V. Byars is a volume of vital interest to those who would follow our political history during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mr. Bland was one of the few thoroughly incorruptible and fearless patriots who occupied a large place in public life at Washington. He stood for the old ideas of freedom and justice which are in such disrepute under the present trust-ridden and empire-drunken Administration. He was a friend of the common people, a champion of the wealth-creators, and a son of freedom. His life is worthy of careful study and in the hands of the brilliant and scholarly biographer it possesses the interest that only attaches to volumes where the authors are *en rapport* with the subject and the principles for which he stood. Young men on the threshold of life especially should peruse this work. It will not only make them better and truer, but it will be to their moral natures what a bracing mountain air is to the physical body of one enervated by long residence in a malarial swamp. As an antidote to the sophistry and twaddle of apologists for the present un-American Administration, and for the immoral domination of the trusts in public, commercial, and industrial life, this work is unsurpassed.

MATTHEW DOYLE. By Will Garland. Cloth, 282 pp. Price, $1.50.
New York: G. W. Dillingham Company.

"Matthew Doyle" is a novel of Southern life written by the son of ex-Attorney-General Garland. It discusses several present-day problems of special interest to Southern readers, such as the negro problem and lynching. Perhaps the best part of the work is the author's description of the evil effects on the ignorant and newly-freed negroes of Northern politicians who at the close of the war appeared all over the South, largely for the purpose of profiting by the votes of the black man. The following extracts will serve to give the reader a fair idea of Mr. Garland's treatment of this subject:

"Then there appeared in the horizon a speck. Like all other incipient storm-clouds, it was small—no larger than a carpet-bag; and, in fact, as its proportions became defined, it *was* a carpet-bag. Like all other storm clouds, it quickly gathered other carpet-bags, until the South was like unto a plague-stricken Egypt. A land but lately bayonet-ridden was now carpet-bag deluged, and the latter will be by far the worst calamity. . . . The highways and byways, and all the other ways, were infested with gentry who, not being able to accumulate more than a carpet-bagful of chattels North, were obviously competent to do so South.

"Then, indeed, did the freedman hear some truths. . . . Then, indeed, were 'marster's' folks held up to him as his worst and most implacable enemies. Then, indeed, was it demonstrated to him that Nature had accomplished for the Ethiopian by a partizan vote what she hasn't yet completed for the Caucasian by evolution. Then, indeed, did his new-found mentors whisper boss in his ear, ballot in his skull, and bullet in his heart. What happened? When power is the highest aim of the white man's game; when *we* fall every day, prone and prostrate before the gewgaws of garishness, is it inexplicable that 'Pedro's' people wavered? . . .

"After the carpet-bags had permeated the erstwhile poor but placid problem, 'Pedro' began to absorb the imported doctrine with sponge-like avidity. 'Pedro,' being by genius imitative, was correlatively absorbent. He scampered into the city—not with any idea of working, for he had been told that, as a ward of the nation, he needn't work. Consequently, he neglected the faculties necessary to industry and improved those essential to idleness.

"He was young then, and bright, too; quick to see and quicker to note. He saw that 'marster' no longer went down into a well-filled wallet—carpet-bags were fat instead. He swung to the latter. 'Pedro' experienced some halcyon days thereabouts. Vice was unrolled and displayed before him in garbs, and shapes, and patterns that would turn a much paler lad, let alone one of 'Pedro's' hue. Virtue was as undisplayable as 'marster's' lean wallet; vice as full of promise as the carpet-bags. He swung to the latter.

"Chopping weeds in the cotton was hot work in the sun; rolling dice in the warehouse was lucrative sport in the shade. He swung to the latter. 'Totin' wood to the kitchen was mighty poor fun by the side of seven-up behind a cotton-bale. He swung to the latter. And so on down the list. At ten, as a 'kid', 'Pedro' knew the safest corners of all the warehouses. At fifteen, as a bootblack, he knew which barrooms did the biggest business. At twenty, as a procurer, he knew exactly where to locate the best-looking yellow girls. At twenty-five, as a roustabout, he knew every pilot on the river and every engineer on the road. At thirty, as a jailbird, he knew every chain-gang from St. Louis to New Orleans, and at thirty-five, as a vagabond, we find him in Pike (his stand-by haunt during a blow-over), an adept in every black art, and a stranger to the rudimentary elements of decency. Long years of vice have made him a villain; long years of rascality, a rogue; long years of dissipation, a drunkard; long years of white-vice example, a menace to female virtue, and long and notorious proficiency in a game known as 'Cinch,' 'Fifty-two,' 'Set-back,' 'High Five,' but most commonly 'Pedro,' has given him a soubriquet that carries with it a kaleidoscope of deviltry."

The book is full of excellent things, and many of the pages are very bright and entertaining. It, however, lacks finish, and at times gives the impression of haste in its preparation. This is to be regretted. as the author impresses me with possessing more than ordinary ability. We have too few novelists to-day whose work shows care, finish. and scholarship which is a delight to the reader and which, when thoughtful and imaginative, will live in literature. The novels of Mrs. Humphrey Ward and of James Lane Allen contrast boldly with the great majority of the much-advertised and widely-puffed alleged great novels of our time. Young writers should strive to follow in the footsteps of careful thinkers who care more for good work than for mushroom and sensational notoriety. Lynching is the principal present-day problem discussed in this novel, which as a story is interesting, though I imagine few readers will be satisfied with its ending.

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS.

THE Twenty-fifth Volume of THE ARENA closes with this issue. It is conceded by its oldest friends that the magazine was never better than it is to-day. In no period of its history has it been a more vital factor in the molding of advanced public opinion or in the introducing of higher ideals in the realms of economics, religion, government, and social upbuilding. It is candid, fearless, and unbiased in its treatment of all questions that bear even remotely upon the progress of American civilization, and has achieved a unique distinction in American literature for its aggressive attitude toward the imperialistic, monopolistic, and materialistic exploiters of the masses.

In preparation for forthcoming numbers are contributions designed still further to emphasize the ideals of and best means of establishing justice and peace among our people. Perhaps the most important and significant of these is a series of seven papers by Prof. Frank Parsons, of the Boston University School of Law, on "Great Movements of the Nineteenth Century." The first article will bear the title, "The Sweep of the Century and its Meaning," and will open our new volume next month, preceded by a frontispiece portrait of the author taken especially for THE ARENA's use. The other six articles will treat of the following subjects: "The Great Conflict," "The Century of Democracy," "Industrial Progress," "The Intellectual Movement," "The Moral Development of our Time," and "Striking Contrasts and Indications for the Future." These papers will challenge the attention of thinkers, and will be read and preserved as intellectual treasures by students; for the foundation facts were largely obtained by Prof. Parsons in his preparation for college lectures on modern history.

In our July issue, "On the Stoa of the Twentieth Century," Prof. John Ward Stimson will discuss the ethical and utilitarian value of art. Prof. Stimson is a graduate of Yale and of the French National Academy of Art, and is now director of the Art and Science Institute of Trenton, N. J. To the same number a sketch of this author's life and work will be contributed by Editor Flower.

Miss Kellor's sixth article on "The Criminal Negro," and Dr. Keyes's "Geology in the Twentieth Century," have been unavoidably crowded out of this issue. They will appear in our July number, together with a most suggestive paper by Prof. Thomas E. Will, A.M., on "A College for the People," and an able and timely contribution entitled "Poverty and Social Decay," by Alfred M. Colwick.

Our opening article this month on "Imperialism" is a fitting and conclusive rejoinder to Prof. Prince's "Passing of the Declaration," which appeared in our April issue. The author, Judge Parks, was appointed associate justice of the supreme court of Idaho by President Lincoln in 1862; he was appointed associate justice of the supreme bench of New Mexico in 1878 by President Hayes, and was transferred to the supreme court of Wyoming in 1882 by President Arthur. He writes from the viewpoint of an economist, a jurist, and a statesman, and ably sets forth the false pretenses, the selfishness, and anti-republican tendencies of those who in their greed for gain would pervert the sound democratic teachings of the founders of our government.

In line with the absolutely impartial policy of THE ARENA, we give space in this number to an officially authorized presentation of the doctrines of Christian Science, to offset, as well as it may, the criticisms of its teachings and methods of propaganda that have hitherto appeared in our pages. The first of the two articles is by a prominent thinker and scholar who has long been identified with the movement, and the second is from the pen of the accredited press representative of this growing church. They are therefore authoritative, and are commended to the attention of every one interested in the new spiritual development of our era.

Editor Flower's character sketch of W. T. Stead is not of less interest and importance than his "Conversation" with that apostle of freedom and justice—two features of the current issue that will attract world-wide attention. In opposing the views of the most powerful British statesmen on "England's Crime in South Africa," the famous editor of the *Review of Reviews* is characteristically brave and pointed in his remarks, the truth of which is self-evident to unprejudiced minds.

The highly interesting contribution on the servant-girl question in this number is from the pen of Mrs. Walter Vrooman, who, together with her husband, established a few years ago the Ruskin Hall in Oxford, England—a college primarily intended for workingmen and youths of the artisan class. The success of this institution has been very marked, and the number of scholars is now more than fifteen hundred.

J. E. M.

THE ARENA.

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A TWENTIETH CENTURY REVIEW OF VITAL THOUGHT.

Editors: CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON.
B. O. FLOWER.
JOHN EMERY McLEAN.

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PROSPECTUS FOR 1901.

= The Arena. =

A Twentieth Century Review of Vital Thought.

Under the Editorial Management of

CHARLES BRODIE PATTERSON, B. O. FLOWER, and
JOHN EMERY McLEAN.

The Coming Age, which under the able management of B. O. Flower assumed a commanding place among the great magazines of opinion in America, has been merged into THE ARENA, and with the November number Mr. Flower again becomes editorially associated with the great review he founded. This union of the two leading progressive and constructive representative reviews of our time and the return of Mr. Flower to THE ARENA will, we believe, be hailed with delight by tens of thousands of the most earnest among the advanced thinkers of our land. It also places THE ARENA, in point of circulation and popular influence, in the forefront of the great opinion-forming reviews of the New World.

A Review Indispensable to Live Thinkers.

It is the determination of the present management to make THE ARENA what its name implies—a place for the free discussion of the live and vital problems of the hour that intimately relate to the betterment of the individual and the elevation of society. During the ensuing year its pages will contain the best thought of many of

The Ablest and Most Authoritative Writers of the New World,

who will discuss in a luminous and suggestive manner the most important phases of those questions which intimately affect the larger life of our age.

A Few Contributors.

In the very nature of the case it is impossible to mention the entire corps of contributors to a review that aims from month to month to present the ablest thought on the uppermost problems in the public mind, discussed by the most capable thinkers. Below, however, we give a few names of eminent thinkers whose contributions will appear in early issues of THE ARENA. They will sufficiently indicate the able and authoritative character of the writers who will monthly contribute to our pages :

Rev. R. Heber Newton, D.D.
Prof. James H. Hyslop, Ph.D.
Prof. Frank Parsons.
Justice Walter Clark, LL.D.
Hamlin Garland.
Prof. George D. Herron.
Rev. Alfred Wesley Wishart.
Booker T. Washington

Rev. E. R. Dille, D.D.
Prof. John Ward Stimson.
Prof. James T. Bixby, Ph.D.
Rev. E. P. Powell.
Charles Malloy.
Reuen Thomas, D.D.
Bolton Hall.
Joseph Haworth

SOME NOTABLE FEATURES.

"A Senate of Progress."

ORIGINAL ESSAYS.

While it is the purpose of the management to make THE ARENA progressive in spirit, and while it will concern itself with vital and living subjects rather than profitless speculation and issues having no intimate relation to human life and progress, it will give opposing views of the subjects discussed, as the editors believe that in the crucible of free discussion is found the gold of truth. These general discussions will embrace series of papers that naturally group themselves under certain general headings among the questions profoundly engrossing the attention of thoughtful people. Thus, a series of contributions will be devoted to several phases of nineteenth century political, social, economic, and material conditions, with a special view to their probable influence on twentieth century civilization.

A monthly perusal of THE ARENA will prove a liberal education in questions that most concern the progress and happiness of the race.

Another series will discuss fundamental economic and political problems, as for example the question of monopoly in relation to the wage-earners, consumers, and the State; compulsory arbitration; direct legislation; governmental, State, or municipal control or ownership of natural monopolies, such as telegraphs, telephones, railways, street-cars, water-works, and gas and electric plants for public lighting; the inheritance, income, land, and other modes of taxation;—in short, the great social, political, and economic questions most intimately affecting society here and now.

Educational progress and the treatment of society's unfortunates will call for serious consideration. The New Psychology and Psychical Research are to-day challenging the earnest attention of a large number of the most critical investigators among the master brains of the age. Our series of papers dealing with different problems in this new continent of research will be opened by a paper from the eminent psychologist and member of the faculty of Columbia University, Prof. James H. Hyslop, Ph.D.

The progress of the world in literature, science, [illegible], and the drama will also receive due attention. Among special features in these departments we mention at this time some able papers on the poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson, by Mr. Charles Malloy, President of the Boston Emerson Society, and probably the ablest living exponent of the poetry of the Concord sage.

We are only beginning to appreciate the influence which architecture, sculpture, painting, and the drama exert on the public mind and their potential influence in the elevation and refinement of the people. It is our purpose thoughtfully to consider all these questions. The drama in particular is a school in which the popular imagination is constantly appealed to and influenced for good or evil. Hence, arrangements have been made to give special emphasis to this great educational factor, and during the ensuing year THE ARENA will contain a series of papers dealing with the drama in America and embracing studies and characterizations of the noblest works being produced on the stage; conversations with great actors and actresses, and general consideration of the influence of the drama upon the moral and mental growth of society.

"Where Master Brains Discuss Vital Issues."

SYMPOSIA.

THE ARENA was the first great review to introduce as a conspicuous feature symposia, in which questions uppermost in the public mind were thoroughly discussed from various view-points. In the last year, under the editorial supervision of Mr. McLean, this popular feature has received special attention; and it is our purpose to make it very prominent in THE ARENA for the future.

All sides of some great question given in one issue.

In an early issue a very noteworthy symposium dealing with the new religious and ethical ideals, especially in their bearing on metaphysical thought and transcendental philosophy, will be a very striking feature. In this discussion the Rev. R. Heber Newton, one of the greatest living clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Mr. Charles Brodie Patterson, the founder of MIND and one of the foremost leaders of the modern Metaphysical Movement; Judge Wm. G. Ewing, one of the ablest representatives of the Christian Science faith; and Edward A. Jenks, A.M., a prominent literary man of New England and a member of the Congregational field will be far more ably covered by earnest, tolerant, sympathethic and thoroughly competent thinkers than in any previous periodical treatment of the subject. We mention this symposium as an example of the well-rounded discussions that will be an attractive feature of THE ARENA, and will necessarily broaden and deepen the culture of all its readers.

CONVERSATIONS.

"*Heart-to-Heart Talks with the Great Ones.*"

A feature of general interest in THE ARENA for 1901 will be "Conversations" with leading men and women on timely, interesting, and vital problems. In many cases these Conversations will be prefaced by carefully prepared Biographical Sketches of the persons contributing the Conversations. Last year Mr. Flower addressed a letter of inquiry to over 10,000 readers of *The Coming Age*, requesting them to state the one feature most enjoyed in that magazine. The replies showed that four out of five readers were partial to the Conversations and Editorial Sketches that preceded them.

ON THE STOA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

"*New Social Ideals Discussed in a Socratic Way.*"

A new feature of THE ARENA for 1901 will be brief discussions of the new social ideals and other live problems, by specialists and thinkers whose knowledge of the subjects in hand will enable them to speak with authority. The handling of these themes will be somewhat unique in magazine literature, in that it will consist of a series of questions calculated to bring out the salient points of the matter under discussion, so that the reader may obtain the heart of the question almost at a glance.

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BOOKS OF THE DAY.

'*In the World of the Book-Makers.*"

Mr. Flower will have charge of the Book Review department. He will also be assisted by other competent reviewers. It is his purpose to make "Books of the Day" of interest to the general reader and of practical value to all book lovers. Each month considerable space will be given to an extended review or study of some work of special importance. This will be followed by a number of characterizations of new works, their aim being to give book readers in as few words as possible an intelligent idea of each work and its chief merits or demerits.

PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGES.

"*In the Habit as They Live.*"

A very popular feature of THE ARENA in its earlier years was the admirable frontispiece portraits and photographs that appeared in each issue. For some time this feature has been discontinued, but during the coming year it is to be again introduced, and great pains will be taken to make these pictures as artistic and effective as possible.

EDITORIALS ON THEMES OF GENERAL INTEREST.

"*Timely Topics.*"

Under the heading of "Topics of the Times," Mr. Flower will conduct a live, up-to-date editorial department, in which will be pungent and suggestive notes and comments on subjects of interest and moment to thoughtful people of the present time. Mr. Flower is always fearless, sincere, and frank. His comments will, we believe, be one of the most attractive features of THE ARENA for 1901.

In a word, no pains will be spared by the editors or the managers in their united effort to make THE ARENA stronger, brighter, and abler than ever before—a live review of vital thought absolutely indispensable to all thoughtful, earnest men and women who would

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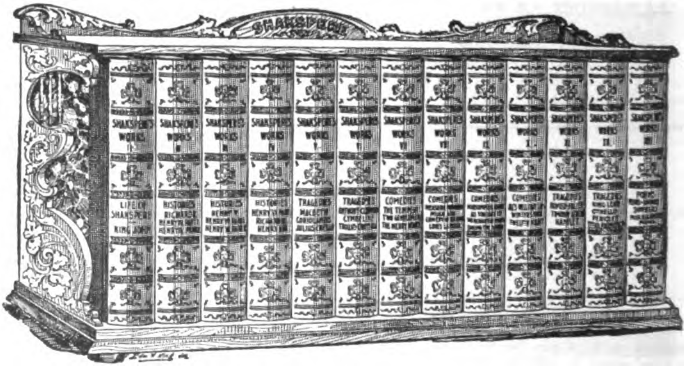

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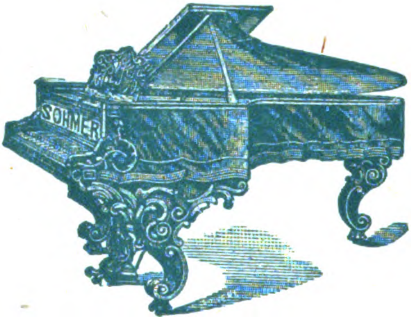

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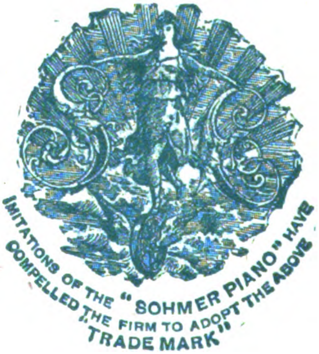
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